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Quintus Curtius Rufus
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The Complete Works of
QUINTUS CURTIUS RUFUS

(fl. 1st century AD)



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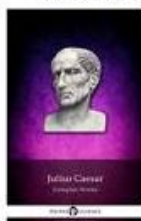
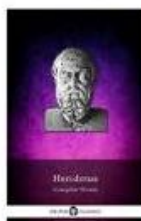
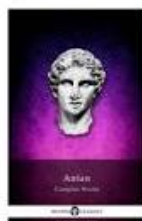
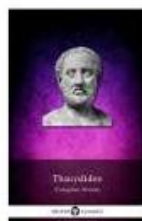
INTRODUCTION TO QUINTUS CURTIUS RUFUS by J. C. Rolfe

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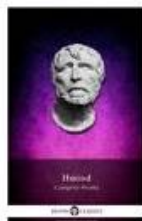


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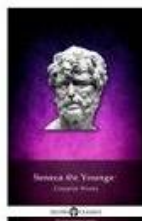
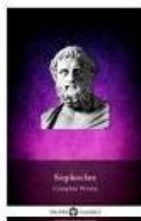
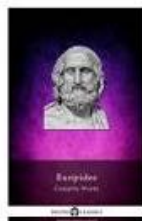
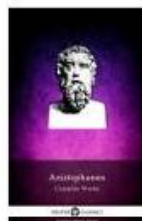
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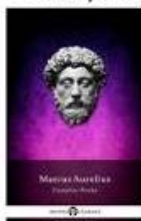
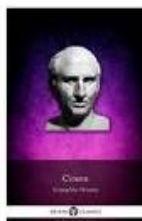
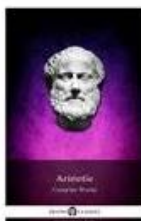
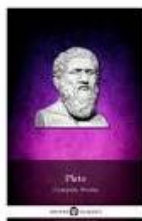
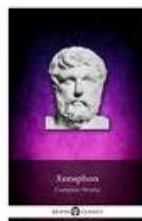
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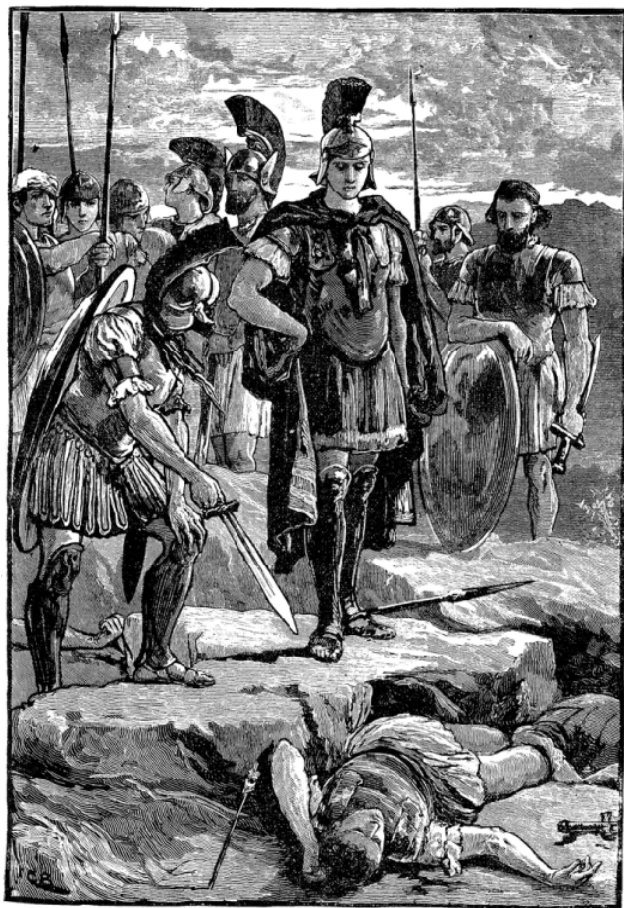
Philosophers



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The Complete Works of
QUINTUS CURTIUS RUFUS



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Complete Works of Quintus Curtius Rufus

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The Translation



The Roman Empire — apart from his name on the manuscripts, nothing else certain is known of Quintus Curtius Rufus than he flourished in the empire during the first century AD.

HISTORY OF ALEXANDER



Translated by J. C. Rolfe

Quintus Curtius Rufus was a first century Roman historian, whose only known work is the *Historiae Alexandri Magni*. Curtius' history is uniquely isolated, as no other ancient text refers to it and no ancient author directly refers to him. By his name, Quintus Curtius Rufus was a member of the Curtii Rufi branch of the Curtii family, one of the original nobility of Rome. Due to the frequently used institution of adoption, people of the name Curtius (or female Curtia) might not be consanguineous. Moreover, the same name tended to be repeated, typically from grandfather to grandson. After centuries of Curtii, a Curtius might turn up in history at any location or in any period.

Curtius' *History of Alexander* survives in 123 codices, or bound manuscripts, all deriving from an original of the ninth century. As it was a partial text, already missing large pieces, they are partial as well, varying in condition. The original text contained ten books, but the first two books are lost, along with any introduction, usually expected according to ancient custom. There are also large gaps in books V, VI and X. Many sections throughout are obscure, subject to interpretation or emendation in the name of restoration. The history opens in Book III with events from 333 BC, beginning with the famous story of Alexander and the Gordian knot. One of Curtius' main sources is Cleitarchus, one of the historians of Alexander the Great, who was the son of the historian Dinon of Colophon and possibly a native of Egypt. His work, completely lost, has survived only in some thirty fragments preserved by ancient authors, especially by Aelian and Strabo. Writing in c. 300 BC, Cleitarchus made Alexander's military career a matter of marvellous adventure.

Curtius' book enjoyed popularity in the High Middle Ages. It is the main source for a genre of tales termed the Alexander Romance; for example, Walter of Chatillon's epic poem *Alexandreis*, which was written in the style of Virgil's *Aeneid*. These romances spilled over into the Renaissance, especially inspiring Italian poets, who idolised Curtius. Painters, such as Paolo Veronese and Charles Le Brun, painted scenes from Curtius' history of Alexander.

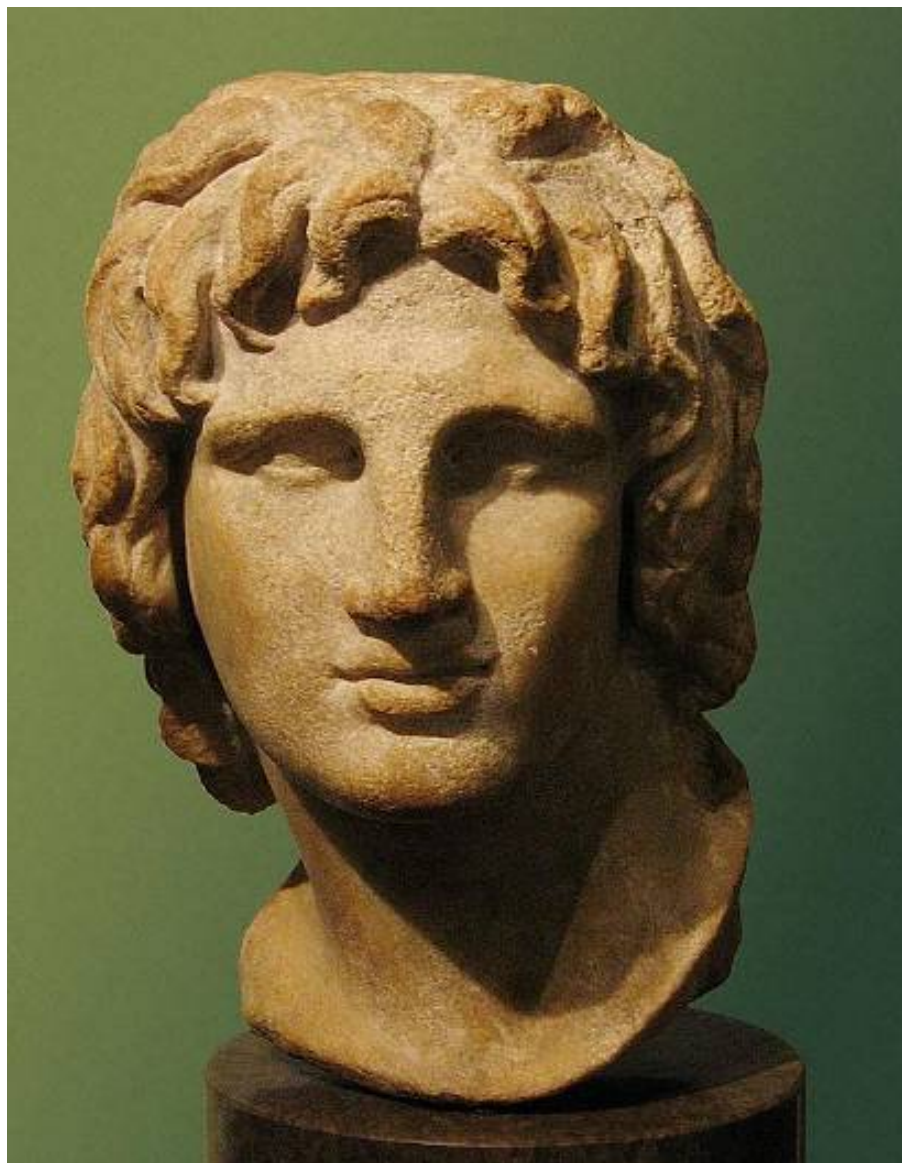
The Editio Princeps was published in 1470 or 1471 at Venice by Vindelinius Spirensis. A slow but steady stream of editions appeared subsequently until more of a need for standardisation was perceived. In 1867 Edmund Hedicke instigated a convention that persists yet. He based his edition of that year on the five best manuscripts. In what remains of his work, Curtius chiefly does not identify sources. They were, perhaps, stated in the

missing books. Speculations of what they were based on and thorough analysis of the content and style vary widely.

Curtius is not a critical historian; in his desire to entertain and to stress the personality of Alexander, he elaborates effective scenes, omits important historical detail and pays little attention to chronology. However, he does not invent things, except for speeches and letters inserted as traditional convention. Three features of his history are narrative features of exciting experiences, the development of a hero's character and a tendency to moralise. Curtius' *History of Alexander* is one of the five extant works on which we rely for the career of Alexander the Great, offering a rare opportunity of a Roman viewpoint on the exploits of the legendary figure.



Philip II of Macedon, Alexander's father — first century Roman copy of a Hellenistic Greek original, Chiaramonti Museum of the Vatican Museums



Bust of a young Alexander the Great from the Hellenistic era, British Museum



'Alexander fighting king Darius III of Persia', a mosaic dating from c. 100 BC, originally from the House of the Faun in Pompeii, now housed in the Naples National Archaeological Museum.

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BOOK X



Map of Alexander's Empire and his route

PREFACE

THE translation is based upon the text of Edmund Hedicke, Leipzig, Teubner, 1908, with a few changes. Numerous alterations have been made in the punctuation, especially in the use of the semi-colon for the colon in accordance with English usage, in not pointing off with commas all relative clauses, regardless of their nature and their connexion with the rest of the sentence, and in the omission (more rarely the addition) of other commas, the presence or absence of which tends to obscure the meaning.

The notes on the text are designed to show the condition and the relation of the manuscripts. They are probably still too numerous (some may say superfluous), but they have been considerably shortened by omitting obvious changes by early editors, especially in proper names, at the risk of robbing some such editor of the honour of a conjecture; also by not recording the most obvious readings of the I-class of codices (see *Introd.*, p xi).

There are two systems of numbering and citing the text of Curtius, by book, chapter, and section (*e.g.* v. 13. 25 on p ix, note), and by book, shorter paragraph, and section (*e.g.* for this reference v. 38. 25). The earlier editors cite by the latter system, modern editors by the former; so Hedicke, who however retains the numbers of the shorter paragraphs. In this edition the shorter paragraphs have been omitted.

A map and a complete Index (prepared by J. R. Workman, Ph. D.) will be found at the end of Volume II.

JOHN C. ROLFE.

ALEXANDRIA, VIRGINIA.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

The *edition princeps* of Curtius was published at Venice in 1470 or 1471 by Vindelinius Spirensis. It was followed by that of Bartolomeo Merula (Venice, 1494); according to Zumpt (Braunschweig, 1849, praef., p xii), Merula merely corrected some conspicuous errors in the *editio princeps*, but left many uncorrected. Of about the same date are the Romana of 1472 and the Mediolanensis of 1475. The Aldine edition of Franciscus Asulanus was printed in July 1518 and corrected many errors. Its text was based partly upon manuscripts and partly on conjectures, in which with regard to proper names Arrian was of great service.

The editions of Modius and Freinshem have been mentioned above (pp xiii, xiv). Other early editions are those of Snakenburg (Delft and Leyden, 1724); Cunze, vol i., Helmstadt, 1802, useful for Books IV and V, but unfortunately not completed; of Schmieder, Gottingen, 1803, whose text is followed in the Delphin Edition (Valpy, London, 1825); of N. E. Lemaire (Paris, 1822-1824), which does not justify his statement, "textum ad fidem codicum regiae Parisinae bibliothecae recensui, cum varietate lectionum." The edition of Julius Mützell, Berlin, 1841, has a full introduction and commentary, and extensive quotations from early travellers in the countries visited by Alexander. That of Th. Vogel (Leipzig, 1889-1903) appeared in a second edition of two volumes in 1906.

Curtius from viii. 9 through ix. 10 is translated into English by J. W. McCrindle, *The Invasion of India by Alexander the Great* (A. Constable, Westminster, 1896). There is an English translation of the entire work by P. Pratt (1821); a German translation in three volumes by A. H. Christian, Stuttgart, 1855-1875; and one by K. Müller and H. Schönefeld, Munich, 1954. The French translation of De Vogelas (Paris, 1653), on which he spent thirty years, has been pronounced to be as inimitable as Alexander was invincible. It indeed ranks high as literature, but it is not a close version of the Latin, and in places is a paraphrase rather than a translation, although even in such cases it often gives a valuable clue to the meaning.

Of many other works (besides those listed in Notes) may be mentioned: D. G. Hogarth, *Philip and Alexander of Macedon*, New York, 1897; Ulrich Wilcken, *Alexander der Grosse*, Leipzig, 1931; Otto Hoffman, *Die Macedonen*, Gottingen, 1906; Georges Radet, *Alexander le Grand*, Paris, 1931; E. Iliff Robson, *Alexander the Great*, London, 1929; Lewis V. Cummings, *Alexander the Great*, Boston, 1941; W. A. Heurtley, *Prehistoric Macedonia*, Cambridge, 1939; Sir Percy Sykes, *History of Afghanistan*, London, 1940; R. Novak, *Spicilegium Curtianum*, from *Ceske Museumfilologike*, vol v., Prague, 1899; W. W. Tarn, *Cambridge Ancient History*, vol vi., chapters xi and xiġ. (with good bibliography and maps); J. J. Bernouilli, *Die erhaltenen Darstellungen Alexanders des Grossen*, 1905;

Chicago Oriental Institute (with Univ of Pennsylvania and Boston Museum of Fine Arts). Aerial Survey Expeditions: *The Persepolis Expedition*, by Erich F. Schmidt, 1940. (A less costly work is *The Pageant of Persepolis* by Henry Filmer); *The Johns Hopkins Studies in Archaeology*, No. 13 (Biographies and Portraits of Statesmen, especially of Alexander the Great), Baltimore.

SIGLA

A = Codices B F LPS V, either all or as many as are preserved in each place.

B = Codex Bernensis 451, tenth century.

C = Codices B F L V, either all or as many as are preserved in each place.

D = Fragmentum Darmstadiense (cod. 3152), tenth century.

E = Fragmentum Einsidlense (cod. 476, folio 36), tenth century.

F = Codex Florentinus (plut, lxiii, cod. 35), eleventh century.

H = Fragmentum Herbipolitanum, tenth century.

I = Codices interpolati.

L = Codex Leidensis, 137, tenth century.

P = Codex Parisinus, 5716, ninth century.

R = Excerpta Rhenaugiensia (cod. 93, p. 184).

S = Schedae Vindobonenses, 492 (hist prof. 622), tenth century.

V = Codex Vossianus, Q. 20, tenth century.

BOOK I

Many Greeks have written of the life and deeds of Alexander, who took from the Persians their empire and transferred it to Greece. Some of these were witnesses of his exploits, some even his companions and officers (Arr i., praef.). Being eager for glory and for the perpetuation of his memory, he summoned some, for example Callisthenes of Olynthus, for the very purpose of transmitting his history to posterity (Justin xii. 6. 7). Besides the greatness of his exploits, the innate love of the Greeks for fable led some of them to record marvels rather than sober history. Ptolemy, who was afterwards king of Egypt, and Aristobulus seem to be the most trustworthy. When they agree, I have preferred their account to that of the rest; when they differ, I have taken from the abundance of material those things which seemed nearest to the truth. This practice the Greeks who had some regard for the truth, after Alexander's day, seem to have followed, and lately Diodorus of Sicily.

Those of the Romans who have given attention to history, content with the affairs of their own nation, have neglected those of others; for the deeds of a victorious people furnished an abundance of material, which seemed likely to be more useful to their fellow-citizens. Nevertheless, I believe that I shall be free from reproach if I shall make known to my country that king who in the shortest time conquered the greatest extent of territory, and if I shall show that, in general, success corresponds with character, and that no good fortune is lasting which lacks virtue.

I find that Alexander possessed in abundance all the gifts of character and fortune with which a man fated to have a power so great ought to be endowed. He was the son of Philip and Olympias, of whom the former in a continuous series of wars had made the hitherto obscure people of Macedonia formidable to all men, prepared the foundation for works done after his time, made ready for an invasion of Persia, and through Parmenion had already opened Asia (Curt vii. 1. 3). Alexander's birth was preceded and attended by portents. Many even believed that he was the son of Jupiter, who had assumed the form of a serpent and lain with Olympias (Plut. Alex ii. 4; Justin xi. 11. 3). She, however, in a letter to her son (Cell xiii. 4. 2) begged him not to expose her to Juno's hatred as her husband's paramour. On the night when he was born the temple of the Ephesian Diana was destroyed by fire (Cic. Nat. Deor ii. 27. 69; Plut. Alex. Hi. 3), which the Magi interpreted as meaning that a firebrand had appeared somewhere, by which the whole Orient would be destroyed. It happened that at the same time Philip subdued Potidaea, a colony of the Athenians, and received news both of the victory of one of his chariots at Olympia and of the defeat of the Illyrians in a great battle.

Alexander was born at the beginning of the sixth Olympiad after the one hundredth (356 B.C.) when Elpines was Archon at Athens, on the 21st day of July, the month which the Macedonians of that time called Lous (Plut. Alex 1

c.; Cell xvii. 21. 28). Philip, having the highest hopes of his son because of so many omens, directed all his thoughts to his education and care; for, being a wise man and devoted to his country, he knew that all his toil would amount to nothing if he left an ignorant or slothful successor. There are among his letters, which are full of grace and of wisdom, one which he sent to Athens at that time addressed to Aristotle (Gell ix. 3), reading about as follows: "Philip greets Aristotle. Know that a son is born to me. I thank the gods, not so much that he is born, as that it is his good fortune to be born in your lifetime. I hope that as a result of your training he will prove worthy of us and of succeeding to so great a kingdom. For I think it is better to lack children than to have begotten them for the dishonour of their ancestors."

And Philip was not mistaken; the boy for a long time had Aristotle for his teacher and thus received the greatest help for doing such great deeds at the proper time. But this happened later; meanwhile the child's teachers and guardians were Leonidas, a relative of Olympias, and Lysimachus, an Acamanian. Philip, also an Acarnanian (Curt iii. 6. 1), was joined with them, to look after his health; to Hellanicê, the daughter of Dropides, a member of one of the best families of the Macedonians, was given the duties of a nurse approved by a good person and morals (Curt viii. 1. 21; Arr iv. 9. 1, who calls her Lanice). From such care it resulted that within a few years he already gave promise of being the king which he afterwards became; for his boyish frame foretold invincible strength, and signs of an indomitable spirit were far in advance of his time of life. Excelling in native grace of person, he scorned adornment, saying that anxious care for beauty was suitable for women, who were commended by no other endowment; that he would be sufficiently handsome if he should achieve virtue.

When he grew up, he was conspicuous for a well-proportioned body, strong and remarkably solid limbs, surpassing rather in strength than in beauty; for he was not tall (Curt iii. 12. G; v. 2. 13). His skin was white and fair, except for a handsome flush on his cheeks and also on his breast; his hair was golden and slightly curling; his nose was aquiline; his eyes did not match, for his left eye is said to have been grey and the other very black; and they had a kind of hidden power, so that those who looked at him felt veneration and sometimes dread. He was wonderfully swift of foot and his endurance of toil was beyond belief; by this he found safety in times of difficulty for himself and his army. He kept himself in such condition by frequent exercise that his breath and limbs had a pleasant odour, which even pervaded the garments which he wore (Plut. Alex iv. 2). He took pains that the attractiveness of his face should not be marred by the work of inferior artists; Apelles alone had permission to paint his portrait, Pyrgoteles to represent him in marble, Polyclitus and Lysippus in bronze (Hor. Epist ii. 1. 237 fff.). They say that his preceptor Leonidas had the fault of walking too rapidly and that Alexander contracted the habit from him; but I am inclined to attribute this characteristic rather to the nature of the man than to habit; for

in one of rapid thought it was inevitable that the motions of his body should follow those of his mind. This his successors were so far from regarding as a defect that they imitated it, as well as the inclining of his neck towards his left shoulder (Plut. Alex. 4. 1), his steady gaze, and his high-pitched voice, since they could not imitate his mental qualities.

Although he was eager for praise, he did not seek it from any and every source, but rejoiced to be compared with the best (Plut. Alex iv. 5). Therefore to those who said that since he excelled in running he ought to enter his name among the contestants in the Olympic Games, after the example of a king of the same name as himself (Justin vii. 2. 14), he replied: "I would do it, if I had kings as competitors" (Plut. Alex 1 c.). Whenever Philip had been victorious in a famous battle or had reduced any powerful city and others rejoiced, he was heard to complain among his contemporaries that his father would leave nothing for him or for them to do when they had grown up (Plut. Alex v. 2). Being most sparing of sleep, he had a device for aiding wakefulness. Holding in his grasp a silver ball, he stretched his arm over a bronze basin beside his couch, so that when the coming of sleep relaxed the tension of his muscles, the clang of the ball as it fell might awaken him (Amm xvi. 5. 4). He worshipped the gods magnificently from his early youth and used incense so lavishly that Leonidas, who was austere and frugal, exclaimed: "Make offerings like these when you have subdued the region where such things grow." Mindful of these words, when he subdued incense-bearing Arabia he sent many talents' weight of perfumes to Leonidas (Plut. Alex xxv. 4 f) with instructions not to be too stingy thereafter in honouring the gods, since he knew that they repaid so generously gifts cheerfully offered.

The young prince early gave indications of a lofty spirit which would undertake great deeds. When he was less than seven years old, Artabazus and Menapies, satraps of Oechus, king of the Persians, and Memnon of Rhodes, a great general, were defeated in war with Darius and took refuge with Philip (Diod xvi. 52. 3; Curt vi. 5. 2). Alexander asked these men many questions about Persian affairs, nothing that was childish or common, but on what foundations the royal power was based, what arms they made use of, how many days' march Susa was distant from Ecbatana, and other queries of the kind (Plut. Alex v. 1). Afterwards, when Oechus had become reconciled with the exiles and had recalled them, they felt such admiration for Alexander that one of them could not keep from exclaiming: "This boy is a great king; ours is a rich prince" (Plut. De Fort. Alex ii. 28).

While Alexander seemed to owe these qualities to the excellence of his nature, he was no less indebted to his education. For his father, knowing well how advantageous association with Epaminondas had been to himself (Diod xvi. 2 ff). and how much more he accomplished by eloquence than by force, had made the greatest effort to have his son trained in the liberal arts. Accordingly he induced Aristotle, by the offer of great rewards, to instruct the boy in the elements of letters (Quint. Inst i. 1. 23). And that learned man did

not refuse, knowing as he did how important it was for one who was to rule over many men to be properly taught from the beginning. Then, enjoying various teachers according to the excellence of each in a special art, the young prince not only filed his mind with noble sciences, but by exercises of every kind he trained his body to the service of war and the endurance of toil. After he grew older, he continued to have Aristotle constantly with him until he crossed into Asia. In that space of time he thoroughly learned whatever could be communicated by so great a teacher. He applied himself especially to the study of nature, and later he aided the investigation of Natural History in a truly royal spirit and with a princely expenditure of money. To Aristotle, in order that he might be able to write with greater knowledge of the nature of animals, he ordered all Greece and Asia to be obedient (Plin. N.H. viii. 10 (44)), as well as all men who gained a livelihood by hunting, fowling, or fishing, or had attained some skill in those pursuits. It is well known that the philosopher received 800 talents for the expenses of such work. Alexander himself gave to that study money and care of which he would never see the fruits. A hundred years after his time stags were caught with golden collars, which he had put upon them in order that future generations might know how much belief could be given to the reports which were made of the long life of those animals (Plin. N.H. viii. 50 (119)). Also in the loftier sciences which are called acroatic, or acroamatic, we have testimony to his knowledge in a letter of his to Aristotle (Gell xx. 5. 8; Plut. Alex. 7. 3 ff.), in which he complains that Aristotle has profaned their majesty by making his instruction generally known. And Aristotle excused himself by saying that those books had been given to the public in such a way that no one would be able to understand them who had not learned beforehand what was contained in them. Also when Alexander asked for his Rhetoric, he expressly forbade Aristotle to allow it to come into the hands of others; for he desired to surpass all men not less in the noble arts than in power.

Not only during Alexander's rule did Aristotle receive distinguished honour and great gifts, but also while Philip still lived; for when Philip captured Olynthus and rased the cities under its sway, Aristotle was allowed to rebuild his birthplace, Stagira, and was furnished by the king with money for the purpose (Plut. Alex vit. 2). Alexander also venerated his teacher, until finally he became his enemy after the death of Callisthenes (Plut. Alex viii. 2).

Alexander also loved music and gave serious attention to it, until he was asked by his father if he was not ashamed to sing so well, whereupon he began to neglect singing, as an art unbecoming his dignity. Once when his teacher of music asked him to strike a certain string, as the art required, Alexander said: "What difference does it make if I strike this one?", pointing his finger to another siring. And the teacher replied that it made no difference to one who was going to be a king, but that it did make a difference to one who was going to be a player on the lute (Ael. V.H. Hi. 32). After that he took pleasure in manly singing and particularly favoured Timotheüs (Suidas, s v.),

who was famous for that kind of music; for with the mode which they call "Phrygian" he sometimes so aroused Alexander that he at once ran to arms, as if the enemy were near. Alexander studied eloquence under Anaximenes of Lampsacus, and this later brought safety to that city. Alexander had determined to destroy it because it had favoured the Persian power. Seeing Anaximenes coming out beyond the walls, and feeling sure that he had come to appeal for his native city, Alexander called the gods of Greece to witness that he would not do what his teacher should ask. On hearing this the clever philosopher asked him to destroy Lampsacus, and Alexander, bound by the sanctity of his oath, and not less pleased by the cleverness of his former master, pardoned the people of Lampsacus for their faults (Val. Max vii. 3, Ext. 4). He scorned comedians as not treating subjects suited to his purpose and born only to corrupt men's morals (Plut. Alex iv. 6), and, although they were rated high in all Greece, he cared nothing for boxers, probably 10 because being idle and devoted to food they used their strong bodies rather for the amusements of shows than for the needs of their country.

He so venerated Homer that he was called amator Homeri (Strabo xiii. 1. 27, p. 594; Euslath ad Iliad. B). He always carried with him a copy of the poet's works, in the recension of Aristotle, called the Iliad of the Casket (Plut. Alex, xxvi. 1), and placed it under his pillow when he slept (Plut. Alex viii. 2). He regarded Achilles as happy, because he had had such a herald of his valour (Cic. Pro Arch. 10. 24). Once when a messenger arrived, showing signs of great joy in his expression, Alexander said; "What are you going to announce to me which is worthy of such happiness, unless perhaps Homer has come to life?" He especially liked the verse in which Agamemnon is praised as a good commander and a strong soldier (Iliad iii. 179).

He was fond of wine, but not to the extent of drunkenness (Plut. Alex, xxiii. 1; Arr vii. 29. 4). When he had leisure, he remained long at table, but rather for social intercourse than for excessive drinking. He scorned sensual pleasures to such an extent that his mother was anxious lest he might be unable to beget offspring. This manner of life he continued for a long time, and showed himself a great and noteworthy king; gradually, however, carried away by his good, fortune, he changed his habits and lost his former self-control.

In his youth he showed his strength of spirit and remarkable dexterity by taming the horse Bucephalas, to the great admiration of his father and all others who saw it. This horse was so named because it was branded with the figure of a bull, or perhaps because it had a white mark like an ox-head on its own black head (Arr v. 19. 5). It was sold to Philip for sixteen talents (Plut. Alex, vi.), but no one could ride it until Alexander succeeded in so doing. It was afterwards Alexander's warhorse until it was killed (Arr v. 14. 4), or died of exhaustion (Arr v. 19. 4), in the battle with Porus at the Hydaspes.

Alexander began his military service at the age of sixteen by being left in full charge of Macedonia when Philip was besieging Byzantium (Plut. Alex

ix. 1). The Medari, a Thracian people, rebelled, but were overcome by the young prince; he expelled them from their city and gave it to strangers, who called it Alexandropolis. Philip was pleased at his son's success, but recalled him for fear that he might undertake too much; but he made use of Alexander's vigorous services in subduing the towns of the Chersonesus. In a mutiny of the Greek mercenaries in Philip's army Philip was severely wounded and his horse was killed under him. Alexander covered the king with his shield, slew some of his assailants, and put the rest to flight (Curt viii. 1. 24).

Philip was now at the height of his power; he had subdued the Triballi and had under his sway Thrace and the Greek states except Sparta. Aiming at the leadership of all Greece, he realized that the power of the Athenians especially delayed his plans; for although there were some in Athens who favoured his designs, yet the people, who were all-powerful, opposed the growth of the Macedonian influence, especially through the persuasions of Demosthenes. The king was particularly roused against them (Diod xvi. 54. 2) because his hopes at Byzantium had been disappointed mainly through the aid given to that city by the Athenians; for they had not only sent a fleet of 120 ships to help the enemy, but had been the cause of similar conduct on the part of the Chians and the Rhodians. Therefore, while his wound was being cured in the land of the Triballi, he was secretly making every preparation for an unexpected attack on the Athenians, and was retaining his army under pretext that the Illyrian nations, who were naturally savage and unaccustomed to slavery, were trying to throw off the yoke that had been imposed upon them. Alexander was sent against the Illyrians (Curt viii. 1. 25), defeated them, and put them to flight, thus inspiring in others, and himself feeling, such confidence in his fortune and his valour that he seemed capable of undertaking great enterprises without his father's aid.

Philip, having made all his preparations, thought that the time had come to carry out his plans. Accordingly, he led his army into Greece and summoned all the forces of his allies from the Peloponnesus. For by a decree of the Amphictyons he had been made commander of the Greeks, that he might punish the insolence of the Locrians dwelling in Amphissa; they, disregarding the authority of the Amphictyons, had persisted in occupying the land of Cirrha, which was consecrated to Apollo. Philip at that time had a treaty with the Athenians, but they thought that it would have little force if he saw advantage in violating it. They therefore sent envoys to him, asking that he should stand by the treaty, adding that the Athenians would consider how the differences which had arisen between them could be reconciled. They also sent an embassy to Thebes, to urge the Thebans to undertake with them the defence of all Greece against the common danger; but Philip retained the friendship of the Thebans for Macedonia through his partisans and friends, of whom Timolaiüs, Theogiton and Anemoetas had great influence with their people (Demos. De Corona 295). Therefore, thinking that after having

defeated the Locrians and their allies he would easily be superior to the Athenians, he quickly led his army into Phocis (Plut. Demos, xviii. 1; Diod xvi. 2. 84) and seizing Elatea, which commanded the frontiers both of the Thebans and the Boeotians, placed a garrison there and fortified it, as if to make it the seat of the war.

The news of this step, brought at night to Athens, filled the city with such great alarm, that when an assembly of the people was held at daybreak and the herald, according to custom, proclaimed that if anyone had helpful counsel to give his country, he should speak, at first no one arose (Plut. Dem 1 c.). Finally Demosthenes persuaded them at once to make ready their fleet and army, and to send envoys both to the rest of the Greeks and especially to the Thebans. When a decree had been passed to this effect, Chares and Lysicles were made commanders of the forces, and Demosthenes was chosen chief of the embassy to the Thebans. Philip saw clearly how great a war would arise if all these peoples formed a league; for the Athenians were powerful at that time in riches and influence; also the Theban power and reputation was not to be despised, since the memory of the battle of Leuctra (371) was not forgotten, in which they had wrested the leadership of Greece from the Lacedaemonians. Therefore, in order to encourage his allies and to anticipate the plans of the opposite faction, he sent to Thebes two Macedonians, Amyntas and Clearchus, and with them a native of Byzantium named Python (Diod xvi. 85. 3) in whose eloquence he had great confidence. Python made a long and eloquent address, which was answered by Demosthenes (whose speech was based upon his Philippics).

The effect of the address of Demosthenes was so great that you would have supposed that the Thebans had been changed into other men (Plut. Dem xviii. 3); they declared Philip an enemy if he did not as soon as possible withdraw from their territories and those of their allies, drive from the city the men of the Macedonian faction and receive in it the forces of the Athenians. But Philip, rather disturbed than alarmed at the unexpected revolt of the Thebans, did not abandon his design. After two slight battles, in which the Athenians were satisfied with their success, at length both armies encamped near the town of Chaeronea in Boeotia. The Greeks were animated by the glory of their ancestors and their love of liberty; Philip trusted to his excellent troops, which had won so many victories. He also based no little confidence upon himself, because he excelled in the art of generalship (Diod xvi. 85. 6), while the most famous Greek leaders were already dead at that time. The Thebans were commanded by Theagenes, a man of only moderate experience in warfare, and not very strong in resisting the power of money.

The Thebans were not indisposed to consider peace, but the ardour of the Athenians impelled them to stake the fortune of all Greece on the outcome of a single battle. Alexander, too, urged his father not to let such an opportunity of gaining glory slip from his hands, and, having at length prevailed upon him, was first to charge the enemy. The battle (338 B.C.) was fierce, and victory

was long doubtful, until the young prince, to whom his father had given the command of one wing with elite troops, with great courage attacked the sacred band of the Thebans (Diod xvi. 86. 3; Plut. Alex ix. 2), consisting of their best soldiers, dislodged them from their positions, and opened the way to victory. For the Athenians, broken by the disaster to their allies and worn out by heat and wounds, could no longer resist the attack of the Macedonians. There fell of the Athenians more than a thousand, and more than 2000 were captured; of their allies, too, many fell in battle or came alive into the hands of the enemy.

Alexander, sent to Athens after the battle, proclaimed that Philip pardoned the Athenians and gave them peace, returned the prisoners without ransom, and allowed the burial of the dead; for, intent upon the Persian war, the king tried to gain the fidelity and devotion of the Greeks by mercy and moderation (Justin ix. 4). Nevertheless he deprived the Athenians of the rule of the sea and the islands. He was more severe to the Thebans (Diod xvi. 87. 3); when they had surrendered their city and he had placed there a Macedonian garrison, he slew all those whom he most hated and suspected, banished others, restored the exiles of his faction, and gave them magistracies and judicial positions. After this victory all Greece except the Arcadians and the Spartans acknowledged his rule. Having called a general assembly of Greece at Corinth, he explained the reason for making war upon the Persians, and the assembly bade him set out to Asia as Commander of the Greeks and give freedom to the world. Then it was decided how many men, how much grain and money, each people should furnish. I find that 200,000 infantry and 15,000 horsemen were promised, not counting the Macedonians nor the barbarians subject to the Macedonians (Justin ix. 5. 6f)

Meanwhile these successes abroad were offset by domestic troubles. Olympias was more and more alienating the affections of her husband by her ill-humour and arrogance. Some say that Philip divorced her (Plut.] Alex ix. 4, Perrin's note). But I find that without a divorce Philip married Cleopatra (Arr iii. 6. 5 calls her Eurydice); for Alexander was present at the marriage of his future stepmother. At the banquet which accompanied the wedding Attains, uncle of the bride, after heavy drinking, said that the Macedonians ought to pray the gods that from the new marriage Philip might rear a legitimate successor (Plut. Alex ix. 4 ff.). Alexander, enraged by the insult, threw his cup at Attalus' head, and Attains threw his cup at Alexander. In the tumult which followed Philip drew his sword and would have killed his son, but fell from the combined effects of lameness from his wound, anger, and wine. Whereupon Alexander bade the Macedonians look upon the man who proposed to carry war into Asia, but had fallen in crossing from one couch to another (Plut. Alex l c.). Then, fearing for his mother and himself, he took her to Epirus, of which Olympias' brother was king, and himself set out to the king of the Illyrians. Afterwards, when a reconciliation had been made through Demaratus of Corinth and they had both returned to Macedonia

(*Plut. Alex ix. 6*), *Olympias did not cease to urge her son, who was himself ambitious enough, to make as many friends as possible by favours and by money, and to secure himself against the wrath of his father by alliance with powerful men.*

*Among Philip's body-guards was one Pausanias, whom the king had raised to that position to console him for an outrage which he had suffered through Attalus. Pausanias, more mindful of the injury which he had received than of the favour, transferred his hatred from the author of the wrong to the king who had failed to avenge it. That he shared his design with those whom he knew to be hostile to the house of Attalus and to Philip was believed, not without reason, and no one had any doubt on the subject after Olympias placed a golden crown on the murderer's head, when she found him hanging upon the cross. Before it was fully daylight a great crowd had filled the theatre at Aegae, to witness games that were to surpass those of the preceding day. Pausanias had watched the king as he was about to enter the theatre, and when Philip, having sent ahead the friends who had accompanied him and having dismissed his guards, was going in alone (for amid such goodwill on the part of all he wished to show that he had no need of guards) the assassin unexpectedly leaped upon him and plunged a dagger which he had hidden under his cloak into the king's heart (*Diod xvi. 94. 3*).*

*Such was the end of the greatest king of his time. He had made the kingdom of Macedonia powerful; he had subdued the barbarians by which it was surrounded; he had imposed his yoke upon Greece; the leaders whom he had sent in advance had already crossed into Asia. Olympias, on hearing of the king's death, compelled Cleopatra to hang herself (*Justin ix. 7.10*). She burned to death the child born of Cleopatra a few days before the death of its father, and vented her rage upon all her rival's relatives and dependants.*

*Alexander, in whose absence his mother had done these things, appeared in time for quieting such tempests, like a helpful star; for the Greeks whom Philip had subjected were aroused to the hope of liberty, the barbarians in the neighbourhood of Macedonia were rioting, and not even the affairs of Macedonia itself were tranquil. Alexander put Attalus to death through Hecataeus and Parmenion (*Diod xvii. 5. 2*), and got rid of other aspirants to the throne except Alexander Lyncestes, whom he spared for the time because he had been the first to salute him as king, and kept in prison for three years (*Curt vii. 1. 8*). The frequent quarrels which Alexander had had with Philip led to the suspicion that he had by a verse from the tragedy of Medea "inspired Pausanias to murder Philip (*Plut. Alex x. 4*); but Alexander threw the blame upon the Persians in a letter to Darius, in which he accused him of hiring assassins to slay his father (*Arr ii. 14. 5*; *Curt, iv. 1. 12*). To efface this suspicion, Alexander planned, shortly before his death, to build a magnificent temple in honour of Philip (*Diod xviii. 4. 5*), but his successors neglected his order, although they found it in his Memoirs among many other directions.*

In order to carry out his plans, Alexander thought it most important to

retain the leadership of Greece which Philip had held. Hastily leading out his army, he unexpectedly burst into Thessaly. Some of the Thessalians had taken courage and by seizing the narrow pass at Tempi had blocked the approach from Macedonia. For Olympus and Ossa separate those regions, and between their slopes flows the river Peneus, which because of its charm merits the annual sacrifices of the race. A narrow pass extends for about five miles (Plin. N.H. iv. 8 (31,32); Livy xlv. 6. 8), hardly allowing passage for a single loaded mule, and capable of being defended by ten men against any number of the enemy. This pass Alexander penetrated by cutting steps in the side of Mount Ossa, and by his rapidity so terrified all the Thessalians that without opposition they gave him the rule of the entire race along with all their rights and revenues under the same conditions that Philip had enjoyed (Diod xvii. 4. 1 ff.; Justin xi. 3). He gave immunity to Phthia because it was the birthplace of Achilles, the founder of his family, and he said that he chose that hero as his ally and fellow-soldier on his expedition against the Persians.

From Thessaly he went to Thermopylae, the meeting-place of the general assembly of Greece — they call it Pylaic (Livy xxxi. 35. 8, ci. Pylaïcus conventus, xxxi. 32. 3, 5), where he was appointed chief commander of the Greeks. He ordered ratification of the freedom of the Ambraciots (Diod l c.), which they had recovered, by driving out a garrison of Macedonians, saying that he would have restored it of his own accord if they had not anticipated him by a few days. Then he led his army to Thebes, and having broken the obstinacy of the Boeotians and Athenians, who especially had opposed his plans, he ordered the envoys of the Greeks to meet him at Corinth (Diod l c.; Justin xi. 2. 4). There the decree of the Amphictyons was confirmed, by a unanimous vote he was appointed Commander of the Greeks in place of his father Philip, and help was voted for the Persian war. In the Craneion, a suburb of Corinth, where there is a cypress grove, the philosopher Diogenes, of Sinopê, was sunning himself. When Alexander gave him the privilege of asking for anything he wished, Diogenes asked that the king and his followers should move a little and not shut out his sunlight (Plut. Alex. xiv. 3; Arr vii. 2. 1)

Whereupon Alexander is reported to have said: "I should wish to be Diogenes, if I were not Alexander."

From the Peloponnesus Alexander went to Delphi, to consult Apollo about the result of the war which he had in mind, but the prophetic maid said that it was not lawful to approach the god at that time. Thereupon Alexander seized her and tried to drag her to the temple, and when she said: "Thou art invincible, my son," he said that he accepted the omen and asked for no other oracle (Plut. Alex', xiv. 4). After quickly accomplishing these things and returning to his kingdom, he devoted himself with great zeal to avenging the insult to the prestige of the Macedonians. Having prepared everything, in the early spring he set out from Amphipolis against the free nations of Thrace and came to Mount Haemus. A great band of Thracians had taken possession of

the height, in order to block the king's passage. They had surrounded their camp with wagons in the manner of a rampart, intending to launch them upon the Macedonians, if they attacked them (Arr i. 1. 6). Alexander, seeing their plan (Arr i. 1. 8; Polyæn. Strat iv. 2. 11), directed his soldiers, when the wagons rushed upon them, to part the phalanx and let them pass through without doing harm; or if any of them should be caught, to lie flat on the ground under a covering of shields held close together. Hence the enemy's plan failed, and all that tempest passed with only thunder. Then the Macedonians, freed from fear, charged up the hill and scattered the enemy. Some 1500 were killed and great booty was taken.

Then Alexander advanced into the interior of Thrace, where there is a grove consecrated to Father Liber (Macr. Saturn, i. 18). There and at Mount Libethrus, in the country of the Odrysae, omens foretold the greatness of Alexander (cf. Suet. Aug. 94. 5). He next attacked the Triballi, whose king Syrmus had taken refuge in Peucê, an island in the Danube (Arr i. 2. 2). Alexander was unable to reach him for want of ships, but attacked and defeated another army of the Triballi, killing 3000 men with a loss of only 50. He also attacked the Getae (Arr i. 3. 5) and defeated them. Then he erected altars to Jupiter, Hercules, and the Ister. Here envoys came to him from the neighbouring peoples and from King Syrmus, bringing gifts of the things which they regard as most valuable. The Germans, too, who occupy the lands extending from the sources of the Ister to the Adriatic, had sent gifts; for the Ister rises in Germany and they call it by the native name Danube. Alexander, admiring their great size and active bodies, asked them what they feared most of all, thinking that his power was formidable to them and that he would force them to confess it. But they replied that they feared nothing greatly, except that the heavens might fall on them, but that they valued highly the friendship of brave men.

Struck by the unexpected answer, he was silent for a moment, then merely saying: "Arrogant fellows, these Germans!" (Arr i. 4. 8), he made an alliance with them because they asked it. To Syrmus and the rest he gave peace. Then, thinking that he had acquired enough glory in that expedition, he turned all his thoughts to the war in Persia, where he hoped with less toil to gain a far greater reward for his labours. It is well known that his uncle Alexander (Molossus) thus taunted him, when he was tired a little later of making war in Italy; he said that it had been his lot to fight with men, the Macedonians', with women (Gell xvii. 21. 33; some attribute this saying to Pyrrhus). The princes of Thrace, and others who seemed strong enough to revolt, Alexander led away, under guise of honour, as if he were enrolling them as fellow-soldiers against the Persians (Front. Strat ii. 11. 3), and in this manner he removed the chiefs of the factions, which could do nothing without their leaders (Justin xi. 5. 3). As he was returning to Macedonia, fresh disturbances broke out among the Autariates and Taulantii, which were put down after a hard struggle (Arr i. 5-6).

Meanwhile the rumour spread over all Greece that Alexander had been slain in the country of the Triballi (Arr i. 7.2; Justin xi. 2. 8), and the report was confirmed by an alleged eye-witness of his death. Encouraged by this rumour, some Thebans who had been exiled by Philip, led by Phoenix and Prothytes, slew the commanders of the Macedonian garrison which was holding the Cadmea, who had gone outside of the citadel because they had no suspicion of treachery (Arr i. 7) The citizens, hastily embracing the apparent opportunity of freeing their country, laid siege to the garrison (Diod xvii. 8. 3) and surrounded the Cadmea with a double wall and trench, in order that neither supplies nor aid could be furnished. Then, sending envoys in the garb of suppliants to the Greek cities, they begged them not to think of failing those who were seeking the liberty which had been shamefully snatched from them. And Demosthenes induced the Athenians because of their old-time hatred of the Macedonians promptly to vote aid. Yet this was not sent, because, alarmed by the sudden arrival of Alexander, they thought it best to wait for the decision of Fortune. Demosthenes, however, aided the Thebans with his private means and supplied without cost a great amount of arms (Plut. Dem xx. 4f; xxiii. T). With these those from whom Philip had taken their arms were thoroughly equipped and, vigorously attacked the garrison of the Cadmea.

A strong force of Peloponnesians had gathered at the Isthmus, and although Antipater, to whom the king had given charge of Macedonia during his absence, had sent to ask them not, contrary to the general decree of Greece, to join with the professed enemies of Alexander, they nevertheless admitted the envoys of the Thebans. And although the common soldiers were moved by pity, their leader, Astylus, an Arcadian by race, caused delay, not so much because he was alarmed by the difficulty of the undertaking, as through avarice, in order that he might receive a greater bribe from the haste and anxiety of the Thebans. Ten talents were demanded, and when the Thebans did not pay this, that sum was offered by the men of the Macedonian party as the price of remaining quiet. Hence the hope of the Thebans of aid from the Arcadians came to nothing. Nevertheless Demosthenes by bribery prevented other forces from the Peloponnesus from fighting against the Thebans; few he was said to have received 300 talents from the Persians with which to make trouble for Alexander (Plut. Demos, xx. 4 f.; Justin xi. 2. 7).

When these things were announced, Alexander made haste with his army, and on the seventh day after leaving Pelium came to Pelleni, a town of Thessaly, and six days later into Boeotia; presently he came to Onchestus, about six miles from Thebes. Meanwhile the Thebans, managing affairs with greater courage than prudence, were unaware of all this; for while they believed that the Macedonian forces were within Pylae, they considered it so incredible that the king was coming, that they said that another Alexander, son of Aëropus, was commanding the army (Arr i. 7. 6). The king encamped at the shrine of Iolaiis, which is before the gate called Proetis, and had decided to give the Thebans time for repentance; whereupon they made a sally and

attacked the pickets of the Macedonians, killing some and putting the rest to flight. They even penetrated the camp, but were repulsed by a light-armed band sent by order of the king. On the following day the king moved his army to the gate facing Attica, in order to be at hand for his countrymen shut up in the citadel, but he still delayed and offered pardon if the Thebans would repent.

But those who wished peace were overcome by the power of the exiles and of those by whom they had been recalled; having no hope of life if the Macedonians got possession of the city, they preferred that their fatherland should be ruined rather than purchase its safety with their death; and they brought some of the Boeotarchs to side with them. How great their madness was can be seen from this, that when Alexander demanded that they give up the ringleaders of the revolt, and by two lives expiate all the wrongdoing of their city, they had the assurance to demand in turn Philotas and Antipater, the king's principal friends (Plut. Alex. 11), and to proclaim through a herald that if any, in company with the great king and the Thebans, wished to maintain the freedom of the Greeks against the tyrant, they would find a refuge in Thebes.

Nevertheless the city was not attacked by Alexander's order, but as Ptolemy has reported (Arr i. 8. 1) — for some tell a different story — Perdiccas, who was in command at the part of the camp opposite the stockade of the enemy by which the Cadmea was enclosed, attacked them without waiting for the signal, and Amyntas, who was stationed next to him, followed his example. Then Alexander, fearing for his men, appeared with the whole mass of his troops, and having ordered the light-armed soldiers to break through and aid their comrades, halted with the rest before the stockade. A fierce conflict followed; Perdiccas, while attacking the inner wall, was carried off the field, badly wounded (Arr i. 8. 3) and many of the Cretan archers fell, along with their leader Eurybotas. The Thebans pressed after them and followed them in their flight to Alexander. There, when the king with the phalanx drawn up charged the scattered and disordered ranks of the Thebans, the fortune of the battle changed, and such was the confusion of the Thebans that they did not even close the gates of the city, and at the same time those who were holding the Cadmea rushed out into the streets below the citadel. Thus the most famous city of Greece was attacked and taken in the same day. No example of cruelty was omitted; men and women were slaughtered indiscriminately; not even children were spared. This inhumanity was due to the people of Phoeis, Plataea, Orchomenus, and Thespieae, to whom the might of the neighbouring city, in the days of its power, had been destructive; the Macedonians did nothing in violation of the laws of war (Arr i. 8. 8; Diod xvii. 13. 5).

At length, when already 6000 had perished, the order to cease from carnage was given. The entire booty amounted to 440 talents, according to Clearchus; others say that that was the sum made from the sale of the

prisoners. Alexander took the 100 talents which the Thessalians owed the Thebans. A few who had opposed war escaped slavery; so also priests (Plut. Alex xi. 6), and those whose hospitality Alexander or his father had enjoyed. Of the rest, Timoclea (Plut. Alex xii.; Polyæn. Strat viii. 40) gained the reward of liberty for a famous deed, as well as renown among future generations. A general of cavalry, serving with Alexander, having violated her, asked her where she hid her most precious treasures. She showed him a well, and when the man looked into it, she pushed him in and threw rocks upon him. When she was taken before Alexander to be punished, he, on hearing the case, pardoned her and gave her freedom along with all her relatives. He also spared the descendants of Pindar, because that poet had praised his ancestor Alexander in his Odes, and he forbade the destruction of Pindar's house (Arr i. 9. 10; Plut. Alex xi. 6).

The destruction of Thebes was foretold by many portents (Diod xvii. 10. 2 ff.); but having in mind the glory of their ancestors, the Thebans nevertheless opposed Alexander with an inferior force. Having taken the city, Alexander referred to the council of the allies what its fate should be (Justin xi. 3. 8). Through the influence of the Phocians and of many Boeotians who had suffered from the Thebans, the walls and buildings of the city were destroyed, and its territory was divided among the victors. Thus a single day took from the midst of Greece the birthplace, not only of famous men, but also of gods (Justin xi. 4. 4), nearly 800 years after the oracle of the crows (Diod xix. 53. 8) which led to its foundation. The city was razed to the ground to the music of the flute, as Lysander had razed the long walls of Athens sixty years before (Plut. Lys xv. 4). Thebes was rebuilt by Cassander, son of Antipater, twenty years later through hatred of Alexander (Diod xix. 54. T). Alexander himself repented of having destroyed the city (Plut. Alex xiii. 2) and attributed to the anger of Bacchus the murder of Clitus and the mutiny of the Macedonians in India; some even believed that his death was caused by excessive wine and hence was due to the vengeance of Bacchus.

After this, Alexander sent envoys to the Athenians, demanding that they should surrender the orators who had so often roused them to revolt against the Macedonians (Arr i. 10. 4; Plut. Phocion xvii. 2). Phocion urged them to consent, but Demosthenes opposed such action (Plut. Dem xxiii. 4). Demosthenes had offended the Macedonians in many ways, and Athens had committed many sins, especially by her friendship for Thebes. Yet Alexander spared them at the appeal of Demades (Plut. Dem xxiii. 5), insisting only on the banishment of Charidemus (Arr i. 10. (1); he went to the Persians, and was of great use to them until he was killed by order of Darius because of too great freedom of speech (Curt iii. 2.10-19). Other Athenians through hatred of Alexander left the city [Curt iii. 13. 15]. After this and after the taking of Leucadia (Front. Strat iii. 4. 5), none dared to resist him. Ambassadors came from the Peloponnesus to congratulate him on his victories over the barbarians and also on having punished the insolence of some Greeks. The

Aetolians also sent excuses, because when there had been such great disturbances in Greece, their own people had not wholly abstained from new plans. The Megarians made Alexander a citizen, at first to the amusement of himself and his friends (Sen. De Benef i. 13. 1); but when he learned that they had conferred that honour previously only upon Hercules, he accepted it with joy. He pardoned the rest of the Greeks, but since he especially distrusted the Spartans, he restored the children of Psilias to Messenê, from which they had been banished; he gave Pellene, a town of Achaia, to Chaeron, and placed in Sicyon and in several other cities of the Peloponnesus creatures of his, to keep watch on the Spartans. All these things were quickly accomplished. On being once asked how he had been able to subdue Greece, he replied: "By putting off nothing to to-morrow" (Schol ad Hom. Iliad. B).

BOOK II

At that time Darius was king of the Persians, raised to that eminence shortly before the death of Philip by a eunuch named Bagoas, who, after destroying King Ochus and then his son Arses with their whole house, made a gift of the rule which he could not claim for himself, imagining that he would have lasting favour with one whom he had put under obligation by so great a service (Diod xvii. 5- 3 ff.; Arr ii. 14. 5). And Darius was not regarded among his people as unworthy of that fortune; for he was related to the royal family. In fact, Ostanes, the uncle of Ochus, had begotten Arsanes, and Arsanes Codomannus, which was the name of Darius before he became king. But when he had been placed upon the throne of Cyrus, in accordance with a custom of the Persians (Hdt vi. 98; Justin x. 3. 5) he gave up his former name and wished to be called Darius. Also distinguished in war (Diod 1 c.), he had challenged and slain an enemy when Ochus was waging war with the Cadusii, and thus gained a reputation for valour. He was the tenth ruler of Persia after Cyrus, the founder of the kingdom; for Ochus had succeeded his father Artaxerxes (Mnemon), Artaxerxes succeeded Darius, to whom Artaxerxes (Macrochir), son of Xerxes, had left the throne, and Xerxes had received it from his father Darius. As for this Darius, he was the son of Hystaspes, and after the house of Cyrus had come to an end in the person of Cambyses, he wrested the rule from the Magi by a conspiracy formed by seven distinguished Persians (Hdt in. 60; Amm xxiii. 6. 36, note; on the names of the kings see Nepos xxi. 1. 2 ff.).

Under these kings for about 230 years the Persian realm enjoyed remarkable prosperity, as long as the nation during its difficult beginnings remained a stranger to pleasures and fought valiantly for freedom, glory, and power (Arr v. 4. 5). As time went on, after it seemed to have gained the rewards of Virtue, it neglected her, not so safe in its own strength as in the fame of the power won by its ancestors and in the use of riches, with which it fought more successfully against the Greeks than with arms. Finally, when against the might of Alexander it was effecting too little by gold, and, since all external aid was failing it, it had to depend upon itself, broken and effeminated as it was by pleasures and soft living, it could not resist the course of its falling fortune. For necessity arouses courage, luxury and idleness follow wealth.

On hearing of the death of Philip, by whose good fortune and preparations they had been terrified, the Persians were freed from all fear (Diod xvii. 7. 1); they scorned the youth of Alexander, imagining that he would be satisfied if he were allowed to walk about safely within the walls of Pella. But when one message after another told of his wars and his victories, more and more dreading the youth whom they had so far despised, they prepared aid with the greatest care, as if for a long and cruel war. And since by experience in

former battles they had learned that the Asiatic soldiers were unequal to the European, they sent recruiting officers to Greece and hired 50,000 vigorous young men (Curt v. 11. 5). The Rhodian Memnon was given command of these forces, since in many previous wars he had abundantly convinced the Persians of his trustworthiness and valour (Diod xvii. 7. 2). He, being sent to seize Cyzicus, by swift marches came through Phrygia, where it joins the Troad, to Mount Ida, which by its very name shows the nature of its situation: for the ancients called places thickly set with trees *Idas*. It is the highest of the mountains of Hellespontus (Diod xvii. 7. 4 ff.), and in its midst is the cave in which the Trojan judge is said to have looked upon the beauty of the goddesses. It is also said to be the native land of the *Idaeon Dactyli*, or *Corybantes* (Diod 1 c.) who, instructed by the Great Mother (*Cybelé*) first discovered the twofold use of iron, a most cruel tool of rage and not less useful as an aid to poverty and toil. It is also deserving of wonder that at the rising of the dog-star, when the winds are violent at its base, the air at the summit of *Ida* is quiet; also it is remarkable for the strange appearance of the sun at early dawn (Diod 1 c.; *Lucr* v. 662ff.; *Mela* i. 18).

At the foot of *Ida* the territory of *Cyzicus* extends into the *Propontis* (*Strabo* xiii p. 582); the town itself is situated on a small island, and is connected with the mainland by a bridge. But this work was constructed a little later by *Alexander*; at the time of *Memnon's* expedition the crossing was made by ships. When *Memnon* had vainly tried to terrify the *Cysiceni* by a sudden attack and they defended their walls vigorously, he pillaged their territory and amassed great booty from it. Nor were the Macedonian leaders idle; *Parmenion* stormed *Grynion*, a town of *Aeolis*, and enslaved the inhabitants. Then crossing the *Caïcus* river, he attacked *Pilanê*, a rich city and convenient with its two harbours for receiving forces from Europe; but on the speedy arrival of *Memnon* the siege was at once raised. Then *Calas*, who was making war in the Troad with a small force of Macedonians and mercenaries, fought with the Persians; but being no match for the large army of the enemy, he withdrew to *Rhoeteum*.

Meanwhile *Alexander*, having arranged matters in Greece and returned to Macedonia, was deliberating with his friends as to what ought to be guarded against or attended to by one who was going to enter upon so great a war. *Antipater* and *Parmenion*, his oldest and most influential friends, protested that he ought not in his one person to expose the safety of the whole empire to the wiles of Fortune; that he ought rather to provide for having offspring, and having thus secured the safety of his fatherland, should then think of its aggrandizement (Diod xvii. 16. 1, 2). And, in fact, no one of Philip's blood survived who was fit to rule except *Alexander*, since the offspring of *Cleopatra* had been destroyed by *Olympias*; *Arrhidaeus*, it was thought, would dishonour Macedonia by reason of his mother's race (*Plut. Alex.* Ixxvii. 5) and his own disordered mind.

But the king, impatient of inaction, was thinking of nothing but war and of

glory won by victory. Therefore he said; "You, indeed, as becomes good men and lovers of your country, are not without reason anxious about its advantages and disadvantages. For it is a difficult task that faces us; who would deny that? If, after having rashly begun it, the result shows that we were overhasty, repentance when it is too late will avail nothing. For it is before we set sail that we consult whether we wish to sail or to remain in port; when we have trusted ourselves to the winds and waves, our whole voyage is exposed to their will. Therefore I am not displeased that your opinion differs from mine; rather I praise your frankness, and pray you that, in further questions which shall be referred to you, you may follow the same method. Friends of kings, if any deserve that name, have regard in advising them, not so much to their favour as to their advantage and honour. He who advises doing differently than he himself would do, does not instruct the one who consults him, but deceives him.

"Furthermore, to let you also know the reason for my feeling, I am sure that nothing is less favourable to my plans than delay. When all the barbarous country around Macedonia is subdued, and the disturbances of the Greeks are ended, shall we suffer our valiant and most successful army to waste away in inaction and idleness; or shall we rather lead it into the rich region of Asia, possession of which they have long since enjoyed in their hopes, seeking from the spoils of Persia the rewards for the labours which for a long time they endured under my father's rule, and now for the third year under mine? The reign of Darius is still new, and by killing Bagoas (Curt v. 4.10), through whose favour he rules, he incurs among his subjects the suspicion of cruelty and ingratitude, things which fit the best of subjects with haired for their rulers, and make them slower to obey, or even inflexible. Shall we sit quiet until his authority is strengthened, and until, having quieted matters at home at his leisure, he shall even bring war into Macedonia? There are many rewards for speed, which, if we delay, will belong to the enemy. The first impression on men's minds is followed by great importance in matters of this kind, and that impression is gained by one who anticipates his enemy. In fact, no one gains the reputation for greater strength by delay; furthermore, he who declares war is regarded as stronger than he against whom war is declared, "Again, with how great danger to my own repute shall I disappoint the hope of those who have judged that the honour ought to be bestowed on me in my youth which a great commander, my father, after so many proofs of valour, obtained only a little before his death? For certainly the assembly of the Greeks did not vote us the command in order that in Macedonia, slothful and devoted to base pleasure, we might neglect the wrongs formerly and lately inflicted on the Greek name; but that the Persians might pay the penalty for those crimes which with the greatest insolence they have basely and wantonly committed against us (Diod xvii. 5. 3 ff.). What shall I say of those nations of the Greeks which, widely spread through Asia, the intolerable slavery of barbarian nations oppresses? I shall not repeat the prayers with

which, and the arguments with which, Delius the Ephesian pleaded their cause (Plut. adv. Colotem 50), since you yourselves remember them. It is certainly sure that all those nations, as soon as they see our standards, will immediately cross over to us, and will vigorously encounter any danger in behalf of their liberators and their defenders against severe and unjust masters.

“And yet why do we, forgetful of our courage and the weakness of our enemies, look about for aid against nations which even to have conquered a little too slowly would be more shameful than glorious? In the time of our fathers great armies of the enemy vainly resisted a few Lacedaemonians who had marched into Asia (Plut. Agesil viii ff.). They suffered Phrygia, Lydia, Paphlagonia to be pillaged; or whenever they tried to prevent it, they were cut down until their enemies were sated; finally Agesilaüs, recalled by his countrymen because of disturbances which had arisen in Greece, allowed them in their terror and confusion time to recover their breath. A few years earlier barely 10,000 Greeks (Xen. Anab. ii ff.) without leaders or supplies opened a way homeward with the sword from the innermost parts of Asia, although they were followed by the whole army of the king, that army with which he had fought for the throne with his brother Cyrus and defeated him. We, therefore, whom all Greece, subdued in so many battles, obeys, we who have either slain their bravest men in battle or have them in our camp, shall we forsooth fear Asia, on which those whom we have defeated have with small numbers inflicted shameful losses?”

Then, when he had added other remarks in the same purport, he so moved their feelings that all assented; even Parmenion, who had especially advised that the war be postponed, agreed that the greatest haste should be made, and now even urged Alexander on. Therefore, every care being directed towards hastening their departure, at Dium, a city of Macedonia, the king offered to Jupiter a sacrifice instituted by Archelaüs (Arr. i. 11. 1; Diod. xvii. 16. 3 ff.). He also celebrated scenic plays in honour of the Muses for nine days, corresponding to the number of the goddesses. After this, a banquet was given with the greatest magnificence in an adorned tent which contained a hundred couches (Diod. i c.); there Alexander reclined with his friends and generals and with the envoys from the states. He also ordered that the victims be distributed through the army, and that other things be furnished by which the day set aside for rejoicing and festal feasts might be spent with favourable omens for the coming war.

In the early spring, bringing together his forces from every side, he crossed into Asia, leading an army mightier in strength than in numbers. Parmenion led 30,000 infantry; of these the Macedonians amounted to 13,000, there were 5000 mercenaries (Diod. xvii. 17. 3-4), and the remaining force the allies and the federated states had sent. Philotas led 1800 Macedonian horsemen (Curt. vi. 9.21; Diod. i c.), Calas the same number from Thessaly; from the rest of Greece 600 horsemen in all came, of whom the king gave the command to

Erigyius. Cassander was at the front of the army with 900 Thracian and Paeonian scouting cavalry. This army, with supplies provided for not more than thirty days, he did not hesitate to oppose to countless numbers of barbarians, relying on the valour of his men, who, having grown old in victory, were invincible, in strength of spirit and in the use of arms, by any number of enemies.

To Antipater (Arr i. 11. 3; Diod xvii. 17. 5), to whom he had entrusted the affairs of Macedonia and Greece with 12,000 footsoldiers and 1500 horsemen, he gave instruction to hold frequent levies in Europe, by which any losses which the army might suffer in battle or from disease might be made good. This one thing he had reserved for himself when he was lavishing everything on his friends; for whatever could be spared without danger to the majesty of the kingdom he distributed among his friends before embarking on the ships. Perdiccas did not wish to accept the share which was given to him, but asked the king what, pray, he would leave for himself, to which the king replied: "Hope." Whereupon Perdiccas said; We who serve under your auspices will be sharers in that also" (Plut. Alex xv. 2). A few followed his example; the rest did not; nay, on being asked where his own treasures were, Alexander replied with truth: "In the hands of my friends" (Amm xxv. 4. 15). And, in fact, having cast the die with reference to his most important affairs, he seemed wisely to have invested the funds which he had; for if victor, he would obtain far greater wealth, and in the meantime he had more eager helpers.

In truth, the king was all but reduced to his immediate necessities when he was giving away lands and estates and revenues which were not yet realized; for he had merely put aside money for use in war, of which the less the abundance was, the more wisely was it administered. Indeed, when Philip was assassinated, there was found in the treasury less than sixty talents in coined money, besides a few gold and silver cups (Arr vii. 9. 6), while he left about 500 talents of debt. For although he had greatly increased the power of the Macedonian kingdom, and had so improved the gold mines at Crenidae, to which he himself gave the name of "Philippi" (Diod xvi. 8. 6), that an annual revenue of 1000 talents was realized from them, he had by constant wars and not less by largess made heavy drains upon the treasury. He had also spent great sums in restoring and adorning Macedonia, which he had received in a state of extreme poverty. Many have recalled that at the beginning of his reign he was poor, and that having a gold cup worth 500 drachmas, he kept it under his pillow when he went to bed (Athen iv. 155 d; vi. 231 b).

It was the son of this king who attacked in war the king of the Persians, for whom there were kept under his head and under the feet of his bed in special places while he slept 5000 talents of gold for his pillow and 3000 of silver for his foot-stool. And yet Alexander had added to the debts of his father 800 talents, which he had borrowed 36 (Arr vii. 9. 6), of which hardly a tenth part remained. He is said to have divided his goods to the music of the flute of

Timotheis (Himerius, in Photius), to the great enthusiasm of the soldiers, who with firm confidence destined for themselves the wealth of the barbarians whom they were on their way to attack (Justin xi. 5. 8).

Alexander, carried through the lake which, from the name of a neighbouring mountain, they call Circinitis (Arr i. 11. 3), in which he had his ships, into the Strymon, went on to Amphipolis, and from there to the delta of the Strymon. Having crossed this and passed Mount Pangaeum, he entered on the road leading to Abdera and Maronea (Arr 1 c.). For he had decided to make his march along the shore, in order to defend his ships, which were sailing near by, in case the Persians should happen to fall in with them; for at that time the Persians held command of the sea. From there he hastened to the river Hebrus, crossed it without difficulty, and on the twentieth day after leaving home reached Sestus, at the extreme end of the mainland overlooking the Hellespont, where a narrow strait separates Asia from Europe. When he came to Sestus, he ordered the greater part of his forces, led by Parmenion, to go to Abydos on the opposite shore, giving him for the purpose 160 triremes and many transport ships. He himself with the rest went to Elaeus, sacred to Prolesilaiis, whose tomb is there (Ildt ix. 116). Around the tomb are many elms, whose leaves, on the branches facing Ilium, fall off, thus typifying (it is believed) the sad fate of the hero, who was the first victim of the Trojan war. To him Alexander paid funeral offerings, praying that he himself might touch the hostile shore under better auspices. Then with fifty ships of war he went to Sigeum, whose harbour had held the Greek fleet in Trojan times. When he was sailing in the midst of the waters of the Hellespont (for he was the steersman of his own ship) he sacrificed a bull to Neptune and the Nereids, and threw the golden cup from which he had made libation into the sea, as a gift to the marine gods. When he had reached port, the king, having hurled a spear into the shore, was first with balanced body to leap ashore, calling the gods to witness that he wished, with their kindly aid, to claim possession of Asia in a just and pious war (Justin xi. 5. 10). Then he set up altars where he had landed to Jupiter of Safe Landing, Minerva, and Hercules (Arr i. 11. 7). He also ordered altars to be built in the place whence he had set sail from Europe.

From Sigeum he entered the plains where the site of ancient Ilium was shown. There, while he was eagerly surveying the memorials of the work of the heroes, one of the natives promised him the lyre of Paris (Plut. Alex xv. 5), but the king replied: "I care nothing for the vile instrument of cowardly wantonness; but give me the lyre of Achilles, sounding the praises of brave men with the same hand with which he surpassed their deeds." For he was wont especially to admire Achilles, in his descent from whom he gloried; he even ran naked with his friends around the hero's gravestone, and after anointing it with oil placed a garland upon it (Plut. Alex xv. 4; Arr i. 12. 1). Hephaestion crowned the tomb of Patroclus, signifying that he held the same place in the friendship of Alexander that Patroclus did in that of Achilles. In

the course of much talk about Achilles, the king said that the Greek hero seemed to be happy for two reasons; both because in life he had a faithful friend and because after death he had a mighty herald (Arr i. 12. tombs are shown in those lands and offered sacrifice to Priam at the altar of Hercius, god of enclosures (Arr i. 11. 8), either to placate the manes of a man slain by a descendant of Aeacus, or on account of the kinship which he was supposed to have with the people of Ilium because Neoptolemus had married Andromache, the wife of Hector (Justin xvii. 3. 5). Having ascended to Ilium, he hung up his armour in the temple of Minerva and took down another suit which was said to have lasted since the Trojan war, and it is said that he was clad in this when he fought with the satraps of Darius at the river Granicus (Diod xvii. 18. 1). In general, he delighted in elegant arms and kept them in fine condition. Some of them were spoils taken in war, others were gifts of kings and peoples. His arms were for a long time venerated in later ages; one of the Roman generals after subduing Pontus (Pompey; App. De Bell. Mith xii. 117) adorned his triumph with Alexander's cloak, another (Caligula; Suet. Calig. 19. 2) rode over the bridge, which he had made across the sea in imitation of Darius and Xerxes, clad in a breastplate of Alexander.

After this, Alexander, leaving the temple of Minerva, went to Arisbê (Arr i. 12. 6), where the Macedonians who had crossed with Parmenion had encamped. On the following day he hastened past Percotê and Lampsacus to the river Practius, which, rising in the mountains of Ida, flows between the territories of Lampsacus and Abydus; then, gradually bending towards the north, it empties into the Propontis. Next, having passed by Hermotus, he led on to Colonaë, a town of the Lampsaceni. Having received all these in surrender (for he also pardoned the Lampsaceni), he sent Panegorus to receive the city of the Priapeni, which its inhabitants surrendered. Amyntas, son of Arrabaeus, with four squadrons of scouting cavalry and me of the Apolloniates, which Socrates commanded was ordered to go and reconnoitre; for the enemy were near by, preparing for war with the greatest anxiety and care. Among them Memnon far surpassed the rest in military skill; he strongly advised them to withdraw and to spoil far and wide everything which could be useful to the enemy (Arr i. 2. 11; Diod xvii. 18. 2), trample down with the cavalry whatever herbage there was in the plain, and burn villages and cities, leaving nothing but the bare soil.

"The Macedonian," he said, "had come with provisions for barely one month, intending after that to live upon plunder. If that supply should be taken from him, Alexander would soon withdraw; thus safely would be gained for all Asia at slight expense. The remedy was an unpleasant one, but in all affairs, when danger threatens, prudent men look to see how it can be avoided with the least loss; thus physicians, if they see that disease in an infected part of the body is passing to the other parts, gain safety for the entire body by the sacrifice of one member. Nor would the Persians do this without precedent. Darius once devastated those very regions and cities, in order that they might

not receive the Scythians, who were about to cross that way.

“On the contrary, if they should contend in battle, the die was cast for the main contest, for once the Persians were defeated, that whole region would be in Alexander’s power; and if they were victorious, they would gain nothing. And, by Heaven! no slight danger threatened because of the Macedonian phalanx, to which they would vainly oppose their infantry, even though it was superior in numbers. Then, too, the presence of the king was of no little effect for victory; soldiers fighting in the sight of their rulers were aroused by hope, by shame, by glory; all these the Macedonians would have; on their side Darius was absent. No one doubted that it was better to wage war in another’s land than in one’s own; they would attain that advantage if they followed his plan and thought of invading Macedonia.”

“This speech was pleasing to none of the other leaders.

“That plan, they said, “perhaps might seem good to Memnon, a Rhodian, to whom it was advantageous for the war to be prolonged, in order that he might enjoy for a longer time honours and pay from the king” (Arr i.12.10). To the Persians it seemed shameful to betray the peoples entrusted to their protection, nor could it be excused to the king, who had recommended a far different plan for waging war. And in fact, Darius, on hearing that Alexander had moved from Macedon, had sent letters to his generals to remind the mad young son of Philip, with the scourge, of his age and condition; then to dress him in a purple robe and bring him to Darius in fetters as soon as possible; they were to sink his ships with their crews in the sea and deport all his soldiers to the farthest shores of the Red Sea. To such a degree, careless of the future through pride and ignorance of his lot, had he laid aside all sense of human weakness, calling himself kinsman of the gods, rather because he seemed not unequal to them in power than because of the ancient fable (Hdt vii. 150), according to which the Persian kings were said to be descended from Perseus, son of Jupiter. He had ordered a letter full of the same insolence to be written shortly before to the Athenians, and had added (Aeschines, contra Ctes 238): “since they had preferred the friendship of the Macedonian, they must henceforth ask him for no more money; for he would not send it, even if they asked for it.” —

Alexander, when he had reached the land given to Memnon by the king of the Persians, ordered his men to abstain from doing harm and to spare the farmers and the crops (Polyaen. Strat iv. 3. 15), intending by a clever stratagem to throw suspicion on an active commander and the only one of all the leaders of the enemy whom he did not despise (Curt iii. 1. 21), if he should be unable to induce him to desert to him. And when some, wondering at the indulgence of the king (Themist. Orat. 9), said that the bitterest and most skilful enemy of the Macedonians ought to be killed as soon as he got him into his power, and in the meantime ought to be vexed by as many disasters as possible, Alexander replied: “Nay, rather we will win him by favours and make him a friend instead of an enemy, in order that he may aid us by that

same valour and skill.”

They had come to the plains of Adrastea (Strabo xiii. 1. 13, p. 588), through which the Granicus River rolls in headlong course. Then some of the scouts which Alexander had sent ahead with Hegelochus (Arr i. 13. 2) returned and reported that the Persians had halted on the farther bank of the river with their troops drawn up in order of battle. Having delayed for a while in order to take advice about crossing the river, the king ordered the leaders to be called together. To the greater number of them it seemed a rash and vain attempt to try to force the passage of a deep river with so many thousand cavalry and infantry holding its bank, which was by nature steep and difficult (Plut. Alex xvi. 1); there were some who added that the month of Daesius (for it was that month, corresponding to June) was regarded among the Macedonians as unpropitious for undertaking enterprises (Plut. Alex 1 c.). Although not at all anxious about the danger, the king did not reject the superstition, knowing how much power a vain religious scruple had over uneducated minds.

Therefore he made proclamation that the name of the previous month should be repeated and that the present one should be called Artemisius instead of Daesius (Plut. Alex xvi. 2; Scaliger, De Emend. Temp. 1). And in order more effectually to encourage their anxious minds, he ordered Aristander (for it chanced that he was offering sacrifice for a successful crossing) to be secretly admonished to mark with paint the hand in which he was about to receive the entrails, with letters in reverse order; these the liver, when placed upon them with its heat still fresh, would receive and show them in the right order (Frontinus, Strat.. 11.14). The meaning of the letters was: “The gods grant Alexander victory.” That miracle, when made generally known, filled all with such hope for the future that they raised a unanimous shout that, after these sure signs of heaven’s favour, no hesitation should be felt. Thus by craft they were led to have the greatest confidence in success and grasped the victory because they thought it was theirs.

The king, thinking that he ought to take advantage of their enthusiasm, although Parmenion warned him at least to wait for the next day (for the greater part of that day had already passed), at once led his forces across the river, meeting Parmenion’s anxiety with the jest that the Hellespont ought to blush, if, having passed over it, they delayed to cross this paltry brook (Plut. Alex xvi. 2; Arr. 12.6). Thirteen squadrons of cavalry, with the king himself, having with difficulty made their way through the opposing waters, before they had reached firm and sure ground or had reformed their ranks, which had been disordered by the crossing, were hard pressed by the Persian cavalry, which poured about them. For when, disregarding the advice of Memnon, they had resolved to fight (for Arsiles, satrap of Phrygia, had declared that he would not allow even a single hut of those who were under him to be burned, and the others had agreed with him) they had taken their

place at the Granicus River with 100,000 infantry and 20,000 horsemen (Diod xvii. 19. 4; Arr i. 14. 4), intending to use the river as a fortification, and in turn to lock it, as the gate of Asia, against the coming of Alexander.

When his arrival was known, they placed the cavalry, of which the strength of their forces consisted, in such a way that opposite the right wing of the Macedonians, which Alexander himself led [for to Parmenion he had entrusted the left wing), Memnon with his sons and Arsanes the Persian stood; in the same part Arsiles was in charge of the auxiliaries of Paphlagonian horsemen; in reserve was Spithridates, son-in-law of the king; the satrap of Libya and Ionia was accompanied by his brother Rhosaces and the Hyrcanian cavalry. On the right wing were 2000 Medic cavalry, followed by Rheomithres with the same number of Hadrians. The centre was commanded by Pharnaces, brother of the queen, Arbupales, grandson of Artaxerxes through Darius, and Mithrobarzanes, governor of Cappadocia. To these Niphates and Petanes, with Arsaces and Atizyes, had added the cavalry of various nations.

These forces, then, with the advantage in numbers and position, heavily pressed the Macedonians, and a fierce battle followed. The greatest danger of all was to Alexander, who was conspicuous for his arms, his deeds, and the orders which he gave, and hence was the main object of attack. Assailed at once by the bravest of the leaders of the enemy, Rhosaces and Spithridates (Plut. Alex xvi. 4; Arr i. 15. 7-8), he was in extreme peril. For his lance was shattered against the cuirass of Spithridates. As he drew his sword, Rhosaces, riding up from one side, gave him such a blow with his scimitar that he sheared off the crest of his helmet and one of its plumes, while the blade of the sword grazed the king's hair. He was preparing to deal a second stroke where the broken helmet showed the king's bare head, when Clitus anticipated him (Curt viii. 1. 41s); for perceiving the danger to the king, he had rushed upon Rhosaces like a madman, and cut off the barbarians arm with the scimitar which it held. At the same time Spithridates was slain by Alexander's sword.

Yet the Persian cavalry fought no less valiantly, until, panic-stricken by the death of their leaders, many of whom had already fallen, and at the same time because the phalanx had now crossed the river, they wheeled about their horses and fled. And the infantry did not long resist; believing that their cavalry was more than strong enough to crush the enemy, they had been thinking more of booty than of battle. The mercenaries, however, commanded by Omares, taking their place on an eminence, were protecting themselves valiantly, since they were troops who would receive no conditions of surrender. Therefore more of the Macedonians were lost in that contest than in the cavalry battle; the king himself also, while he was attacking the enemy among the foremost, was so near extreme danger that by the stroke of a sword driven through its side his horse was killed under him (Plut. Alex xvi.?). Greatly enraged by all this, he surrounded the enemy with both the cavalry and the phalanx, and cut them to pieces except about 2000, who surrendered.

In all, about 20,000 of their infantry and 2000 cavalry were slain (Plut 1 c.; cf. Diod xxii. 21. 6). Of the leaders, Memnon fled, along with Arsaces, Rheomithres, and Alizyes; the rest fell with honourable wounds. Arsites, when he had returned to Phrygia, since not undeservedly he was regarded as the cause of the defeat, took his own life (Arr i. 16. 3). Alexander in that battle lost few indeed, but they were his bravest men; about thirty infantry and seventy-five horsemen had fallen (Plut. Alex xvii. 7; Justin xi. 6. 8; Arr i. 16. 4ff).

To show to all what the reward for valour would be in either fortune, he enriched the survivors with the wealth of the Persians, and buried the bodies of the dead magnificently with their arms and the rest of their adornment; to the parents and children of the slain he granted freedom from all taxes and personal services (Arr i. 16. 5). He gave attentive care to the wounded; for in person he went to all the tents and examined each man, showing his solicitude even for the common soldiers, and he consoled the hard lot of each one by generosity and praises, or by promises. This humanity made them most faithful to him in all future dangers; nor did anyone refuse to give his life for a king who suffered neither their life to be in want nor their death unhonoured.

Special honour was shown to twenty five horsemen of the Companion Cavalry, who, fighting in an unfavourable position at the beginning of the battle, had been overthrown by the superior numbers of the enemy; for the king commissioned Lysippus, by whom alone, because of his skill, he himself had consented to be sculptured in bronze, to make bronze statues of them (Arr i. 16. 4), which were set up at Dium, a town of Macedonia, and after long ages were taken by Quintus Metellus to Rome (Vell. Paterc i. 11. 3, 4).

The chief glory of this victory belonged rightfully to the king; he had drawn up his line of battle admirably, and had led the ranks through the river on a slant, in order that when they came out of the water they might not immediately be attacked by the Persians (Arr i. 14. 7). Then he aroused them, when disordered and in fear, by exhorting them at least once more to attack the foe vigorously (Polyaen. Strat iv. 38). His personal prowess was not less noteworthy; he slew many with his lance, others with his sword, and the enemy who stood opposite to him were the first to take flight. Also his plan of action, though seemingly rash, yet was not less reasonable; he wished to arm his men, who were about to engage with a new enemy, far superior in numbers, even with desperation, that seeing flight cut off by the interposition of the river, they might place all hope of safety in victory.

Alexander buried the noblest of the Persians and all the Greek mercenaries who fell in their service. But those mercenaries that came alive into his power he ordered to be distributed through the slave-prisons in Macedonia, because, contrary to the general decree of the Greeks, they had fought against their country for the domination of barbarians (Arr i. 16. 6). Nevertheless, he made an exception of the Thebans, who, after their city had been destroyed and

their lands taken from them, had sinned rather from necessity than from choice; for already hatred, satisfied by so many calamities which they had suffered, had given place to mercy (Plut. Apophtheg. 40). After the battle he chose 300 shields from the spoils, to dedicate to Pallas Athene with the proud inscription:

‘ Alexander, son of Philip, and the Greeks except the Lacedaemonians, dedicated these from the Barbarians dwelling in Asia’ (Arr i. 16. 7). He had done this in order that, by sharing the glory of the victory with the Greeks, he might find them more helpful in the rest of the war; at the same time he condemned the haughtiness of the Lacedaemonians, who, by adopting an adverse plan and separating themselves from the rest of the Greeks, had no share in this great honour. And not forgetting his mother, whom he always honoured with special affection, he sent her all the cups, purple raiment, and other precious spoils of that kind with a few exceptions.

After the battle Alexander went again to Ilium. He gave thanks to the goddess who, when he was about to approach the decision of a most dangerous war, had aided him with arms and omens (Diod xvii. 17. 6). He honoured her with splendid gifts, and gave Ilium (which then was only a small village) the title of city (Strabo xiii p. 629).

Calas, leader of the Thessalians, was made satrap of Phrygia in place of Arsites. Many mountain peoples submitted, and on them he imposed the tribute which they were wont to pay to Darius, as he consistently did when he subdued the other peoples of Asia. When someone advised him that far greater tributes and revenues could be gained from so great an empire, he said that he hated a gardener who cut to the root the vegetables of which he ought to cull the leaves.

Having heard that Dascyleum was held by a Persian garrison, he sent Parmenion to the place, and the citizens at once received him; the Persians had left on hearing of the coming of the Macedonians. Alexander himself went on to Sardis, the capital of all the Persian provinces on the sea. When he was about seventy stadia from the city, Mithrenes came to him and surrendered the city, with the citadel and the money which was kept in it (Arr i. 18. 3; Curt iii. 12. 6). Congratulating himself on the easy victory, Alexander decided to build a temple there to Jupiter Olympius (Arr i. 18. 5). When he was considering where to build it, a tempest overthrew a part of the citadel where the ancient palace of the Lydian kings stood, and he decided to build it there. He allowed the Lydians to use their own laws. Mithrenes he kept with him and treated him with honour, in order to induce others to follow his example, and later he gave him Armenia to govern (Curt v. 1. 44). From documents in the citadel he learned that Demosthenes had received a great amount of gold with which to arouse war against the Macedonians. Alexander did nothing about this, but determined to keep an eye on Athens and Demosthenes. He also paid attention to Phocion, and later he deemed only him and Antipater worthy of salutation in his letters (Plut. Phoc xvii. 6).

All this happened later. At the time, he hastened to Ephesus and entered the city on the fourth day after leaving Sardis; he restored the exiles and turned the government over to the people. They demanded the punishment of those who had called in Memnon, those who had pillaged the temple of Artemis and overthrown the statue of Philip in it, and those who had dug up the tomb of Heropythus in the forum, dedicated to the liberator of their city (Air i. 17. IT). At Ephesus he went frequently to the studio of Apelles by whom alone he wished to be painted (Plin. N.H. xxxv. 10 (85)). That he was ridiculed by Apelles for ignorant criticism of his paintings (Ael. V.H. ii. 3) I do not believe; for the tale is not consistent with the majesty of the king and the modesty of the painter, who was neither stupid nor ignorant; Alexander, too, had been trained in all liberal arts, and had learned to show good judgement even in those in which he had no skill. It is more probable that the story applies to a priest of the temple of Artemis at Ephesus and Zeuxis (Ael. V.H. ii. 2).

Since the temple, which had been burned by Herostratus, was being restored, Alexander ordered the tribute which had formerly been paid to Darius to be paid to Artemis, and renewed the temple's right of asylum, which he knew had in ancient times saved Father Liber and Hercules (Tac. Ann iii. 61). Afterwards, when he had subdued Asia, he wrote to the Ephesians that he would make good all the money which had been spent on the temple; also that any amount that they required besides he would furnish from his own means, on condition that his name should be inscribed on the restored work (Strabo xiv. 1. 22, p. 641). The Ephesians were unwilling to do this, but because it was difficult to refuse anything that Alexander asked, they resorted to flattery and said that it was beneath his dignity to consecrate anything to the gods, since he himself was a god; that such honour was paid by men to a more powerful and sublime nature. The amount which was spent upon the temple may be estimated from one painting, which cost twenty talents. It represented Alexander holding a thunderbolt, and Apelles had pictured the king with inimitable skill, using only four colours, in order to make the work a greater wonder to experts (Pliny, N.H. xxxv. 10. 36 (92)).

At about the same time the Smyrneans recovered their ancient splendour. After old Smyrna was destroyed by the arms of the Lydians, the people had lived for 400 years in villages. The king restored the city about twenty stadia from the sea, as the result of a dream. Antigonus had the glory of finishing it, when Alexander a little later made him governor of Lydia, Phrygia, and the neighbouring regions. The Clasomenians dwell in the Gulf of Smyrna, where the land is narrowest and forms a peninsida by attaching to the mainland the lands which advance into the sea for about sixty stadia. Alexander, examining the nature of the place, decided to cut a canal and join the upper and the lower harbours (Plin. N.H. v. 29. 31 (116)). They say that this was the one thing that did not turn out according to the king's desires, and hence gave currency to the proverb, "it is not lawful for men to change the form which

Nature has given to places," especially after others had tried to make similar changes without success.

Alexander himself hastened to Miletus with the infantry which he had with him and with a squadron of cavalry, including the Companions. Hegesistratus, commander of the Milesian garrison, had held out hope of surrender (Arr i. 18. A), but after he knew that the Persian fleet was near, he tried to save the town for Darius. Alexander first took the outer city, for the citizens and the soldiers had withdrawn to the inner city to wait for the arrival of aid. But the coming of the Macedonian fleet, which under Nicanor had anchored at the island of Lade above Miletus (Arr 1 c.), made their hope vain, and Alexander gained possession of the city. He spared the Greek mercenaries and took them into his service; he made slaves of the barbarians, but restored freedom to the surviving Milesians, because of the ancient glory of the city. Many of the Milesians had won prizes in sacred contests; when Alexander saw the great number of statues of the victors, he said: "Where were the strong arms of these men when you received the Persian yoke?"

Since the large fleet of the barbarians was sailing the seas and challenging the Macedonians to a sea-fight, and were often seen off the very harbour of the city in which the king had launched his ships, he sent Philotas with the cavalry and three cohorts of infantry to Mount Mycalê, where the Persians had their naval station, to prevent them from going inland and getting water, wood, and other necessities. This reduced the barbarians to the greatest straits, and after holding a council they went off to Samos (Arr i. 19. 8). Having got supplies from there, they returned to Miletus and lay before the mouth of the harbour in order of battle. After a vain attack on the Macedonian feet, in which they lost one ship, they left Miletus.

Alexander, since he knew that his feet was not a match for that of the enemy, and was useless for other purposes, but yet required many heavy expenses, decided to disband it (Arr i. 20. 1), retaining only a few ships for carrying the artillery and other materials for besieging cities. Parmenion tried to dissuade him, and urged him to contend with the Persians in a sea-fight (Arr i. 18. 6 ff.). Alexander, however, insisted that Parmenion was mistaken in thinking it advisable to expose his ships, which were fewer in number and with inexperienced crews, to well-trained men, skilful in naval affairs. A defeat would have serious consequences; for all Asia would be encouraged if a disaster should be suffered early in the war, and even the Greeks could not be counted upon to remain faithful under such circumstances. It was more important to get control of the sea-coast cities (Plut. Alex, xviii. 6 ff.), which would make the enemy's feet helpless.

Accordingly, having disbanded his feet, he left Pontus and the adjacent regions to his generals to subjugate. He himself moved into Caria; for he knew that a great force of the enemy had gathered in that place. Halicarnassus, strongly fortified by nature and protected by a double citadel (Strabo xiv p. 657), offered hope that the Macedonians, rushing on like a

torrent, might be checked by that city, as if by a dyke. The Persians entertained special hope from Memnon, who was preparing everything with the greatest care to stand a siege; for lately he had been appointed by Darius commander of the sea-coast and the whole fleet. But Alexander, on entering Caria, in a short time got possession of all the cities between Miletus and Halicarnassus; for most of them were inhabited by Greeks, to whom he was accustomed to restore immunity and their own laws, declaring that he had come into Asia to free them (Diod xvii. 24. 1). And he gained no less favour from the barbarians after he had courteously received Ada, a lady of royal blood who had implored his protection and begged him to restore her to her throne. When he had finally taken Halicarnassus, he ordered all Caria to obey her (Arr i. 23. 8). Meanwhile, the report of his kind reception of the queen won over to him numerous cities in that region, since many of them were ruled by her kinsmen or friends.

Already almost all Caria had submitted to Alexander; but the principal city of the kingdom, Halicarnassus, was held by a strong garrison. Conjecturing that the siege would be a long one, the king ordered provisions and engines for a siege to be brought there in ships. He himself with his infantry fortified a camp five stadia from the city (Arr i. 20. 2). When he was approaching the walls near the gate which faces My lassa, the inhabitants made a sudden sally; but the Macedonians resisted bravely and the enemy were repulsed without great difficulty with the loss of some of their men (Arr 1 c.). A few days later, when Alexander hoped to get possession of a town of the Myndenses by betrayal (Arr 1 c.), he set out on a stormy night with a part of his forces; but he had to attack the town without proper siege materials and the attempt to take it failed. The siege of Halicarnassus continued for a long time with various attacks and sallies, in one of which the veteran Atarrhias aroused the younger troops who were giving way and brought victory to the Macedonians (Curt, v. 2. 5; viii. 1. 36). After this contest, which exhausted the strength of the besieged, they set fire to the town; the strongest of the townsmen and soldiers took possession of a citadel situated on an island and the others retired to another citadel called Salmacis (Arr. 23. 3). Alexander destroyed the city itself and ordered Ptolemy to surround the citadel with a wall and a trench and keep watch of them, leaving him to protect Caria with 3000 foreign soldiers and 200 horsemen. Ptolemy not long afterwards joined his forces with Asander, governor of Lydia, and defeated Orontohates in battle. Finally the Macedonians, angry and wearied by the long delay, applied themselves vigorously to the attack, and took the two citadels (Curt iii. 7. 4; Arr ii. 5. 7).

But the king, having in mind Phrygia and the adjacent provinces, sent Parmenion with the Companion Cavalry, the auxiliary horsemen, and the Thessalians which Alexander Lyncestes commanded, to Sardis; from there he was to force his way into Phrygia and get ready provisions and fodder from the enemy for the king's coming. He sent home some of the Macedonian

soldiers, whom he knew to have taken wives a little before that expedition, to pass the winter with their wives, and with them he sent two generals, Coenus and Meleager, who had recently taken wives. This gratified the soldiers and made them readier for long service. The generals were ordered, while they were in Macedonia, to hold many levies, and bring back at the beginning of spring the greatest possible number of infantry and cavalry, as well as those who were then leaving for home. Perceiving that the army was being infected with Asiatic habits, and that a great number of shameless men were kept in the camp, he ordered all these to be carefully hunted up and banished to a small island in the Gulf of Ceramicus; and the ill fame clung to the place, which is called Cinaedopolis (Plin. N.H. v. 31 (11)).

Alexander, determined on his plan of getting all the sea-coast into his power and making the enemy's fleet useless (Arr i, 24. 3), having received the Hypani, who had surrendered the citadel which they were holding as mercenaries, hastened into Lycia. There, having made friendship with the Telmessi and crossed the river Xanthus, he received in surrender a city of the same name as the river, as well as Pinara and Patara, famous cities of that region, and about thirty others, and having arranged matters sufficiently for the present, he advanced into Milyas. Milyas is a part of Greater Phrygia, but it had pleased the Persian kings to assign it to Lydia. While he was receiving it, envoys of the Phaselitae came, begging for friendship, and offered a golden crown as a gift of hospitality; and envoys from many cities of lower Lycia sought the same. Accordingly, the king sent men ahead, to whom the Phaselitae and the Lycians were to surrender their towns, and went a few days later to Phaselis. The people of that city were just at that time attacking a strong garrison which the Pisidae had constructed in their territory and which had inflicted many injuries upon the neighbours; this was quickly captured on the arrival of Alexander.

In the city of the Phaselitae the king gave several days to quiet, in order to refresh himself and his army. The time of year also invited this, for the winter had already made the roads difficult for advancing. But his peace was broken by a sad message from Parmenion. He had seized a Persian, Sisines by name, sent by Darius, ostensibly to visit Atizyes, satrap of Phrygia (Arr i. 25. 3), but with secret instructions to contrive secretly to meet Alexander Lyncestes, and to promise him, if he carried out his design, the rule of Macedonia and 1000 talents of gold. For Lyncestes had formed a wicked plot with the deserter Amyntas, and had taken upon himself the part of killing the king; for he hated him for other reasons, and also because he had put to death Heromenes and Arrabaeus, brothers of Lyncestes, as implicated in the assassination of Philip.

When the matter had been taken into consultation, his friends blamed the king for his mild treatment of Lyncestes, against whom he had been warned by his mother (Diod xvii. 34. 2) as well as by a portent (Ael. Hist. Anim x. 34). Alexander thereupon, not wishing to trust to a letter, sent Amphoterus, the brother of Craterus, secretly to Parmenion, with instructions what to do.

Lyncestes was arrested, but was not put to death until three years later in connexion with the conspiracy of Philotas (Curt vii. 1. 8 f.). Leaving Phaselis, Alexander sent a part of his forces through the mountains to Perga; he himself led the rest along the shore of the Pamphylian Sea, which is impassable with a south wind, but on the king's arrival a strong north wind arose and opened a passage for the Macedonians (Arr i. 26.1 f). Even so, it was necessary to make one day's march over unfamiliar shoals with the water up to their waists (Curt v. 3. 22; vi. 3. 16; cf. Plut. Alex xvii. 3f).

Alexander's great courage in times of danger was undoubtedly inborn; but I am inclined to believe that it was increased when he had learned from many prodigies and omens that he was destined by the will of a divine power for great and glorious deeds. While he was still in Macedonia, he saw in a dream a man more august and venerable than an ordinary human being, who advised Alexander to follow him to Asia, in order to overthrow the Persian empire as soon as possible (Josephus, Antiq xi. 5). When he was making war in Phoenicia, he was reminded of the dream, when a priest of the Jews came before him in whom he recognized the apparition which he had seen in his sleep. For when he was besieging Tyre, he had summoned the kings and peoples of the neighbourhood to surrender and to hold levies. But the Jews, who held the famous city of Jerusalem, rejected his friendship, giving as an excuse their treaty with Darius. To punish the obstinacy of the race, he moved his troops into Judaea, but the people of Jerusalem, in order to appease the king's anger, poured out to meet him with their wives and children. The priests marched first, clad in linen robes, the people followed, also clad in white. The procession was led by Jaddus, who was then high priest, in his official attire.

The king, admiring the grace and beauty of the procession, leaped from his horse and advanced alone to meet them, and venerating the name of God, which the pontifical mitre displayed, inscribed on a golden plate, he reverently saluted the high priest also. This unexpected act amazed all who had come with the king; the Jews, released from the fear of imminent death, surrounded him with mingled praises, thanks, and prayers. When Parmenion ventured to ask the king why he paid such honour to foreign ceremonials, Alexander told him of his dream. Then he entered the beautiful temple, sacrificed to God according to the native custom, and gave gifts to the temple. The king also inspected the sacred books of the race, in which were contained prophecies written long before, among them that Tyre would yield to the Macedonians (Isaiah xi. 5) and that the Persians would be conquered by a Greek (Daniel viii. 12). Alexander, referring this to himself granted the Jews permission to use their own laws and rites at home and abroad, and because every seventh year they did not work the earth, he relieved them of that proportion of their tribute. He made Andromachus governor of those regions; him the Samaritans, perpetual enemies of the Jews, a little later put to a cruel death (Curt. iv. 8. 9).

These things happened after the storming of Tyre and Gaza; we have anticipated them since the occasion suggested it.

After subduing various peoples, the king went on to Phrygia along the lake of Ascania (Arr i. 29. 1) and in five days reached Celaenae. While this was going on, Memnon got together from all sides the remains of his forces and, in order to divert Alexander's attention from Asia, turned his thoughts to making war on Greece and Macedonia; for Darius, feeling the most confidence in him after he had at Halicarnassus by his valour and skill delayed the victor's onset, had given him supreme command and a great sum of money. Memnon had assembled as great a force of mercenaries as he could and with a fleet of 300 ships was sailing the seas. He seized the places which were less carefully guarded, including Lampsacus, and attacked the islands, which for lack of ships the Macedonians could not protect. He was aided also by dissensions; for although the greater number favoured Alexander as the author of their freedom, many who had gained wealth under the Persians preferred their own power under their former masters to a republic in which all men were equal. For that reason Athenagoras and Apollonides received Memnon in Chios and in consequence the city was taken and a garrison placed there.

From there going to Lesbos Memnon easily took Antissa, Pyrrha, and Eressus (Diod xvii. 29. 2; Arr ii. 1). He made Aristonicus tyrant of Methymné (Curt iv. 5. 19) and reduced the whole island except Mitylenê. While he was besieging Mitylenê, he fell ill and died, and thus disappointed the great hopes of the Persians with irreparable loss to them (Diod l c.). When he was near death he turned over his command to Pharnabazus, his sister's son, whose father was Arlabazus, to hold until Darius, on hearing of Memnon's death, should decide otherwise. Pharnabazus, having shared the duties with Autophradates, commander of the fleet, at length drove the besieged so far that, having stipulated that the garrison should go out safely, they overthrew the pillars on which the treaty with Alexander had been recorded, and on promising loyalty to Darius received half of their citizens who had been banished (Arr ii. 1. 4). The Persians, however, did not abide by the agreement, but having led soldiers into the city, made Lycomedes of Rhodes its commander; Diogenes, who had been exiled because of his devotion to the Persians, was made tyrant over his native city. Then money was taken by force from the richest citizens, but, in spite of that, a tribute was imposed, to be paid by the people of Mitylenê in general (Arr l c.).

CONTENTS OF BOOK III

While Darius was mustering his forces at the Euphrates, Alexander had conquered the greater part of the western and south-western coasts of Asia Minor. After settling the affairs of Lycia and Pamphylia, he took Celaenae in Phrygia and at Gordium loosed the fateful Gordian knot; he then marched to meet Darius (i).

Darius, having encamped near Babylon, numbered his force after the example of Xerxes. He put to death Charidemus, an Athenian, because he had expressed too free an opinion of the Persian army (ii).

Darius put Thymondas in command of the Greek troops and gave Pharnabazus the power formerly held by Memnon. The king has a dream, which is variously interpreted. The Persian army is described and compared with that of the Macedonians (iii).

Alexander reached the entrance to Cilicia, called "the Gates." Arsames, governor of that province, instead of holding the narrow pass, was laying waste the whole country with fire and sword. Alexander enters Cilicia, marvelling at his good fortune, and arrives at Tarsus in time to save it from destruction by fire (iv).

When Alexander, while overheated, bathed in the cold waters of the river Cydnus, he was taken seriously ill. The anxiety of the army was great, since the king was unwilling to wait for the effect of slow remedies, seeking rather an opportunity to make war than an escape from death (v).

Philip, a faithful friend and skilful physician, promised to lessen the violence of the ailment by a medicated draught. Although Alexander received a letter from Parmenion in which he warned the king not to trust his safety to Philip, he drank the potion unterrified and was cured (vi).

Darius, on learning of Alexander's illness, hastened to take possession of Cilicia. Alexander came to Soli, where he paid by games to Aesculapius and Minerva the vows which he had made for his safety. He then went on to Issus and decided to fight a decisive battle there (vii).

Patron, commander of Darius' Greek troops, urges him to return to Mesopotamia and encounter the Macedonians there. The courtiers question Patron's motive and advise Darius to kill the Greeks as traitors. The king refuses, and boasts greatly of his strength. He sends his money and valuables to Damascus, but met the Macedonians at Issus (viii).

A description of the arrangement of each army; of that of Darius the Greeks formed the main strength; of Alexander's the phalanx and the cavalry. The Persian forces covered whatever room there was in the narrow space, but their army, made up of many nations, was confused and ineffective (ix).

Alexander, after warning his men not to enter battle at full speed, encouraged them by exhortations adapted to the spirit of each group, reminding the Macedonians of their native valour and the spoils of the Orient,

the Greeks of the outrages of Xerxes, the Illyrians and Thracians of the vast and easily won booty (x).

A description of the battle and the rout of the Persians. The contest centres round the chariot of Darius, until his horses are maddened with terror and the king, fearing to be taken alive by the enemy, leaps down, is put upon a horse, and flees (xi).

Alexander, returning to camp after pursuing the enemy, sends Leonnatus to console the mother and the wife of Darius. On the following day, after burying his dead, he visits them in person and gives a noble example of compassion and continence (xii).

At Damascus the treacherous governor delivers to Parmenion the treasures of Darius and many high-born captives, whom the governor had cruelly treated. He is killed by one of his accomplices and his head taken to Darius.

BOOK III

I. MEANWHILE Alexander, after sending Cleander with money to hire soldiers from the Peloponnesus and setting in order the affairs of Lycia and Pamphylia, moved his army to the city of Celaenae.

[2] Through the middle of the city at that time flowed the Marsyas, a river famed in the storied songs of the [3] Greeks. Its source, gushing forth from the summit of a mountain, falls with a great noise of its waters upon a rock below; from there, divided into several branches, it irrigates the adjacent plains, clear and carrying only its own waters. Therefore its colour, like that of a calm sea, has given opportunity for a fancy of the poets; for it is said that nymphs, kept there by love of the river, dwell upon that — rock. Now, so long as it flows within the city the river retains its own name, but when it rolls forth beyond the ramparts and drives on its waters with greater force and mass, they call it the Lycus, “Wolf.”

The city, indeed, when Alexander entered it, had been abandoned by its inhabitants, but having determined to attack the citadel, in which they had taken refuge,” he first sent a herald, to threaten that if they did not surrender it, they would suffer the utmost penalties. They led the herald to a tower raised high both by its natural situation and by the hand of man, telling them to observe how lofty it was and to report to Alexander that he and the inhabitants did not set the same value on their fortifications: that they knew themselves to be impregnable and were ready to the last to die loyally. But when they saw that the citadel was beset on every side, and that all their supplies were becoming scantier day by day, they bargained for a truce of sixty days, agreeing that if Darius did not send them help within that time, they would surrender the city; and when no aid came to them from that quarter, on the stipulated day they gave themselves up to the king.

Then came envoys of the Athenians, asking that their citizens who had been taken prisoner at the river Granicus should be returned to them. Alexander replied that he would give orders that not only these but also the rest of the Greeks should be restored to their homes, as soon as the Persian war was ended.

Then, intent upon Darius, who, as he had learned, had not yet crossed the Euphrates, he assembled all his troops from every side, intending to meet the crisis of so great a war with all his strength.

Phrygia was the country through which the army was being led; abounding in villages rather than in cities, it was at that time the seat of the once famous palace of Midas. Gordium is the city’s name; the river Sangarius flows beside it, and it is equally distant from the Pontic and the Cilician sea. We have been informed that between these two seas is the narrowest part of Asia, since they compress the lands into a narrow passageway. And because Asia is joined to the mainland, but is in great part surrounded by waters, it presents the

appearance of an island, and were it not for this slight intervening space, what now separates the seas would unite them.

Alexander, after reducing the city into his power, entered the temple of Jupiter. There he saw the wagon in which it was known that Gordius, the father of Midas rode, and it was in no way more elegant than ordinary ones in everyday use. The noteworthy feature was the yoke, which was made fast by a great number of thongs, closely tangled with one another and concealing their interlacings. Thereupon, since the natives declared that the oracle had predicted that whoever should loose the intricate fastening would rule over Asia, the desire entered Alexander's mind of fulfilling that prophecy. Around the king stood a throng of Phrygians and Macedonians, the former on tiptoe of expectation, the latter in anxiety because of the king's rash self-confidence; and in fact the series of thongs was so closely bound together that where a hidden interlacing began or where it ended could be made out neither by the eye nor by calculation; and the king's attempt to undo the tangle made the throng anxious lest a failure should be regarded as an omen. After having struggled for a long time without effect against the hidden knots: "It makes no difference," said he, "how they are loosed," and cutting through all the thongs with his sword, he either tricked the oracle or fulfilled it.

Then, since he had resolved to overtake Darius wherever he might be, in order to leave everything behind him safe he gave Amphoterus command of the fleet at the shore of the Hellespont and Hegelochus of the land-forces, in order that these officers might free Lesbos, Chios and Cos from the enemies' garrisons. To them 500 talents were given for the expenses of the war, and to Antipater and those who were defending the Greek cities 600 talents were sent, and the allies were ordered, as was provided by their treaty, to furnish ships to guard the Hellespont. For he had not yet learned of the death of Memnon, against whom he had directed all his attention, knowing well enough that all would be easy if that general made no move.

And now he had arrived at the city of Ancyra, from which, after having numbered his forces, he entered Paphlagonia; next to this were the Heneti, from whom some believe that the Veneti derive their origin. All this region yielded to Alexander, and gave hostages and obtained freedom from the obligation of paying tribute, which they had not rendered even to the Persians. Calas was made governor of that region, and Alexander himself, taking the troops that had lately arrived from Macedonia, made for Cappadocia.

II. But Darius, when the death of Memnon was announced, being not less anxious than was natural, set aside all other hope, and decided to fight a decisive battle in person; for he condemned everything that had been done through his generals, believing that many of them had been lacking in care, and all in good fortune. Accordingly, having encamped before Babylon, he made a display of all his forces, in order that they might enter upon the war with the greater confidence, and having built a circular enclosure, capable of containing a throng of 10,000 armed men, he began to number them as Xerxes

had done. From sunrise to nightfall the troops entered the enclosure, as they had been told off. Then, when sent out, they filled the plains of Mesopotamia, an all but innumerable mass of cavalry and foot, which gave the appearance of being greater than it actually was. Of Persians there were 100,000, among them 30,000 horsemen.

The Medes had 10,000 horse and 50,000 foot. Of the Barcani there were 2000 horse, armed with double-edged axes and light shields closely resembling Spanish bucklers; they were followed by 10,000 infantry, armed in the same manner as the horsemen.

The Armenians had sent 40,000 foot-soldiers, besides 7000 cavalry. The Hyrcani had mustered 6000 as excellent horsemen as those nations could furnish, as well as 1000 Tapurian cavalry. The Derbices had armed 40,000 foot-soldiers; most of these carried spears tipped with bronze or iron, but some had hardened the wooden shaft by fire. These also were accompanied by 2000 horsemen from the same nation. From the Caspian Sea had come an infantry army of 8000, and 200 horsemen. With these were other less known nations; they had mustered 2000 foot and twice that number of horsemen. To these forces were added 30,000 Greek mercenaries, excellent young soldiers. However, his haste prevented the summoning of the Bactriani, the Sogdiani, the Indi, and other dwellers near the Red Sea, whose names were unknown even to Darius himself. But there was nothing which he lacked less than numbers of soldiers.

Extravagantly happy at the appearance of the throng then assembled, while his courtiers puffed up his hope with their usual empty flattery, turning to Charidemus, an Athenian skilled in warfare and because of his banishment hating Alexander — for it was by his order that Charidemus had been expelled from Athens — he proceeded to ask the Greek whether he seemed to him sufficiently equipped to trample down his enemy. But Charidemus, forgetting his condition and the pride of kings, replied: “You perhaps would not wish to hear the truth, but I, if I do not speak now, at some other time shall admit it in vain. This army so splendidly equipped, this throng of so many nations and of the whole Orient, called forth from their homes, may be a cause of terror to their neighbours; it gleams with purple and gold, is resplendent with arms and with riches so great that those who have not seen them with their own eyes cannot imagine them. But the Macedonian army, grim, it is true, and unkempt-looking, covers with its shields and spears immovable wedges and serried power of men. They themselves call it the phalanx, a steadfast body of infantry; man stands close to man, weapons are joined to weapons. Intent upon the nod of their commander, they have learned to follow the standards, to keep their ranks; what is ordered all obey. How to oppose, make circuits, run to support either wing, to change the order of battle the soldiers are as well skilled as their leaders.

“And do not suppose that they are led by a desire for gold and silver; so far they have maintained that discipline in the school of poverty; when they are

wearied, the earth is their bed, such food as they can snatch amid toil satisfies them, their time for sleep is shorter than the night. The Thessalian, the Acarnanian, and the Aetolian horsemen, invincible in war, will forthwith, forsooth, be repulsed by slings and by spears hardened in the fire! Strength like theirs is what you need; in that land which gave them birth you must look for aid: send that silver and gold of yours to hire soldiers.” Darius had a mild and tractable disposition, but as a rule Fortune perverts even Nature. So, incapable of hearing the truth, he ordered a guest and a suppliant to be dragged off to execution, at the very moment when he was giving most salutary advice. The Greek, not even then forgetful of his free birth, said: “I have at hand an avenger of my death; that very man against whom I have warned you will exact punishment for the scorning of my advice. You for your part, so suddenly changed by the licence of royal power, will be a lesson to coming generations that when men have surrendered themselves to Fortune, they forget even their very nature.” As Charidemus was shouting these words, those to whom the order had been given cut his throat. Afterwards, too late, the king repented, and admitting that the Greek had spoken the truth, gave orders that he be given funeral rites.

III. Thymondas, son of Mentor, was an energetic young man; he was ordered by the king to take over from Pharnabazus all the foreign soldiers in whom Darius had the greatest confidence: Thymondas was to use their services in the war. To Pharnabazus himself he transferred the command which he had previously given to Memnon.

Then, worried as he was by pressing cares, he was also tormented in sleep by visions of imminent dangers, whether these were called up by anxiety or by the divining power of a prophetic mind, Alexander’s camp seemed to him to shine with a great glow of fire, and he dreamed that a little later Alexander was brought to him in the garb in which he himself had been made king, and that then, riding on horseback through Babylon, he had vanished from his sight, horse and all. Besides this, the soothsayers had distracted his troubled mind by varying interpretations; some said that that dream was of good omen for the king because the enemies’ camp had burned, and because he had seen Alexander, after laying aside his regal dress, brought to him attired as a Persian, and that too, dressed like one of the common sort; others disagreed: for they conjectured that to have seen the Macedonians’ camp illuminated foretold brilliance for Alexander; that he was fated even to seize the rule of Asia was shown beyond doubt, since Darius had worn the same attire when he was named king. Worry had recalled old omens also, as is usual; for they bethought themselves that Darius at the beginning of his rule had ordered that the form of the Persian scabbard of the scimitar should be changed to that shape which the Greeks used, and that the Chaldeans had at once declared that the empire of the Persians would pass to those whose arms he had imitated. However, Darius himself, rejoicing greatly both because of the prediction of the seers which was made public, and the vision which had appeared to him in

his sleep, gave orders that the camp should be advanced toward the Euphrates.

It was an ancestral custom of the Persians not to begin a march before sunrise. When the day was already bright, the signal was given from the king's tent with the horn; above the tent, from which it might be seen by all, there gleamed an image of the sun enclosed in crystal. Now the order of march was as follows. In front on silver altars was carried the fire which they called sacred and eternal. Next came the Magi, chanting their traditional hymn. These were, followed by three hundred and sixty-five young men clad in purple robes, equal in number to the days of a whole year; for the Persians also divided the year into that number of days. After that, white horses drew the chariot consecrated to Jupiter; these were followed by a horse of extraordinary size, which they called the steed of the Sun. Golden wands and white robes adorned the drivers of the horses. Not far off there were ten chariots, embossed with much gold and silver. These were followed by the horsemen of twelve nations of varying arms and customs.

Next marched those whom the Persians call "the Immortals" to the number of ten thousand. No others were more adorned with the splendour of barbaric wealth; theirs were golden necklets, and garments adorned with cloth of gold and long-sleeved tunics adorned even with gems. At a short interval came those whom they call the king's kindred, 15,000 men. This throng indeed, with its almost feminine elegance, was conspicuous rather for luxury than for elegant arms. The troop next to these, who were accustomed to take care of the royal robes, were called Spear-bearers. These preceded the king's chariot, in which he rode outstanding among the rest.

Both sides of the chariot were adorned with images of the gods, embossed in gold and silver; the yoke was ornamented with sparkling gems, and on it rose two golden images a cubit high of the king's ancestors, one of Ninus, the other of Belus. Between these they had consecrated a golden eagle, represented with outstretched wings.

The attire of the king was noteworthy beyond all else in luxury; a purple-edged tunic woven about a white centre, a cloak of cloth of gold, ornamented with golden hawks, which seemed to attack each other with their beaks; from a golden belt, with which he was girt woman-fashion, he had hung a scimitar, the scabbard of which was a single gem."

The Persians called the king's head-dress *cidaris*; this was bound with a blue fillet variegated with white. The chariot was followed by 10,000 lancers, carrying spears richly adorned with silver and tipped with a point of gold. About two hundred of the noblest relatives of the king attended him on the right and on the left. The rear of this part of the procession was brought up by 30,000 foot-soldiers, followed by four hundred of the king's horses.

Next, at an interval of a single stade, one chariot carried Sisigambis, Darius' mother, and in another was his wife. A throng of women of the queens' household rode on horses. Then followed fifteen of what they call *karmamaxaed*; in these were the king's children and their governesses, and a

herd of eunuchs, who are not at all despised by those peoples. Next rode the 365 concubines of the king, these also regally dressed and adorned. After these 600 mules and 300 camels carried the king's money, preceded by a guard of bowmen. Next to this division rode the wives of his relatives and friends, and troops of sutlers and batmen. Last of all were bands of lightarmed troops, to bring up the rear, each with its own officers.

If on the other hand anyone should look upon the Macedonians' army, its appearance was different; men and horses gleaming, not with gold and parti coloured garments, but with steel and bronze; an army prepared to stand or to follow, not over weighted with excessive numbers or with baggage, watchful, not only for the signal, but even for the nod of its leader. Thus there was enough room for both a camp and the army's supplies. Hence Alexander did not lack soldiers in the battle; Darius, king of so vast a multitude, was reduced by the narrow limits of the place in which he fought to the small number which he had scorned in his enemy.

IV. Meanwhile Alexander, having given Sabistamenes charge of Cappadocia, on his way to Cilicia with all his forces had arrived at the place which is called the Camp of Cyrus; there Cyrus had had a permanent camp when he was leading his army into Lydia against Croesus. That place was distant fifty stadia from the pass by which we enter Cilicia; the Gates is what the natives call that very narrow entrance, and in its natural formation it resembles fortifications made by our human hands. Therefore Arsames, who governed Cilicia, recalling what Memnon had advised at the beginning of the war, decided too late to follow a plan which at the time was salutary; he devastates Cilicia with fire and sword, in order to make a desert for the enemy, and destroys everything that could be of use, intending to leave barren and bare the soil which he was unable to defend.

But it would have been far more advantageous to beset with a strong force the narrow pass which opens the way into Cilicia, and to hold possession of a height which opportunely overhangs the road, from which without danger he would have been able to stop or destroy the enemy as they came up. As it was, leaving a few to guard the mountain paths, he himself retreated, a devastator of the land which he ought to have protected against devastation. Therefore those who had been left behind, supposing that they had been betrayed, were not able to endure even the sight of the enemy, although even fewer men than they would have been able to hold the position.

For Cilicia is shut in by a continuous range of rugged and steep mountains. This range, rising from the sea and curving in a kind of winding fold, so to speak, runs back with its other extremity to a different part of the shore.

Through this range, where it withdraws farthest inward from the sea, there are three rough and very narrow passes, one of which must be used for entering Cilicia. That country where it slopes toward the sea is level and its plain is divided by frequent streams; the famous rivers Pyramus and Cydnus flow through it. The Cydnus is noteworthy, not because of the extent of its

waters," but for their clearness; for gliding with gentle course from its springs, it is received by a pure soil, and no torrents empty into it to discolour its quietly flowing channel.

Hence it is undefiled and also extremely cold, since it is shaded charmingly by its banks, and it passes into the sea in the same state throughout as at its source. In that region lapse of time had destroyed many memorials made famous in song; the sites of the cities Lyrnesus and Thebes were pointed out, the cave of Typhon too, and the Corycian grove, where saffron grows,' and other places of which only the fame has endured.

Alexander entered that pass in the range which is called "the Gates." Having examined the situation of the region, he is said never to have wondered more at his good fortune; he admitted that he might have been overwhelmed even by rocks, if there had been any to roll them down on his men as they came up. The road barely allowed four armed men to walk abreast; a ridge of the mountain overhung a passage that was not merely narrow, but often broken by frequent streams which crossed it, trickling from the roots of the mountains. Nevertheless he had ordered his light-armed Thracians to go in advance and examine the mountain paths, in order that a hidden foe might not burst forth upon them as they went up the pass. A band of bowmen also had taken their place on the ridge; they kept their bows bent, since they had been warned that they were not entering upon a march, but a battle. In this manner the army came to the city of Tarsus, to which at that, very time the Persians were setting fire, in order that the enemy might not invade a rich city. But Alexander had sent Parmenion on with a light-armed troop to check the fire, and as soon as he knew that the barbarians had been put to flight by the arrival of his men, he entered the city which he had saved.

V. The river Cydnus, which was mentioned a short time ago, flows through the middle of Tarsus; it was then summer, the heat of which burns no other shore more than that of Cilicia with the sun's fires, and the hottest time of the day had begun. The clear water of the river tempted the king, who was covered with dust and at the same time with sweat, to bathe his body when it was still heated; accordingly, laying off his clothing in the sight of the army — thinking that it would also be fitting if he should show his men that he was content with attention to his person which was simple and easily attained — he went down into the river. But hardly had he entered it when his limbs began to stiffen with a sudden chill, then he lost his colour, and the vital warmth left almost his entire body. His attendants caught him in their arms, looking like a dying man, and carried him almost unconscious into his tent.

There was great anxiety, and already almost mourning in the camp; with tears they lamented that the most glorious king of any age or time, in the midst of so swift a career of success, had been laid low, not in battle (which would have been bad enough), not by the enemy, but had been taken off and done to death while bathing. Darius (they said) was close at hand, a victor before he had seen his enemy. As for them, they must go back to the same

lands through which they had passed victorious, where everything had been laid waste by themselves or by the enemy. Marching through desert wastes, even if no one wished to pursue them, they could be vanquished by hunger and want. Who would direct them in their flight? Who would venture to succeed Alexander? Just suppose that they should reach the Hellespont in their flight, who would prepare a fleet in which to cross it? Then their pity turned again to the king himself and, forgetting themselves, they lamented that such flower of youth, so powerful a mind, at once their king and their fellow-soldier, was torn and wrested away from them.

Meanwhile the king's breath had begun to pass more freely, and he had raised his eyes; and as his senses began to return to him, he recognized his friends who stood about him, and the violence of his illness seemed to have abated for the sole reason that he felt the greatness of the disaster. However, trouble of mind oppressed his body; for it was announced that Darius would be in Cilicia in four days. Therefore he lamented that he was being handed over to him in bonds, that so great a victory was being snatched from his hands, and that he was being blotted out in his tent by an obscure and inglorious death. And so, having admitted his friends, as well as his physicians, he said: "You see in what a crisis of my affairs Fortune has surprised me. Methinks I hear the din of hostile arms, and I who was the aggressor in war, am now challenged. Thus Darius, when he was writing those haughty letters, had regard to my fortune, but to no purpose, if I am allowed to be treated according to my desire. My exigency cannot wait for slow remedies and dilatory physicians; in my opinion it is better even to die speedily than to recover tardily. Therefore, if there is any help, if there is any skill, in physicians, let them know that I do not so much desire a remedy against death as one that will enable me to make war."

This headlong rashness of the king had smitten all with great anxiety. Hence each man individually began to entreat him not to increase his danger by haste but to submit to the control of his physicians; that they had good reason to suspect untried remedies, since his enemy was bribing someone to destroy him even from among his own intimates. And in fact Darius had ordered it to be proclaimed that he would give a thousand talents to the slayer of Alexander. Hence they thought that no one would venture even to try a remedy which on account of its novelty could be suspected.

VI. Among the famous physicians who had followed the king from Macedonia was Philip, a native of Acarnania, most loyal to Alexander; made the king's comrade and the guardian of his health from boyhood, he loved him with extreme affection, not only as his king, but even as a foster-child. He promised to apply a remedy that was not sudden but effective, and to allay the violence of his illness, great — as it was, with a medicated draught. His promise pleased no one except the very one at whose peril it was made. For the king could endure anything except delay; arms and armies were before his eyes, and he thought that victory depended merely upon his ability to take his

place before the standards, impatient only because he was not to take the draught until the third day should have come — for so the physician had directed.

In the meantime he received a letter from Parmenion, the most faithful of his generals, in which he strongly warned the king not to trust his life to Philip; that he had been bribed by Darius with a thousand talents and the hope of marriage with the king's sister. This letter had filled Alexander's mind with great anxiety, and whatever fear or hope cast into either scale he weighed in secret calculation.

Should I resolve to take the draught, with the result that if poison shall have been given me, it may seem that I deserved whatever shall have happened? Shall I distrust the loyalty of my physician? Shall I then allow myself to be overwhelmed in my tent? But better for me to die of another's crime than of my own fear." After having turned his thoughts in various directions for a long time, he revealed to no one what had been written, but impressed the seal of his ring upon the letter and put it under the pillow on which he was lying.

After he had spent two days in such thoughts as these, the day designated by the physician dawned, and Philip entered with the cup in which he had mixed the drug. On seeing him Alexander raised himself in bed and, holding the letter sent by Parmenion in his left hand, took the cup and drank fearlessly; then he bade Philip read the letter, and he did not turn his eyes from the physician's face as he read, thinking that he would be able to detect any signs of guilt in his very expression. But Philip, when he had read the letter through, showed more indignation than fear, and throwing his cloak and the letter before the couch: "My king," said he, "the breath of my life has always depended upon you, but now, I verily believe that it is drawn by your sacred and revered lips. The accusation of murder with which I have been charged your recovery will refute; when saved by me you will have given me life. I beg and beseech you, cease your fear; allow the remedy to be taken into your veins; free for a time your mind, which your friends, faithful indeed but, alas, officious, are disturbing by their ill-timed solicitude."

These words made the king, not only free from care, but even joyful and full of good hope. Accordingly he said: "If the gods, Philip, had granted you to test my feelings in the manner which you most desired, you would surely have chosen a different way, but you could not even have wished for a surer one than you experienced, since after receiving this letter nevertheless drank the mixture you had prepared.

And now, believe me, I am not less anxious to prove your loyalty than I am for my recovery." Having said this, he offered Philip his right hand. But so great was the strength of the drug that what followed seemed to support the calumny of Parmenion. The king's breath was impeded and passed with difficulty. But Philip left nothing untried; it was he that applied hot lotions to the king's body, he that roused him from languor by the odour now of food,

[15] now of wine. As soon as he perceived that Alexander was conscious, he did not cease to remind him at one time of his mother and sisters, again of his [16] approaching great victory. But as the drug spread into the king's veins and gradually its healing power could be felt in his whole body, at first his mind regained its vigour and then his body also, more speedily than could have been expected; for after the third day which he had spent in that condition, he appeared in sight of the soldiers.

Nor did the army look with more eagerness upon the king himself than upon Philip; each man individually grasped the physician's right hand and returned thanks, as if to an all-powerful god. For it is not easily expressed how great, apart from the native reverence of the Macedonians for their kings, was their admiring devotion to this particular king, first of all their burning affection for him. For of all, he seemed to undertake nothing without divine help; for since good fortune everywhere attended him, his very rashness had resulted in glory.

His years too which seemed hardly ripe for such great deeds, but had proved amply sufficient, enhanced all his exploits. Also things which are commonly regarded as trifling, are usually more pleasing to a crowd of soldiers: bodily exercise in their company, dress and bearing differing but little from those of a man in private station, a soldier's vigour; by these, whether they were natural gifts or consciously acquired, he had made himself alike beloved and worthy of deep respect.

VII. But Darius, after having received news of Alexander's illness, with all the speed of which so heavy an army was capable hastened to the Euphrates, spanned it with a pontoon bridge, but still got his army across within five days, in his haste to obtain possession of Cilicia. Already Alexander had recovered his physical vigour and had arrived at the city of Soli; having taken possession of this, he exacted, by way of a fine, two hundred talents and placed a garrison of soldiers in the citadel. Then with sport and holiday he paid the vows that had been pledged for his safety, thus showing with what great confidence he scorned the barbarians; for he celebrated games in honour of Aesculapius and Minerva. As he was viewing the games, the joyful news arrived from Halicarnassus that the Persians had been defeated in battle by his troops, and also that the Myndii, the Caunii, and the greater part of that region had been brought under his sway.

Accordingly, having finished the public games, moved his camp, and bridged the Pyramus River, he arrived at the city of Mallus, and from there, on the second day, he came to the town of Castabulum.

There Parmenion met the king; he had been sent ahead to reconnoitre the road through the mountain-pass through which they must go to reach the city called Issus. And Parmenion, after taking possession of the narrowest part of this road, and leaving there a guard of moderate size, had captured Issus, which also had been abandoned by the barbarians. From this as a base he dislodged those who held posts in the mountains farther inland, secured

everything by garrisons, and having got possession of the road, as was said a little while ago, came as newsbringer of his own accomplishments.

[8] Then Alexander moved his forces to Issus. There, after deliberating whether they ought to advance farther or wait where they were for the fresh troops that were known to be coming from Macedonia, Parmenion expressed the opinion that no other place was more suitable for a battle. For there the forces of both kings would be equal in number, since the narrow space could not contain a multitude of men; his men ought to avoid a plain and the open fields, where they might be caught and crushed in a pincer manœuvre. He feared that they might be defeated, not by the enemies' valour, but by their own weariness; fresh Persians would constantly be coming to the front, if they were allowed to take more open order. The force of such salutary advice was readily acknowledged. Therefore Alexander decided to await the enemy amid the defiles of the mountains.

[11] There was in the king's army a Persian called Sisines; he had been sent formerly to King Philip by the satrap of Egypt, and having been courted with gifts and honours of every kind, he had exchanged his native abode for exile; later he followed Alexander into Asia and was regarded as one of his loyal companions. To him a Cretan soldier delivered a letter sealed with a ring the device of which was not at all known to him. Nabarzanes, a general of Darius, had sent it, urging Sisines to accomplish something worthy of his rank and character; that it would bring him great honour with Darius. This letter Sisines, since he was innocent of any evil intention, often tried to turn over to Alexander, but since he saw that the king was burdened with so many cares and with preparation for war, he waited from time to time for a more favourable opportunity, and thus incurred the suspicion of having harboured some criminal design. For the letter, before it was delivered to him, had come into Alexander's hands, who, after reading and sealing it with a ring unknown to Sisines, had ordered that it be given to him, for the purpose of testing the barbarian's loyalty. But since he had not approached Alexander for several days, it seemed that he had suppressed the letter with criminal intent, and he was killed on the march by the Cretans, undoubtedly by Alexander's order.

VIII. And now the Greek soldiers whom Thymondas had received from Pharnabazus had come to Darius, his principal and almost sole hope. They strongly advised him to go back and return to the spacious plains of Mesopotamia; or, if he disapproved of that plan, that he should at least divide his count - less forces and not allow the entire strength of his kingdom to fall under one stroke of Fortune. This advice was less displeasing to the king than to his courtiers; they declared that men of doubtful loyalty, to be bought for pay, were intent upon treachery, and wished his forces to be divided for no other purpose than that the Greeks might go off in different directions, and betray to Alexander whatever should be entrusted to them; that nothing would be more prudent than to surround them with his whole army and overwhelm them with weapons, as a lesson that treachery does not go unpunished.

[4] But Darius, being upright and mild, declared that he certainly would not commit such a crime as to order men who had trusted his word, his own soldiers, to be [5] butchered; what man of the foreign nations would ever thereafter trust his safety to him, if he should have stained his hands with the blood of so many soldiers? No one ought to atone for stupid advice with his life; for there would be none who would give counsel, if to have advised were perilous. Finally they themselves were daily called to him for consultation, and expressed varying opinions, yet one who advised more wisely than another was not regarded as of greater loyalty. Accordingly, he ordered reply to be made to the Greeks, that he personally thanked them for their goodwill, but that if he should proceed to withdraw, he would undoubtedly be handing over his kingdom to the enemy; that the result of wars depends on reputation and one who retreats is believed to be in flight. In fact, there was hardly any reason for prolonging the war; for, especially since winter was already at hand, there would not be sufficient supplies for so great a multitude as his, in a devastated region which had been laid waste in turn by his own forces and by the enemy. Besides, his forces could not be divided if the custom of his forefathers was observed, who always opposed their entire strength to a crisis in war. And, by Heaven! Alexander, a king terrible before and now raised to vain self-confidence by the absence of his opponent, as soon as he knew that he was coming, made wary instead of rash, had hidden in the defiles of the mountains after the manner of inglorious beasts, which, when they hear the noise of wayfarers, conceal themselves in their lairs in the woods. That, moreover, Alexander was now deluding his soldiers by pretending to be ill. But that he would no longer suffer him to shun the conflict; in that cave into which the cowards had fled for refuge he would crush them all as they skulked there.

[12] These boasts were more pretentious than justified. However, after sending all his money and his most valuable possessions to Damascus in Syria, with a moderately large guard of soldiers, he led the rest of his forces into Cilicia, his wife and mother following the army, according to the custom of his nation. His unmarried daughters also, and his little son, accompanied their father.

[13] It chanced that on the same night Alexander came to the pass by which Syria is entered, and Darius to the place which is known as the Amanican Gates.

The Persians had no doubt that the Macedonians had abandoned Issus, which they had taken, and were in flight; in fact, some of the wounded and sick, who could not keep up with the army, were taken. All these, after their hands had been cut off and seared, at the instigation of his courtiers, who were raging with barbaric savagery, Darius ordered to be led about, in order that they might know his numbers, and then, after having had a full view of everything, might announce to their king what they had seen.

[16] Then he moved his camp and crossed the river Pinarus, in order to

follow hard on the backs of the fugitives, as he believed them to be. But those whose hands he had cut off made their way to the Macedonians' camp and reported that Darius was following with the greatest speed of which he was capable. They could hardly be believed; therefore Alexander ordered scouts, sent ahead by sea to those regions, to find out whether Darius was coming in person, or whether some one of his generals had made believe that the whole army was on its way.

[18] But while the scouts were returning, a great multitude was seen at a distance. Then fires began to shine all over the plains, and everything seemed ablaze with a continuous conflagration, since the disorderly throng pitched its tents over a greater space than usual, especially on account of the number of pack-animals. Hence Alexander ordered his men to measure off a camp right where they were, rejoicing because — as he had sought with every prayer — the battle would have to be fought in those narrow [20] quarters rather than anywhere else. However, as usually happens, when the time of the final decision drew near, his confidence gave place to anxiety. He feared that very Fortune through whose favour he had been so successful, and naturally enough, from what she had bestowed upon him he was led to think how fickle she is; a single night remained to delay the outcome of so great a crisis. On the other hand, he bethought himself that the prizes were greater than the dangers, and that although it was doubtful whether he would be victor, yet one thing at least was certain, that he would die nobly and with great glory.

[22] Therefore he ordered the soldiers to refresh themselves, and then to be ready and armed at the third watch; he himself mounted to the summit of a lofty mountain and by the bright light of many torches offered sacrifice to the tutelary gods of the place. And now the soldiers, ready at the same time for both the march and for battle, had received the third signal of the trumpet and, as warned beforehand, were ordered to advance vigorously; and at daybreak they came to the narrow place which they had decided to hold. Those who had been sent ahead reported that Darius was thirty stadia distant from there. Then Alexander ordered the army to halt, and having armed himself arranged his order of battle.

The terrified peasants reported the coming of the enemy to Darius, who found it difficult to believe that those whom he was pursuing as fugitives were actually advancing to meet him. Hence no slight dread assailed the minds of all — for they were prepared rather for marching than for battle — and they hurriedly armed themselves. But the very haste of those who were running about and calling their companions to arms inspired greater fear; some had gone up to the ridge of the mountain to look out from there for the enemy's line of march, very many were bridling their horses. The army, in disorder and attending to more than one command, by its varied tumult had thrown everything into confusion.

[27] In the beginning Darius had determined to take possession of the ridge of the mountain with a part of his forces, intending to surround the enemy in

front and in the rear; and on the side also of the sea, by which his right wing was protected, he planned to throw forward others, in order to press hard on all ^[28] sides at once. Besides this, he had ordered twenty thousand, who had been sent ahead with a force of archers, to cross the Pinarus River, which flowed between the two armies, and to oppose themselves to the forces of the Macedonians; if they could not accomplish that, they were to withdraw to the mountains and secretly surround the hindmost of the enemy. But Fortune, more powerful than any ^[30] calculation, shattered this advantageous plan; for because of fear some did not dare to carry out the order, others vainly tried to do so, because, when parts waver, the whole is upset.

IX. Now Darius' army was arranged as follows. Nabarzanes with the cavalry guarded the right wing, with the addition of about 20,000 slingers and archers.

2 Un the same side was Thymondas, in command of the Greek mercenary infantry, 30,000 in number. This was beyond question the flower of the army, a force the equal of the Macedonian phalanx. On the left wing Aristomedes, a Thessalian, had 20,000 barbarian foot-soldiers. Darius had placed in reserve the most warlike nations. He himself, intending to fight on the same wing, was followed by 3000 elite horsemen, his usual body-guard, and an infantry force of 40,000; then were arrayed the Hyrcanian and Medic cavalry, next to these that of the remaining nations, projecting beyond them the right and on the left. This army, drawn up as has been said, was preceded by 6000 javelin-throwers and slingers. Whatever room there was in that narrow space his forces had filled, and the wings rested on the one side on the mountains, on the other on the sea; they had placed the king's wife and mother, and the remaining throng of women, in the centre.

Alexander had stationed the phalanx, the strongest part of any Macedonian army, in the van. Nicanor, son of Parmenion, guarded the right wing; next to him stood Coenus, Perdikkas, Meleager, Ptolemaeus, and Amyntas, each in command of his own troops. On the left wing, which extended to the sea, were Craterus and Parmenion, but Craterus was ordered to obey Parmenion. The cavalry were stationed on both wings; the right was held by Macedonians, joined with Thessalians, the left by the Peloponnesians. Before this battle-line he had stationed a band of slingers mingled with bowmen. Thracians also and the Cretans were in the van; these two were in light armour, But to those who, sent ahead by Sarius had taken their place on the ridge of the mountain he opposed the Agriani directed Parmenion to extend his line as far as possible towards the sea, in order that his line of battle might be farther away from the mountains which the barbarians were posted. But they, having dared neither to oppose the Macedonians as they came up nor to surround them after they had gone past, had fled, especially alarmed by the sight of the slingers; and that action had made safe the flank of Alexander's army, which he had feared might be assailed from above. The Macedonian army advanced in thirty-two ranks; for the narrow place did not allow the line

to be extended more widely. Then the folds of the mountains began to widen and open a greater space, so that not only could the infantry take their usual order, but the cavalry could cover their flanks. —

X. Already the two armies were in sight of each other, but not yet within spear-range, when the foremost Persians raised confused and savage shouts. These were returned also by the Macedonians, making a sound too loud for their actual numbers, since they were echoed by the mountain heights and huge forests; for surrounding rocks and trees always send back with increased din whatever sound they have received. Alexander went on ahead of his foremost standards repeatedly checking his men by a gesture of his hand, in order that they might not in too eager excitement be out of breath when they entered the battle. And as he rode past the ranks, he addressed the soldiers in different terms, such as were appropriate to the feelings of each. The Macedonians, victors in Europe in so many wars, who had set out, not more under his lead than their own, to subjugate Asia and the farthest parts of the Orient were reminded of their old-time valour—they, the liberators of the whole world, who had formerly passed beyond the bounds of Hercules and Father Liber, would impose their yoke, not alone on the Persians, but also on all nations. Bactra and the Indi would be provinces of the Macedonians. What they now saw before them was the least of their spoils, but everything is laid open to men by victory.

Theirs would not be a profitless labour on the steep rocks of Illyricum and the crags of Thrace, but the spoils of the whole Orient were before them. They would hardly need the sword; that whole army, wavering because of its own fear, could be driven before them by the bosses of their shields. He invoked, besides, his father Philip, victor over the Athenians, and presented to their minds a picture of the recent subjugation of Boeotia and the razing to the ground of its most famous city. He spoke now of the river Granicus, now of so many cities either stormed or received in surrender, and called to mind that all that was behind them had been overthrown and trampled under their feet. Whenever he came to Greek troops, he reminded them that it was by these nations that war had been made upon their country through the insolence first of Darius and then of Xerxes, who demanded from them earth and water, in order to leave to the surrendered neither a draught from their springs nor their usual food. By these their temples had been overthrown and burned, their cities stormed, and the obligations of human and ^[10] divine law violated. As to the Illyrians and the Thracians, men accustomed to live by plunder, he bade them look upon the enemies' army, gleaming with gold and purple, bearing booty rather than arms; let them go on as men and snatch their gold from cowardly women, exchanging their bare mountain-tracks, stiff with perpetual frost, for the rich fields and plains of the Persians.

XI. Now they had come within spear-throw, when the cavalry of the Persians made a fierce charge upon their enemies' left wing; for Darius chose to make it a contest of cavalry, in the belief that the phalanx was the main

strength of the Macedonian army. And now he was beginning to encircle Alexander's [2] right wing also. When the Macedonian saw this, he ordered two squadrons of horsemen to remain on the ridge of the mountains and promptly shifted the rest to the main danger-point of the battle. Then he detached the Thessalian horse from the line of battle, and ordered their commander secretly to pass around the rear of his men and join Parmenion, there to do vigorously whatever he should order. And now, having plunged into the midst of the Persians, although surrounded on all sides, they were defending themselves valiantly; but being crowded together and, as it were, joined man to man, they were not able to poise a their weapons, and as soon as these were hurled, they met one another and were entangled, so that a few fell upon the enemy with a light and ineffective stroke, but more dropped harmless to the ground. Forced therefore to join battle hand to hand, they promptly drew their swords.

[5] Then truly there was great bloodshed; for the two armies were so close together that shield struck against shield, and they directed their sword-points at each others faces. Not the weak, not the cowardly, might then give way; foot to foot they fought together like single champions, standing in the same spot until they could make room for themselves by victory. Therefore they moved ahead only when they had struck down a foeman. But in their fatigue a fresh adversary engaged them, and the wounded could not, as they are wont to do at other times, leave the line of battle, since the enemy were pressing on in front and their own men pushed them back from behind.

[7] Alexander performed the duties not more of a commander than of a soldier, seeking the rich renown of slaying the king; for Darius stood high in his chariot, a great incentive to his own men for protecting him and to the enemy for attack. Therefore his brother Oxathres, when he saw Alexander rushing upon the king, interposed the cavalry which he commanded directly before the chariot of Darius.

Towering high above the rest in arms and bodily strength, and notable in courage and loyalty among a very few, Oxathres, brilliant at any rate in that cattle, struck down some, who pressed on recklessly, and turned others to flight. But the Macedonians round their king — and they were encouraged by mutual exhortation — with Alexander himself broke into the band of horsemen. Then indeed men were building fallen in pieces. Around the chariot of Darius lay his most distinguished leaders, slain by a noble death before the eyes of their king all prone on their faces, just as they had fallen while fighting, after receiving wounds in front. Among them were recognized Atizyes, Rheomithres and Sabaces, governor of Egypt, commanders of great armies; around these were heaped an obscurer throng of infantry and horsemen. Of the Macedonians also were slain, not many indeed, but yet very valiant men; among those wounded, Alexander himself was slightly grazed in the right thigh by a sword.

And already the horses of Darius' chariot, pierced with spears and frantic

from pain, had begun to toss the yoke and shake the king from his place, when he, fearing lest he should come alive into the enemies power, leaped down and mounted upon a horse which followed for that very purpose, shamefully casting aside the tokens of his rank, that they might not betray his flight. Then indeed the rest were scattered in fear, and where each had a way of escape open, they burst out, throwing away the arms which a little before they had taken up to protect themselves; to such a degree does panic tear even its means of help.

The cavalry sent forth by Parmenion was pressing the fugitives hard, and, as it happened, their flight had taken them all away to that wing. But on the right the Persians were strongly attacking the thessalian horsemen, and already one squadron had been ridden down by their very onset, when the Thessalians, smartly wheeling their horses about, slipped aside and returning to the fray, with great slaughter overthrew the barbarians, whom confidence in their victory had scattered and thrown into disorder. The horses and horsemen alike of the Persians, weighed down by the linked plates which covered them as far as the knees, were hard put to it to heave their column along; for it was one which depended above all on speed; for the Thessalians in wheeling their horses had far outstripped them.

[16] When this very successful action was reported to Alexander, who before that had not ventured to pursue the barbarians, being now victor on both wings, he began to press after the fugitives. Not more than a thousand horsemen followed the king when the enemies' huge army gave ground; but who in the hour of victory or of flight counts the troops? Therefore the Persians were driven like sheep by so few, and that same fear which forced them to flee now delayed them. But the Greeks who had fought on Darius side, led by Amyntas — he had been one of Alexander's generals, but was then a deserter — being separated from the rest, had escaped, not at all in the manner of runaways. The barbarians had fled in widely differing directions: some where the direct road led to Persia, others made, by round-about ways, for the rocks and hidden defiles of the mountains, a few for the camp of Darius.' But that camp also, rich with every kind of wealth, the victor had already entered. The soldiers had plundered a huge weight of gold and silver, the equipment, not of war, but of luxury, and since they were taking more than they could carry, the roads were strewn here and there with packs of less value, which their avarice had scorned in comparison with richer prizes.

[21] And now they had reached the women, from whom their ornaments were being torn with the greater violence the more precious they were; force and lust were not sparing even their persons. They had filled the camp with wailing and tumult of every kind, according to the fortune of each; and no form of evil was lacking, since the cruelty and licence of the victor was ranging among all ranks and ages.

[23] Then truly an example of Fortune's tyranny might be seen, since those who had lavishly adorned Darius tent and supplied it with every luxury and

form of wealth were now guarding those same treasures for Alexander, as if for their original owner. For these alone the soldiers had left untouched, since it was an established custom that they should receive the victor in the conquered king's tent.

[24] But the captive mother and wife of Darius had turned the eyes and minds of all upon themselves, the former venerable, not alone because of her majesty, but because of her age as well; the latter because of her beauty, which was not marred even by her present lot. She had taken into her arms a son, who had not yet passed his sixth year, born to the hope of as great a fortune as his father had lost a short time before. But in the lap of their aged grandmother lay two grown-up maidens, her granddaughters, overwhelmed with grief, not for themselves merely, but also for her. About her stood a great throng of highborn women with torn hair and garments rent, forgetful of their former dignity, calling upon their queens and mistresses by titles formerly, but no longer, theirs. They, oblivious of their wretchedness, were asking on what wing Darius had stood, what had been the fortune of the battle; they said that they were not captives if the king still lived. But him, with frequent changes of horses, flight had carried far away.

[27] Now in the battle 100,000 Persian foot-soldiers were killed and 10,000 horsemen. But on Alexander's side about 4500 were wounded, of the infantry in all 302 were missing, of the cavalry, 150 were killed. At so slight a cost was that great victory won.

XII. The king, wearied by his too eager pursuit of Darius, as soon as both night drew near and there was no hope of overtaking him, came to the camp which his men had shortly before captured. Then he directed that the most intimate of his friends be invited — for the grazing of the mere surface of the skin on his thigh did not prevent him from taking part in a banquet — when on a sudden a sorrowful sound from the next tent, mingled with oriental wailing and lamentation, alarmed the revellers. The cohort also which was on guard at the king's tent, fearing lest it might be the beginning of a greater commotion, had proceeded to arm itself. The reason for the sudden alarm was, that the mother and the wife of Darius, with the captive women of high rank, were mourning with great groaning and outcry for the king, whom they believed to have been killed. For a eunuch among the captives, who chanced to have stood before their tent, recognized the cloak which Darius, as was said a short time before had thrown away, in order that his dress might not betray him, in the hands of the man who had found it and was bringing it in; and thinking that it had been dragged from his slain body, he had brought a false report of his death.

[6] On hearing of this mistake of the women Alexander is said to have wept over the fortune of Darius and their affection. And at first he had ordered Mithrenes, who had surrendered Sardis and who knew the Persian language, to go and console them; then, fearing lest the sight of the traitor should renew the prisoners' anger and grief, he sent Leonnatus, one of his court, with orders

to let them know that they were wrongly grieving for a living man. Leonnatus with a few of his body-guard entered the tent in which the women were, and ordered it to be announced ^[8] that he had been sent by the king. But those who were in the vestibule, when they saw the armed men, thinking that it was all over with their mistresses, ran into the tent, crying that the last hour had come and that men had been sent to kill the captive women. Therefore, since they could not keep them out and did not dare to admit them, the women made no reply and in silence were awaiting the victor's will.

^[10] Leonnatus, having waited a long time for someone to invite him to enter, after no one dared to appear, left his attendants in the vestibule and went into the tent. This very action disturbed the women, because he seemed to have broken in, not to have been given audience; and so the mother and the wife, prostrating themselves at his feet, began to plead that, before they were put to death, permission should be granted to them to bury Darius' body in their native manner; that after performing that last duty to the king they would without reluctance meet ^[12] death. Leonnatus said that Darius was alive, and that they would not only be unharmed, but would also be queens, retaining all the tokens of then-former fortune. Not until then did the mother of Darius suffer herself to be raised to her feet.

^[13] Alexander on the following day, after having caused the soldiers whose bodies he had found to be buried with care, gave orders that the same honour should be paid to the noblest of the Persians as well, and that Darius mother be allowed to bury those whom she wished in the manner of their nation. She therefore directed that a few of her nearest of kin should be buried in accordance with the state of their present fortune, believing that the pomp of the funerals with which the Persians celebrate the last victors to the dead would be out of Place, when the victors were cremated in no costly manner. And now, alter the proper rites had been performed for the bodies of the dead, Alexander sent a messenger to the captive women that he himself was coming to them and denying admission to his throng of attendants, he entered the tent with Hephaestion. He was by far the dearest to the king of all his friends; brought up with him, and the confidant of all his secrets, he also had more freedom than anyone else in admonishing him, a privilege which he nevertheless used in such a manner that it seemed rather to be allowed by the king than claimed by himself: and ugh Hephaestion was of the same age as the king, he nevertheless excelled him in bodily stature Hence the queens, thinking that he was the king, did obeisance to him in their native fashion. Therein upon some of the captive eunuchs pointed out which was Alexander, and Sisigambis fell at his feet, begging pardon for not recognizing the king, whom she had never seen before. The king, taking her hand and raising her to her feet, said: "You were not mistaken, mother; for this man too is Alexander." ^[18] And indeed, if he could have continued to practise such moderation to the end of his life, I could believe that he would have been happier than he seemed to be when he was imitating the triumphal procession

of Father Liber, passing victorious over every nation all the way from the Hellespont to the Ocean.

[19] Then he would surely have mastered pride and wrath, faults which he did not conquer, thus he would have refrained from murdering his friends at banquets, and he would have feared to put to death without a trial men distinguished in warfare, and in company with him the conquerors of so many nations. But not yet had Fortune overflowed his mind. So true is it that he who bore her stream so temperately and wisely when it was rising, at the last was not able to contain her flood when it became great. But at that time, at any rate, he so conducted himself that he surpassed all former kings in continence and clemency; the royal maidens of surpassing beauty he treated with as much deference as if they had been born from the same mother as himself: the wife of Darius, who was also his sister, whom no woman of her time surpassed in personal beauty, he was so far from violating, that he took the greatest care that no one should make shameful sport of her person while she was a prisoner. He gave orders that all their ornaments should be returned to the women, and the captives lacked nothing of the splendour of their former fortune except confidence.

[24] And so Sisigambis said: "O King, you deserve that we should offer for you the same prayers which we formerly offered for our own Darius, and you do not merit our hatred, since you have surpassed so great a king, not in good fortune alone, but also in justice. You indeed call me mother and queen, but I confess that I am your handmaid. I both rise to the greatness of my past rank, and I can bear the yoke of my present lot. It is important for you that you should wish that the extent of your power over us should be attested by clemency rather than cruelty." [26] Alexander, bidding them be of good courage, took the son of Darius in his embrace, and the child, not at all frightened at the sight of one whom he looked upon then for the first time, put his arms around his neck. Whereupon the king, touched by the boy's fearlessness, with a glance at Hephaestion said:

How I could wish that Darius had acquired some part of such a nature." Then he left the tent.

[27] On the bank of the river Pinarus Alexander consecrated three altars, to Jupiter, Hercules, and Minerva, and made for Damascus in Syria, where the king's treasure was, having sent Parmenion ahead.

XIII. But Parmenion, when he had gone on in advance and had received information that the satrap of Darius was at hand, fearing lest the small numbers of his men should arouse contempt, decided to summon a greater force. But it chanced that a native of Mardia fell in with the scouts whom Parmenion had sent ahead, and when he was brought interpretation. Here, as always when it is necessary to fill out lacunae, real or assumed, the supplements are purely to Parmenion, delivered to him a letter which had been sent to Alexander by the governor of Damascus, adding that he had no doubt that the governor would hand over all the royal equipment as well as [3]

the money. Parmenion, after giving orders that the Mardian should be put under guard, opened the letter, in which it was written that Alexander should speedily send one of his generals with a small force, to whom he might hand over what Darius had left in his charge. Accordingly he sent back the Mardian to the traitor with an escort; he escaped from his guards and entered Damascus before daylight.

This conduct had disturbed the mind of Parmenion, who feared a plot, and he did not venture to enter upon an unknown road without a guide; nevertheless, trusting to the good fortune of his king, he gave orders that some peasants should be captured, to serve as guides for the journey. When these had been quickly found, he arrived at the city on the fourth day, where the governor was already in a state of fear lest he had not been trusted. Therefore, feigning lack of confidence in the fortifications of the town, before sunrise he gave orders that the king's money — the Persians call it *gaza* — along with his most precious possessions should be brought out, pretending flight, but actually intending to offer it as booty to the enemy. As Parmenion was leaving the city of Damascus, many thousands of men and women followed him, a throng to excite the pity of all, except the man to whose protection they had been entrusted. For in order that the reward for his treachery might be the greater, he was preparing to deliver to the enemy a booty more acceptable than by money, namely, men of high rank, the wives and children of the generals of Darius, and besides these the envoys from the Greek cities, whom Darius had left in the hands of the traitor, as if in a very safe citadel.

[7] The Persians call men who carry burdens on their shoulders *gangabae*; these, since they could not endure the severity of the weather — for a storm had suddenly brought a fall of snow and the ground was stiff being then bound in frost-put on the robes adorned with gold and purple, which they were carrying with the money, and no one dared to forbid them, since the ill-fortune of Darius gave licence over him [8] even to the lowest of men. They therefore presented to Parmenion the appearance of an army not to be despised; so with unusual care he encouraged his men with a few words, as if for a regular battle, bidding them put spurs to their horses and make a swift charge upon the enemy.

[9] But those who were carrying the burdens dropped them and took flight in terror; from the same fear the armed men too who were escorting them began to throw away their arms and make for familiar hiding-places. The governor, by pretending that he himself was panic-stricken, had caused general alarm. Scattered over all the fields lay the king's riches, that money designed for the pay of a great force of soldiers, the adornments of so many men of high rank, of so many illustrious women, golden vases, golden bridles, tents adorned with regal splendour, chariots too, abandoned by their owners and filled with vast riches, a sad sight even for the plunderers, if anything could stand in the way of avarice. For of the fortune, incredible and beyond belief, which had been stored up in the course of so many years, a part was

now seen rent by brambles, a part buried in mud; the hands of the ravishers were not sufficient to carry the spoil.

[12] And now they had come also to those who had fled first; very many women were dragging their little children as they went along. Among them were three maidens, daughters of Ochus, who had reigned before Darius; they had formerly been brought down from the high estate of their father by a revolution, but then Fortune was making their lot still more cruel. In the same throng were also the wife of the aforesaid Ochus, and the daughter of Oxathres — he was the brother of Darius — and the wife of Artabazus, chief of the courtiers, and his son; Hystanes was his name.

The wife also of Phamabazus, to whom Darius had given supreme command of the seacoast, along with his son, was taken, the three daughters of Mentor, and the wife and the son of that most famous general Memnon; hardly any house of a member of the court escaped that great disaster. There were captured with these the Lacedaemonians' and Athenians who had violated their pledge of alliance and followed the Persians: Aristogiton and Dropides and Iphicrates, by far the most renowned among the Athenians for birth and reputation, the Lacedaemonians Pasippus and Onomastorides with Onomas and Callicratides, these also men of note at home.

The sum of coined money was 2600 talents, the weight of wrought silver amounted to 500 pounds. Besides these, 30,000 men, with 7000 pack-animals 17 carrying burdens on their backs, were taken. But the betrayer of so great a fortune the avenging deities quickly visited with the punishment he deserved, For one of his accomplices, reverencing the majesty of the king, I suppose, even in his present condition, slew the traitor and carried his head to Darius, a timely solace for his betrayal; for he both had gained vengeance over his enemy, and also saw that the memory of his grandeur was not yet effaced from the minds of everyone.

“Darius had sent the greater part of his money and his other property to Damascus; even this wealth at Damascus was captured soon afterwards by Parmenion.

CONTENTS OF BOOK IV

From Issus Darius hastens to the Euphrates. Alexander marches into Phoenicia and takes Marathus, Byblus, and Sidon; at Marathus he answers a haughty letter of Darius, at Sidon makes Abdalonymus king of Sidon. The deserter Amyntas attempts to take possession of Egypt, but is killed by the Persians (i).

Alexander, wishing to sacrifice to Hercules at Tyre, is refused admission to the city. He lays siege to the city, which is separated from the mainland by a strait of four stadia. The Tyrians, trusting to the strength of their position, and hoping for aid from Carthage, refuse to submit (ii).

The siege of Tyre is carried on with great courage and skill on both sides. It was necessary to construct a causeway from the mainland, and the Tyrians made every effort to hinder the work. When Alexander was in doubt whether to continue the attack, he was encouraged by the arrival of a fleet from Cyprus and of Greek soldiers. The Carthaginians were unable to send help to the Tyrians (iii).

A sea monster of enormous size gives an omen which both sides interpret as favourable to themselves. While the Tyrians with feasting and abundant wine are celebrating the victory which they look upon as foretold, their city is stormed and destroyed (iv).

Alexander rejects a second offer of peace made by Darius. The Rhodians surrender their city and port to him. The Greeks at the Isthmian games vote him a golden crown. He appoints governors for the lands which he has conquered. Amphoterus and Hegelochus take Chios and Methymnê (v).

Alexander lays siege to Gaza, which is vigorously defended by Betis. Alexander finally storms the city and, angry because he had been wounded during the attack, inflicts a cruel punishment upon Betis (vi).

Alexander goes to Egypt, to visit the oracle of Jupiter Ammon. The difficulty of the journey because of the intolerable heat and the lack of water is exaggerated by the natives, but Alexander was undaunted and reached the abode of the oracle, which is described. There the priest of the god gave the king the answer he desired. Therefore he not only allowed himself to be called the son of Jupiter, but even ordered it (vii).

Alexander chose a place for a city where Alexandria now is, and leaving men to build it, went on to Memphis. He wished to visit the interior of Egypt and even Ethiopia, but was prevented by the imminent war. Therefore he set in order the affairs of Egypt and the lands which he had subdued (viii).

Darius, having assembled and armed a greater army at Babylon, crossed the Euphrates and Tigris and encamped at Arbela. Alexander followed him and found the crossing of the Tigris so difficult that his army might have been destroyed if Mazaeus had had the courage to oppose him, but the king's perpetual good fortune did not fail him (ix).

Alexander encourages his soldiers, who were alarmed by an eclipse of the moon, and marches to attack Darius. The wife of Darius dies, and Alexander mourns for her. Darius suspected that she had been killed because she had been unwilling to submit to violence, but the slave who had brought the news of her death praised the continence of Alexander (x).

Influenced by Alexander's conduct, Darius offered new conditions of peace and 30,000 talents for the persons of his mother and her daughters. Parmenion advised the king to accept the offer, but Alexander replied that he was not a trader but a king, and refused (xi).

At the sight of Darius' huge host the Macedonians are seized with a sudden panic, and if they had been attacked then might have suffered disaster, but they were quieted by the king. He himself weighed his own resolve against the advice of Parmenion, but had gone too far to be able to withdraw without disaster (xii).

Alexander rejects Parmenion's advice to attack the Persians by night. Resolved upon open warfare, he sleeps calmly until a late hour, when he is awakened by Parmenion. His line of battle (xiii).

Description of the so-called battle of Arbela really of Gaugamela. After various shifts of fortune hotly pursued by Alexander (xv). —

Alexander is recalled to help Parmenion who is hard pressed but is finally victorious. As he is returning to his camp, Alexander falls into great peril, but is saved by his boldness and courage.

BOOK IV

I. DARIUS, a king at the head of an army lately so great, who rather as if celebrating a triumph than waging war had entered battle standing on high in his chariot, was already in flight through the places which he had filled with his all but countless forces, but which now were without signs of life, a huge waste ^[2] and solitary desert. The king's followers were few; for not all had turned their flight in the same direction as he, and those who did so could not with their exhausted horses keep pace with those which the ^[3] king kept constantly changing. Then he arrived at Onchae, where 4-000 Greeks received him; but nevertheless he hastened with undiminished speed to the Euphrates, believing that he would be master only of what he was able by swiftness to keep the enemy from seizing.

^[4] But Alexander had made Parmenion, through whom the booty at Damascus had been recovered, governor of the part of Syria called Coelê, with orders to preserve the booty itself and the prisoners with diligent care. The Syrians, not yet sufficiently tamed by the disasters of the war, rejected the new rule; but they were quickly subdued and obediently did what they were ordered. The island of Aradus also surrendered to Alexander. Straton, the king of the island, at that time possessed the adjoining sea-coast and many places also farther back from the sea; after receiving him in surrender Alexander went on to ^[7] the city of Marathus. There a letter from Darius was delivered to him by which he was exceedingly offended because of its arrogant tone; it angered him especially that Darius had added the title of King to his own name and had not given the same title ^[8] to Alexander. Moreover, Darius demanded, rather than asked, that having accepted a sum of money great enough to fill all Macedonia, Alexander should restore to him his mother and his wife and children; as to the sovereignty, he might fight for it, if he so ^[9] desired, on equal terms. If he could at last listen to more wholesome advice, he would be content with his native kingdom, withdraw from lands ruled by another, and be his friend and ally. To the acceptance of such conditions he was ready to give and to receive a pledge.

In reply Alexander wrote substantially as follows:

King Alexander to Darius, greeting. Darius, whose name you have assumed, brought devastation on the Greeks who dwell on the shore of the Hellespont, and on the Ionian colonies of the Greeks, with every possible disaster, then he crossed the sea with a great army and made war upon Macedonia and Greece.

Again, Xerxes, of the same race, came to attack us with hordes of savage barbarians; although defeated in a sea-fight, he nevertheless left Mardonius in Greece, in order that even in his absence he might ^[12] lay waste our cities and burn our fields. As to my father Philip, who does not know that he was killed by those whom your countrymen had tempted with the hope of a vast sum of

money? Impious, in fact, are the wars you wage, and although you have arms, you bid for the lives of your enemies, just as lately you, the king of so great an army, for a thousand talents wished to hire an assassin to slay me.” Therefore it is a war of defence that I am waging, not of offence. And the gods also favour the better cause; I have reduced a great part of Asia into my power, I have defeated you yourself in battle. Although there is nothing that you have a right to expect from me, inasmuch as in dealing with me you have not even observed the laws of war, yet, if you will come to me as a suppliant, I promise that you shall recover without ransom your mother and your wife and your children. I know both how to conquer and how to treat the conquered. But if you fear to trust yourself to me, I will pledge my word that you may come without danger. For the future, when you write to me, remember that you are writing, not only to a king, but also to your king.” Thersippus was sent to deliver this letter.

[15] Then Alexander marched down into Phoenicia and received the town of Byblos in surrender. From there he came to Sidon, a city renowned for its antiquity and fame of its founders. In it Straton was ruling, supported by the power of Darius; but because he had surrendered rather at the desire of the people than of his own accord, he was deemed unworthy to rule and Hephaestion was allowed to choose as king from among the Sidonians the one whom he thought most worthy of that high station.’

[17] Hephaestion was the guest of two young men distinguished among their countrymen; when they were offered the privilege of ruling, they said that according to the custom of their country no one was admitted to that eminence unless born of royal stock. Hephaestion, admiring the lofty spirit that declined what others sought by fire and sword, said “Accept my congratulations, since you have been the first to appreciate how much greater it is to disdain royal power than to receive it. But name someone of royal descent, who will remember that he is holding a sovereignty that was conferred by you.” [19] And they, although they were aware that many, eager for so great a prospect, were already courting various friends of Alexander from excessive longing for the throne, decided that no one was preferable to a certain Abdalonymus, a man who had, it is true, a distant connexion with the royal family, but who, because of narrow means, was cultivating a garden in the suburbs at scanty profit. The reason for his poverty, as is true of many men, was his honesty, and intent as he was on his daily toil, he did not hear the din of arms which had shaken all Asia. Unexpectedly then the young men who were mentioned before came with the insignia of the royal dress into the garden, which, as it chanced, Abdalonymus was engaged in clearing up, by plucking out the useless weeds. Then, after hailing him as king, one of them said: “You must change that mean garb of yours for the apparel which you see in my hands; wash yourself, stained as you are by the dirt and filth of the earth; take on the spirit of a king and carry on your self-control into that fortune of which you are worthy. And when you sit upon the royal throne, master of the life and

death of all the citizens, do not forget the condition in which — nay, by Heaven! because of which — you are receiving the crown. — It all seemed to Abdalonymus like a dream; from time to time he kept asking whether those who were so saucily making sport of him were altogether sane. But when, as he hesitated, the dirt was washed from his body and a robe adorned with purple and gold was put upon him, and the good faith of the messengers was confirmed by oaths, now a king in earnest, attended by the same youths, he entered the palace.

[24] Then Rumour, as is her wont, busily ran about through the whole city; the approval of some, the indignation of others, was manifest, all the richest citizens appeared before Alexander's friends and protested against the new king's low condition and his [25] poverty. Alexander at once ordered that he be given audience, and after gazing at him for a long time said: "Your bearing does not belie the report of your origin, but I am glad to know of the patience with which you have endured privation." Then the new king replied: "I only hope that I may be able to endure sovereignty with the same spirit! these hands have been able to satisfy my desires; having nothing, I have lacked nothing." From these words of Abdalonymus the king gained an impression of his high character. Accordingly he gave orders that not only the regal equipment of Straton should be assigned to him, but also many articles from the Persian booty; he also added to his dominion a territory adjacent to the city.

Meanwhile Amyntas, who, as I have said, had deserted from Alexander to the Persians, with 4000 Greeks who had followed him in his flight from the field of battle came to Tripolis. From there, having embarked his troops on ships, he crossed over to Cyprus, and since he thought that in the present state of affairs every man would possess as if by an inalienable right whatever he had seized, he decided to go to Egypt, being an enemy to both kings and always ready to take advantage of a critical change [28] of circumstances. And having roused his soldiers to the hope offered by so great an exploit, he told them that Sabaces, the governor of Egypt, had fallen in battle; that the Persian garrison was both leaderless and weak, and that the Egyptians, always at odds with their governors, would regard them as allies, [29] not as enemies. Necessity compelled them to try everything; for when Fortune has stranded our first hopes, the future seems to be preferable to the present. Therefore they all shouted that he might lead them wherever he wished. So, thinking it best to make use of their spirits while they were warm with hope, he made his way to the Pelusian mouth, pretending that he had been sent as governor by [30] Darius. Then, having got possession of Pelusium, he moved his forces on to Memphis. At the report of this the Egyptians, a fickle race and more inclined to start a revolution than to achieve anything great of their own accord rushed thither together, each from his own village or city, to destroy the Persian garrisons.

The Persians, although terrified, did not nevertheless abandon hope of

retaining their hold upon Egypt.

[31] But Amyntas defeated them in battle, drove them into the city, and after pitching a camp led out his victorious troops to lay waste the fields. As if the property of the enemy was open to all, everything [32] was being carried off; hence Mazaces, although he knew that the minds of his men were terrified by their defeat, yet pointed out that the enemy were straggling and careless through the confidence inspired by victory and induced them not to hesitate to sally forth from the city and recover their lost possessions.

[33] That plan was equally wise in design and successful in its result. All the Greeks were slain to a man, along with their leader himself. Such was the penalty that Amyntas paid to both kings, having shown himself not a whit more loyal to the one to whom he had deserted than to the one whom he had forsaken.

[34] The generals of Darius who had survived the battle of Issus, and all the force that had followed them in their flight, with the addition of vigorous young soldiers of the Cappadocians and Paphlagonians, were [35] trying to recover Lydia. The governor of Lydia was Antigonos, one of Alexander's generals; he, although he had sent very many soldiers from his garrisons to the king, nevertheless scorned the barbarians and led his forces out to battle. There also the fortune of the contending parties was the same; in three battles fought in one region and another the Persians were routed. At the same time a fleet of the Macedonians, which had been 'summoned from Greece, defeated Aristomenes, who had been sent by Darius to recover the coast of the Hellespont, and captured [37] or sank his ships. Then Pharnabazus, commander of the Persian fleet, having exacted money from the Milesians and put a garrison into the city of Chios, sailed with a hundred ships to Andros and from there to Siphnos. These islands also he occupied with garrisons, besides fining them.

[38] The great war which was being waged by the most powerful kings of Europe and Asia in the hope of getting control of the whole world had set in motion [39] the arms also of Greece and of Crete. Agis, king of the Lacedaemonians, having assembled the 8000 Greeks who had fled from Cilicia and returned home, was undertaking a war with Antipater, governor of [40] Macedonia. The Cretans, who had sided first with one party and then with the other, had their country occupied by garrisons now of the Spartans, now of the Macedonians. But the crises among these were of slight importance, since Fortune had her eyes fixed upon the one contest on which all the rest depended.

II. Already all Syria, already Phoenicia also, except Tyre, were in the possession of the Macedonians, and Alexander was encamped on the mainland, from which a narrow strait separates the city.

[2] Tyre, noteworthy both in size and in fame among all the cities of Syria and Phoenicia, seemed more inclined to accept an alliance with Alexander than to submit to his rule. Therefore envoys were bringing him the gift of a

golden crown and the Tyrians had sent him from the city provisions in abundance and in a spirit of hospitality. Alexander gave orders that the gifts should be received as a token of friendship, and addressing the envoys courteously, said that he wished to offer sacrifice to Hercules, whom the [3] Tyrians specially honoured; that the kings of Macedon believed that they derived their descent from that god, and that moreover he had been [4] advised by an oracle to do that thing. The envoys replied that there was a temple of Hercules outside of the city, in the place which they call Old Tyre; that there the king would properly offer sacrifice to [5] the god. Alexander could not restrain his anger, which as a rule he was unable to control. Accordingly he said: "You indeed, relying on your situation, because you live on an island, despise this army of foot-soldiers, but I will soon show you that you are on the mainland. Therefore I want you to know that I will either enter your city or besiege it." [6] The envoys, dismissed with this response, began to warn their countrymen that a king whom Syria and Phoenicia had received they also should suffer to [7] enter their city. But the Tyrians, having plenty of confidence in their situation, had decided to sustain a siege; for a strait of four stadia separates the city from the mainland and was especially exposed to the Afric wind, which rolls upon the shore wave on wave from the deep. And there was nothing which more than that wind stood in the way of receiving the work by which the Macedonians were preparing to join the island to the mainland. Even with a calm and mild sea foundations can only with difficulty be laid, while the Afric wind, by the blows of the sea as it dashes against them undermines all the first structures, and no mass is so firm that the waters do not eat it away, both by trickling through the joints of the works, and when a more violent wind rises, by pouring over the top of the entire structure. Besides [9] this difficulty there was another equally great. The walls and towers of the city were surrounded by very deep sea; artillery could not be used except when its shots were hurled from ships at a distance, nor could scaling-ladders be applied to the fortifications, since the walls, descending sheer into the surge, had blocked any approach on foot; moreover Alexander had no ships, and if he could have brought them up to the wall, being afloat and unsteady, they could have been kept at bay by missiles.

[10] Meanwhile a thing slight to mention fired the confidence of the Tyrians. Envoys of the Carthaginians had come at that time to celebrate an annual festival in the manner of their country; for the Tyrians founded Carthage and were always honoured as the forefathers of the Carthaginians. Therefore they began to urge the Tyrians to endure the siege with a courageous spirit; soon help would come from Carthage. For at that time the seas were in great part beset by the Punic fleets. Accordingly, the Tyrians declared war and placed artillery at intervals along the walls and in the towers, distributed arms to the men of military age, and assigned workmen, of whom the city had a great abundance, to the various factories. The whole place resounded with preparation for war; iron hands also (they call them

harpagones, “grapplers”), to throw upon the enemies’

works, ravens, and other devices for the protection of cities were made ready in advance.

[13] But when the iron which it was necessary to forge had been placed in the furnaces, and the fires were fanned into a blaze by the application of bellows, streams of blood are said to have flowed out in the very midst of the flames, and this the Tyrians interpreted as portending the destruction of the Macedonians. Among the Macedonians also, when some of the soldiers happened to break bread, they noticed drops of blood trickling out, and when the king was alarmed, Aristander, the most skilled of the seers, declared that if the blood had flowed from without, it would be an unfavourable omen for the Macedonians; but on the contrary, since it flowed from an inner part, it foretold destruction for the city which they had determined to besiege. Alexander, both because the fleet which he had was afar off, and because he saw that a long blockade would be a great hindrance to the rest of his plans, sent heralds to urge the Tyrians to make peace; but these, in violation of the law of nations, they killed and threw into the sea. Upon this the king, greatly angered by such outrageous death of his men, resolved to besiege the city.

But first it was necessary to make a causeway, in order to connect the city with the mainland. Hence the minds of the soldiers were assailed by extreme discouragement, as they looked upon the deep sea, which could hardly be filled even by divine help; what rocks huge enough, they thought, what trees tall enough, can be found? It would be necessary to empty whole regions in order to fill so great a space with material; then too the strait is always in commotion, and the more confined the space in which it is whirled about between the island and the mainland, the more fiercely does it rage. But Alexander, who was by no means inexperienced in working upon the minds of soldiers, announced that an apparition of Hercules had appeared to him in his sleep, offering him his right hand; with that god leading him and opening the way he dreamed that he entered the city. In his speech he also reminded them of the murder of the heralds and the violation of the law of nations; this, he added, was the only city that had ventured [18] to delay the victor’s progress. Then he instructed each of his generals to whip up his own soldiers’ courage, and when all had been sufficiently aroused, he began the work.

A great amount of rocks was available, supplied by Old Tyre, timber was brought from Mount Libanus for making rafts and towers. And already the work had grown from the bottom of the sea to a moderate height, but nevertheless had not yet reached the surface of the waters, when the Tyrians, bringing up some small boats, mocked them with the taunt that those men famous in arms were carrying loads on their backs like beasts of burden; they also asked whether Alexander was greater than Neptune. These very insults inspired the soldiers to greater eagerness. And now the massive structure was rising a little above the water and at the same time the causeway was increasing in width and moving towards the city, when the Tyrians, seeing the

size of the structure, whose increase had hitherto escaped their notice, began to encircle with light craft the work which did not yet form a juncture, and also to assail — with missiles those who stood upon it. Therefore, when many had been wounded without harm to their assailants, since it was easy both to withdraw and to bring up the skiffs, they had diverted them from their work to the care of protecting their own lives. Besides, the farther the causeway was pushed from the shore, the more did the great depth of the sea swallow up whatever was thrown into it.

[23] Therefore the king gave orders that hides and canvas should be stretched before the workmen, in order that they might be out of reach of the missiles,” and raised two towers on the highest part of the causeway, from which weapons could be showered upon the boats as they came up. To meet this the Tyrians brought the boats to the shore, too far away to be seen by the enemy, and landing soldiers, butchered those who were carrying rocks. On Mount Libanus also the peasants of the Arabians attacked the Macedonians when they were in disorder, killed about thirty, and took a smaller number of prisoners.

III. This state of affairs compelled Alexander to divide his forces, and lest he should seem slow in besieging one city, he left Perdicas and Craterus in charge of that work and himself went to Arabia with a light-armed band. Meanwhile the Tyrians so loaded a ship of unusual size, by piling rocks and sand in the stern, that the prow was greatly raised, smeared it with bitumen and sulphur, and drove it ahead by oars; and when its sails also had caught the wind in full force, it quickly reached the causeway. Then, after setting fire to the prow, the rowers leaped into skiffs which were following, designed in advance for that very purpose, but the ship, having caught fire, began to spread far and wide flames, which, before they could be prevented, seized upon the towers and other works that had been [4] placed at the head of the causeway: then those who had leaped into the small boats heaped upon the towers and other works firebrands and whatever else was suitable for feeding the flames. And now, not only the lower parts of the Macedonians’ towers, but also the topmost storeys had caught fire, whereupon those who were in the towers were either consumed by the flames or threw away their arms and leaped [5] into the sea. But the Tyrians, who preferred to take them prisoner rather than kill them, lacerated the hands of the swimmers with stakes and stones, until they were disabled and could be taken into the boats without danger. Not only were the works consumed by the fire, but it chanced that on that day a more furious wind stirred up the sea from its very depths and dashed it against the causeway, and the joints of the structure, lashed by surge after surge, loosened, so that the sea, flowing in between the blocks, broke right through the work. Therefore, when the heaps of stones which supported the earth that had been heaped upon them were demolished, the whole structure sank headlong into the deep, and Alexander, on returning from Arabia, found hardly any traces of so great a causeway.

Thereupon, as usually happens in disasters, they all put the blame on one another, although all might more reasonably have found fault with the fury of the sea. The king, on beginning to build a new causeway, made its front (instead of its side) face directly into the unfavourable wind. Thus the front protected the rest of the works, which were hidden, as it were, behind it “; he also made the causeway wider, in order that the towers erected on the middle of it might be far out of range of a weapon. Furthermore, they threw whole trees with their great branches into the deep, then loaded them with rocks, again threw other trees upon the pile of rocks, and finally heaped on earth; besides this, by piling up successive masses of rocks and trees they had joined together a continuous causeway, as if by a kind of bond. Nor were the Tyrians inactive in carrying out whatever could be devised to hamper the building of the causeway. A special help in this effort were those who plunged into the sea far out of sight of the enemy, and by gliding under water made their way as far as the causeway, and with hooks pulled towards them the projecting ends of the branches of the trees; and when the trees also were dragged away, they carried with them many parts of the structure into deep water. Then the divers without difficulty heaved away at the logs and tree-trunks, thus deprived of their weight, until finally the entire part of the work which was supported by the tree-trunks, since its foundation was gone, followed and collapsed.

Just when Alexander was feeling discouraged, and was not quite certain whether to continue the siege or to withdraw, a fleet arrived from Cyprus, and at the same time Cleander came with the Greek soldiers which had recently been transported to Asia. These 120 ships Alexander divided into two wings; of the left Pnytagoras, king of the Cypriotes, and Craterus had command, on the right the royal five-banker carried Alexander. The Tyrians, although they had a fleet, did not dare to risk a sea-fight; to oppose the enemy, they placed in position only three ships, directly before the walls, and these the king himself rammed and sank.

[13] On the following day, Alexander, bringing his fleet up to the city’s defences, shattered the walls on every side with artillery, and in particular by the battering of rams. The Tyrians hastily repaired the breaches by blocking them with rocks, and began also to build an inner wall, in order to protect themselves with this, if the first wall failed them. But the power of misfortune was pressing them on every side; the causeway was advanced within spear-range of the walls, which were also surrounded by the fleet; they were being overwhelmed by disaster on sea and on land. For the Macedonians had joined four-bankers together in pairs, in such a way that while their prows were united, the sterns were as far apart as it was possible to have them; this space between the sterns they had filled with yards of ships and strong beams bound together, and upon them had built platforms, as a standing-place for soldiers. These four-bankers, thus equipped, they rowed up to the city; from them missiles were showered upon the defenders with safety, since the soldiers

were protected by the prow.

It was in the middle of the night when Alexander gave orders for the fleet, prepared as described, to encircle the walls. And already the ships were moving towards the city from every side, and the Tyrians were paralysed with despair, when suddenly thick clouds spread over the heavens, and whatever light penetrated them was shut out by a widespread mist. Then a rough sea began to rise by degrees, and soon, urged on by a more violent wind, stirred up billows, and the craft dashed against one another. And already the bonds by which the four-bankers were fastened together began to be torn apart, the platforms to break up and with a mighty roar to drag the soldiers with them into the deep. For the ships, when joined together, could not in any way be managed in such a time of disorder; the soldiers disturbed the work of the sailors, the oarsmen the duties of the soldiers, and, as usually happens in such a crisis, the skilful obeyed the ignorant. For the helmsmen, who at other times were wont to take command, then through fear of death did what they were ordered. At last the sea, lashed with greater vigour by the oars, yielded to the sailors, who were rescuing the ships as if by main force, and the vessels were brought to the shore, for the most part badly damaged.

It chanced that in those same days thirty Carthaginian envoys arrived, rather a consolation to the besieged than a help. For they announced that the Carthaginians were involved in a war at home and were fighting, not for dominion, but for their lives.

At that time the Syracusans were devastating Africa and had pitched their camp not far from the walls of Carthage. Nevertheless the Tyrians did not lose courage, in spite of being abandoned by this great hope, but entrusted to the envoys their wives and children to be taken to Carthage, being ready to bear more bravely whatever might befall them if they could keep their dearest treasures without share in the common peril. And when one of their citizens declared in a public assembly that a vision of Apollo, whom they worshipped with special veneration, had appeared to him in his sleep as deserting the city, and that, the causeway which the Macedonians had constructed in the sea had changed into a forest tract, ^[22] although the author of the tale was a man of slight importance, yet, inclined through fear to believe the worst, they bound the statue of Apollo with a chain of gold to its base, and attached the chain to the altar of Hercules, to whose divine power they had dedicated their city, supposing that that god would hold Apollo back. The Carthaginians had carried off that statue from Syracuse and had placed it in their ancestral fatherland, and with many other spoils of the cities which they had captured they had adorned Iyre rather than Carthage.

^[23] Some even proposed renewing a sacrifice which had been discontinued for many years, and which I for my part should believe to be by no means pleasing to the gods, of offering a freeborn boy to Saturn — this sacrilege rather than sacrifice, handed down from their founders, the Carthaginians are said to have Performed until the destruction of their city — and unless the

elders, in accordance with whose counsel everything was done, had opposed it, the awful only the usual means of defence, but also some novel ones. For in order to catch in their toils the ships which came up close under the walls, they had bound stout beams to ropes, so that when they had thrown forward these beams with a hurling-engine, they might suddenly, while the ropes ran slack, drop the beams upon the ships. Hooks also and scythes hanging from those same beams lacerated either the attackers or the ships themselves. Moreover, the Tyrians heated brazen shields in a great fire, and after filling them with hot sand and boiling filth hurled [26] them down from the walls. And no plague was more feared than this; for when the burning-hot sand had made its way between the coat-of-mail and the body, it could not be shaken out by any effort and burned through whatever it had touched; and the soldiers, throwing away their arms and tearing to bits everything by which they could be protected, were exposed to wounds without being able to retaliate. Besides this, ravens and iron claws, released by hurling-engines, carried off many.

IV. At this point Alexander from utter weariness had determined to raise the siege and go to Egypt. For after he had overrun Asia with great speed he was lingering around the walls of a single city, thus losing - the opportunity for so many mighty exploits. But he was as much ashamed to withdraw baffled, as to delay, thinking that his reputation also, by which he had overthrown more than by his arms, would be impaired if he should leave Tyre as a witness that he could be defeated. Therefore, in order to leave nothing untried, he ordered more ships to be brought up and the best of his soldiers to be embarked upon them. And it chanced that a sea-monster, of a size never before seen, rising even above the waves with its back, brought its huge body up to the causeway which the Macedonians had built, and striking the surges asunder as it lifted itself, was seen by both sides. Then from the peak of the causeway it again plunged under the sea, and now rising above the surface with a great part of its bulk, now hidden as the waves dashed over it, it disappeared under water not far from the walls of the city. The appearance of the monster gave joy to both sides; the Macedonians interpreted it as showing the direction in which to go on building up the work; the Tyrians thought that Neptune, as an avenger of the usurped sea, had brought the monster against the causeway, and that it would surely soon fall in ruins. Rejoicing in the omen, the Tyrians turned aside to feasting and loaded themselves with wine, and still under its influence at sunrise, they embarked upon ships wreathed with flowers and garlands; so over-hasty were they to perceive, not only an omen of victory, but even an occasion for celebrating one.

[6] As it happened, the king had ordered his fleet to be brought to the opposite side of the harbour, leaving thirty of the smaller ships at the shore; of these the Tyrians captured two and greatly terrified the rest, until Alexander, hearing the shouts of his men, moved his fleet to the part of the shore from which the uproar had come. The first of the Macedonians ships to reach the spot was a five-banker, conspicuous among the rest for speed; when the

Tyrian ships caught sight of it, two of them charged its sides from opposite directions, against one of which the five-banker rushed, and was itself rammed by the beak of the other and in turn held it fast. And then the other Tyrian ship, which was not held fast, made a free attack on the other side of the five-banker. Then with wonderful timeliness a three-banker of Alexander's fleet charged upon the very ship which was threatening the five-banker, with such force that the Tyrian steersman was hurled from the stern into the sea. Then more Macedonian ships came up, and the king also was close at hand, when the Tyrians backed water and with difficulty tore away the ship which was entangled, and all their vessels together made for the port. Immediately Alexander pursued them; he was unable to enter the harbour, since he was thrust far from the walls by missiles, but he captured or sank nearly all the ships.

Then two days were given to the soldiers for rest, and they were ordered to bring up both the fleet and at the same time the machines, in order that Alexander might terrify the enemy by an attack on all sides; he himself mounted a very lofty tower, with great courage and still greater danger; for being conspicuous for his royal garb and gleaming arms, he more than any other was a special target for missiles.

[11] And his exploits were well worth beholding; many defenders on the ramparts he ran through with his spear, some he attacked hand to hand with sword and shield, and hurled them headlong from the parapets.

For the tower from which he was fighting was almost joined to the enemies' walls.

[12] And now, after the blows of many rams had loosened the structure of the stones, the fortifications had begun to give way, and the fleet had entered the port, and some of the Macedonians had made their way into the towers deserted by the enemy, then of the Tyrians, overcome by so many evils at once, some took refuge as suppliants in the temples, others bolted the doors of their houses and anticipated the enemy by a death of their free choice, still others rushed upon the foe to die, but yet not unavenged; a great part manned the roofs of their houses and showered stones and whatever chance had put into their hands upon the Macedonians as they came up. Alexander gave orders that all except those who had taken refuge in the temples should be slain and the houses set on fire. Although this order was proclaimed by heralds, yet not a single armed man could bring himself to seek aid from the gods; boys and maidens had filled the temples, the men stood each in the vestibule of his own house, a throng at the mercy of the raging foe.

[15] To many, however, the Sidonians, who formed a part of the Macedonian forces, were a means of safety. These, it is true, had entered the city among the victors, but mindful of their kinship with the Tyrians — for they believed that Agenor founded both cities — they secretly protected many of the Tyrians and took them to their ships, in which they were hidden and conveyed to Sidon. By this deception 15,000 were saved from the victor's

cruelty. But how great the bloodshed was may be calculated from this alone, that 6000 armed men were butchered within ^[17] the city's ramparts. After that the king's wrath furnished the victors with an awful spectacle; 2000 men, for the slaying of whom frenzy had spent itself, hung nailed to crosses along a great stretch of the shore. He spared the Carthaginian envoys, but added a declaration of war, although the war was delayed by the urgency of present affairs.

^[19] Tyre was taken in the seventh month after the beginning of the siege, a city worthy of note in the memory of later times both for its ancient origin and its frequent changes of fortune. Founded by Agenor, it long held under its sway, not only the neighbouring part of the sea, but whatever portion of it its fleets could reach. Also, if one wishes to believe report, this people was the first either to teach, or to learn, the art of writing. At any rate, its colonies were distributed over almost the whole world; Carthage in Africa, Thebes in Boeotia, Gades on the Ocean. I suppose that, as they went to and fro on the free sea, and often visiting lands unknown to other peoples, they selected homes for their young men, of whom they then had an over-abundant supply; or it may be that the Tyrians, exhausted by frequent earthquakes — for this also is reported — were forced to seek new homes for themselves in foreign lands by arms. Having therefore suffered many disasters and having risen again from their ruins, now at last wholly restored by long-continued Peace, they are at rest under the protection of Roman clemency.

V. At about that same time a letter of Darius was brought, at last written as to a king. He asked that Alexander should take to wife his daughter — her name was Statira; that her dowry would be the entire region lying between the Hellespont and the Halys River, and that Darius would be content with the lands extending eastward from that river. Darius reminded him that he ought not to hesitate to accept the offer; that Fortune never stands long on the same spot, and that men, however great success they may enjoy, are nevertheless exposed to greater envy.

^[3] That he feared lest Alexander, like the birds, whose natural lightness drives them on towards the stars, might be carried away by a vain and childish spirit; that nothing was more difficult at his time of life than ^[4] to be able to prove equal to so great a fortune. That Darius still had many lands left, and could not always be caught amid narrow defiles; Alexander had the Euphrates and Tigris to cross, the Araxes and Choaspes, mighty defences of the Persian empire, and must come into open plains, where he would have to blush for the small number of his forces, to Media, ^[5] Hyrcania, Bactra; and when would he reach the Indi, neighbours of the Ocean, not to mention the Sogdiani and the Arachosii, and the rest of the nations extending to the Caucasus and the Tanais? He must grow old merely in traversing such an expanse of lands, even if he could do so without fighting.

^[6] Further, Alexander should cease to summon him to come to him; for he would come of his own accord, to his enemy's destruction.

[7] Alexander replied to those who had brought the letter that Darius was promising him what was not his own, and wished to give him a share of what he had wholly lost. As a dowry were offered him Lydia, the Ionians, Aeolis, the coast of the Hellespont, the prizes of his own victory! Moreover, conditions were imposed by victors, accepted by the vanquished. If Darius alone did not know in what relation they both stood, let him settle the question as soon as possible [8] on the field of battle. Also let him know that Alexander, when he crossed the sea, had not aimed at the rule of Cilicia or Lydia — for that would be a slight reward for so great a war — but of Persepolis, the capital of Darius' kingdom, then of Bactra and Ecbatana, and the lands of the remotest Orient. Whithersoever Darius should have been able to flee, he could follow; let him cease to try to frighten with rivers one whom he knew to have crossed seas.

9The kings indeed had exchanged these letters. But the Rhodians were surrendering their city and ports to Alexander. He had entrusted Cilicia to Socrates and ordered Philotas to govern the region about Tyre. The part of Syria which is called Coelê had been handed over to Andromachus by Parmenion, who was destined to share largely in what remained of the war. Alexander, after ordering Hephaestion to coast along the shore of Phoenicia with the fleet, came with all his forces to the city of Gaza.

[11] At about that same time was the regular festival of the Isthmians, which is crowded by an assemblage of all Greece; at that meeting the Greeks, being by nature time-serving, decided that fifteen envoys should be sent to the king, and, because of what he had done for the safety and freedom of Greece, should take him a golden crown in recognition of his victory.

[12] These same Greeks a short time before had been listening for the breeze of uncertain report, with the intention of following whithersoever Fortune should lead their wavering minds.

But not only was Alexander himself proceeding to reduce the cities which still rejected the yoke of his rule, but his generals also, distinguished leaders, had invaded many places: — Calas Paphlagonia, Antigonus Lycaonia; Balacrus, having vanquished Hydarnes, Darius' satrap, had recovered Miletus, Amphoterus and Hegelochus with a fleet of 160 ships had brought the islands between Achaia and Asia under the sway of Alexander. After recovering Tenedos also, they had decided to take Chios at the [15] direct request of its citizens, but Pharnabazus, Darius' admiral, seized those who were trying to turn the rule over to the Macedonians and delivered the city again to Apollonides and Athenagoras, men of the Persian faction, with a force of soldiers of moderate size.

[16] Alexander's generals persisted in the siege of the city, relying not so much on their own strength as on the inclination of the besieged. And they were not mistaken; for a disagreement which arose between Apollonides and the leaders of the soldiers gave an opportunity for forcing their way into the city, an after a gate had been broken down and a cohort of Macedonians had

entered, the townsmen, who had previously planned to betray the city, attached themselves to Amphoterus and Hegelochus, the Persian garrison was slain, and Pharnabazus as well as Apollonides and Athenagoras were bound and surrendered to the Macedonians, also twelve triremes with their soldiers and oarsmen, and besides these, thirty ships without crews, and fifty piratical boats and 3000 Greeks serving as mercenaries with the Persians. These last were distributed as a reinforcement of the Macedonian forces, the pirates were put to death, and the captured oarsmen were enrolled in the fleet.

[19] It chanced that Aristonicus, the despot of Methymnê, with some pirate ships, being unaware of everything which had taken place at Chios, in the first watch came to the barriers of the port, and on being asked by the guards who he was, replied that he was [20] Aristonicus coming to Pharnabazus. They declared that Pharnabazus was already sleeping and could not be approached, but that the port was open to an ally and friend of his, and that Aristonicus would have [21] access to him on the following day. Aristonicus did not hesitate to enter first and ten pirate vessels followed their leader; and while they were bringing the ships up to the quay of the port, the guards put the barrier in place and summoned those who were on watch near by. Since none of the pirates dared to resist, they were all put in chains; then they were [22] delivered to Amphoterus and Hegelochus. From there the Macedonians crossed to Mitylenê. This city had lately been seized by Chares, the Athenian, who was holding it with a garrison of 2000 Persians; but since he could not withstand a siege, Chares surrendered the city after stipulating that he should be allowed to leave in safety, and went to Imbros. The Macedonians spared the surrendered.

VI. Darius, despairing of peace, which he had believed that he could obtain through letters and envoys, devoted his attention to recruiting his forces [2] and vigorously renewing the war. To this end he ordered the leaders of his troops to come together in Babylonia, and Bessus also, governor of the Bactriani, to muster the largest army possible and come down “[3] to him. Now the Bactriani are the most valiant among those nations, of rude dispositions and not at all inclined to the luxurious habits of the Persians; situated as they are not far from the Scythians, a nation fond of war and accustomed to live by plunder, [4] they were always in arms. But Bessus was a cause of alarm to Darius, who suspected him of treachery, because he could not with any patience be kept in a second rank; for since he aspired to royal power, treason, by which alone he could attain it, was feared.

[5] Alexander, however, although trying to track Darius with all care, could not find out for what region he had made, because of a custom of the Persians of keeping the secrets of their kings with [6] a marvellous fidelity; not fear, not hope, can elicit a single word by which confidences are betrayed. The ancient discipline of the kings had enjoined silence on pain of death. An unbridled tongue is more severely punished than any act of wickedness, and the Magi believe that no great cause can be upheld by one who finds it hard to keep

silence, which Nature has decreed to be the easiest thing for a man to do. For this reason Alexander, unaware of everything which was going on among the enemy, was besieging the city of Gaza.

The governor of the city was Betis, a man of exceptional loyalty to his king, and he was defending strongly fortified walls with a force of only moderate size. Alexander, after examining the situation of the place," ordered mines to be dug, since the soil, being light and easy to work, was suitable for underground operations; for the neighbouring sea throws up a great amount of sand and there are neither stones — nor sharp rocks to hinder tunnelling. Accordingly he began the work at a place which was out of sight of the defenders, and to prevent their being aware of it, he ordered towers to be moved against the walls. But the same ground was useless for moving towers, since the sinking of the sand retarded the turning of the wheels and broke down the flooring of the towers, and many men were wounded without being able to retaliate, since the toil, which was the same in moving back the towers as in pushing them forward, wore them out. Therefore the signal for retreat was sounded, and on the following day Alexander gave orders to surround the walls with a cordon of soldiers. And at sunrise, before leading forward the army, imploring the help of the gods, he performed a sacrifice in accordance with the usage of his country.

[11] It chanced that a raven as it flew by suddenly dropped a clod "which it was carrying in its claws; when this had fallen upon the king's head, it broke in pieces and flowed down upon him, and the bird itself perched upon the nearest tower. The tower had been smeared with bitumen and sulphur, in which the bird's wings stuck fast, and after vainly trying to fly away it was caught by the bystanders. The event seemed important enough to warrant consulting the soothsayers, and the king's mind was not unaffected by superstition. As a result, Aristander, in whom he had the greatest confidence, said that the destruction of the city was in fact foretold by that augury, but that there was danger that the king would sutler a wound; and so the seer warned him not to begin an attack on that day. Alexander, although he was troubled that a single city stood in his way of entering Egypt care-free, nevertheless yielded to the soothsayer and gave the signal for retreat.

By this step the courage of the besieged was increased, and sallying forth from a gate they made an attack on the retreating Macedonians, thinking that the hesitation of the enemy would be their opportunity. But they entered battle with more impetuosity than firmness; for when they saw the standards of the Macedonians turned about, they suddenly checked their advance. And already the shouts of the combatants had reached the king's ears, when, wholly unmindful of the danger which had been foretold, he nevertheless, at the entreaties of his friends, put on his corselet, which he rarely wore, and made his way to the van. On seeing him an Arab, a soldier of Darius, dared a deed greater than his fortune warranted; concealing a sword behind his shield, he fell at the king's knees, pretending to be a deserter. Alexander bade the

suppliant rise and be ^[16] received among his own men. But the barbarian, quickly shifting the sword to his right hand, aimed a stroke at the king's neck; but he, avoiding the blow by a slight inclination of his body, with his sword severed the hand of the barbarian which had missed its mark, thus, as he thought, being quit of the danger with which he had been threatened for that day.

^[17] But in my opinion fate is inescapable; for while he was fighting with too great daring among the foremost, he was struck by an arrow, which was driven through his corselet and standing in his shoulder was drawn out by his physician Philip. Then a great flow of blood began, to the terror of all because the cuirass prevented them from knowing to what depth the weapon had penetrated. Alexander himself, not even changing colour, gave orders that the blood be stanchd and the wound bound up. For a long time he kept his place before the very standards, either concealing the pain or overcoming it, when the blood, which had been checked shortly before, began to flow more abundantly since the bandage by which it had been kept back slipped, and the wound, which had not yet caused pain while still warm, swelled as the blood grew cold. Then he began to lose consciousness and to sink upon his knees, and those nearest to him took him in their arms and carried him to the camp. And Betis, thinking that he had been killed, returned to the city, exulting in his victory.

^[21] But Alexander, before his wound was yet wholly healed, had a mound constructed equal in height to the walls of the city, and ordered the walls to be undermined by many tunnels. Then the besieged built a new fortification up to the original height of the walls, but not even that was able to equal in height the towers erected on the enemy's mound.

^[23] Hence the interior of the city also was exposed to missiles. The final disaster to the city was the undermining of a wall by a tunnel, and through its ruins the enemy entered the city. The king himself led the vanguard, and while he was advancing too incautiously, he was wounded in the leg by a stone. In spite of this, leaning upon his spear, although the scar of his former wound was not yet closed, he continued to fight among the foremost, inflamed also by anger, because in the siege of that city he had suffered two wounds.

^[25] Betis, after fighting a gallant battle and being exhausted by many wounds, was deserted by his men, but nevertheless fought on with equal vigour, although his armour was slippery alike with his own ^[26] blood and that of the enemy. But since he was the target of weapons from all sides, his strength at last gave out and he came alive into the power of the foe. When he was brought before the king, Alexander, usually an admirer of valour even in an enemy, exulting, young as he was, with insolent joy, said: "You shall not die as you have wished, but be sure that you shall suffer whatever can be devised against a captive." Betis, gazing at the king with an expression not only undaunted but haughty, answered ^[28] not a word to his threats. Then Alexander cried:

Do you not see how determined he is to keep silence? He has not bent his knee, has he? Has he uttered a word of entreaty? Yet I will overcome his silence, and, if in no other way, I will put an end to it by groans.” Then his wrath changed to frenzy, for even then his new fortune suggested foreign customs. For while Betis still breathed, thongs were passed round his ankles, he was bound to the king’s chariot, and the horses dragged him around the city, while the king boasted that in taking vengeance on an enemy he had imitated Achilles, from whom he derived his race.

[30] There fell of the Persians and Arabians about 10,000; nor was it a bloodless victory for the Macedonians. Certain it is that the siege has become famous, not so much from the renown of the city as for the double danger to the king. He, hastening to go to Egypt, sent Amyntas with ten triremes to Macedonia, to levy new soldiers. For even in successful battles his forces were nevertheless worn away, and less confidence was felt in the soldiers of the conquered nations than in those from home.

VII. The Egyptians, hostile of old to the power of the Persians — for they believed that they had been governed avariciously and arrogantly — had taken courage at the prospect of Alexander’s coming, since they had welcomed even Amyntas although a deserter coming with authority depending on favour.

Therefore a vast multitude of them had assembled at Pelusium, where they thought that Alexander would enter the country. And in fact six days after moving his forces from Gaza he came to that part of Egypt [3] which they now call Alexander’s Camp. From there he ordered the infantry forces to go to Pelusium, and he himself with a light-armed band of elite troops sailed up the river Nile. The Persians did not await his coming, being greatly alarmed also by the revolt [4] of the Egyptians. And already he was not far from Memphis, when Mazaces, the general of Darius who had been left in charge of the city, of his own accord crossed the river, and delivered to Alexander 800 [5] talents and all the royal furniture. From Memphis the king sailed on the same river to the interior of Egypt, and after arranging matters in such a way as to make no change in the native customs of the Egyptians, he decided to visit the oracle of Jupiter Ammon.

[6] The journey which it was necessary to make was hardly endurable even for those who were lightly equipped and few in number; on earth and in the sky there is scarcity of water; it is a flat waste of barren sands. When the burning sun inflames these, intolerable heat results and the fiery soil scorches the soles of [7] the feet, and one has to contend, not only against the high temperature and dryness of the region, but also the extreme tenaciousness of the coarse sand, through which, as it is very deep and gives way beneath the [8] step, the feet toil with difficulty. These troubles the Egyptians in fact exaggerated; but yet a great longing plied spurs to the king’s purpose of visiting Jupiter, whom he, not content with mortal eminence, either believed, or wished men to believe, to be the founder of his race. Therefore, with those

whom he had decided to take with him he went down the river to the Mareotic Lake. Thither envoys from Cyrenê brought gifts, and asked for peace and for a visit to their cities. He accepted the gifts and after concluding friendship with them continued to pursue his intended journey.

[10] And indeed on the first and the following day the toil seemed endurable, since the solitudes to which they had come were not yet so desolate and barren, [11] yet the land was already sterile and moribund. But when plains covered with deep sand disclosed themselves, just as if they had entered a vast sea, they [12] looked in vain for land; not a tree, not a trace of cultivated soil met the eye. The water also, which camels had carried in leather bottles, gave out, and there was none to be found in the dry soil and burning sand. Besides this, the sun had made everything fiery-hot, their mouths were dry and parched, when suddenly — whether that was a gift of the gods or mere chance — the sky was overcast with clouds which hid the sun, a great help to those worn out by the heat, even if water were lacking. But indeed, when storms poured out copious rain also, each man received it in his own way; some, beside themselves with thirst, even began to try to catch it in their open mouths. Four days were spent in traversing desert wastes.

And now they were not far from the abode of the oracle, when a great flock of ravens met the army; flying at a moderate speed before the van, they now lighted on the ground when the line advanced more slowly, now raised themselves on their wings, as if acting as guides and showing the way. At length they arrived at the abode consecrated to the god. Incredible to relate, although situated amid desert wastes, it is so covered on all sides by encircling branches that the sun barely penetrates their dense shade, and many founts of sweet water, flowing in all directions, nourish the woods. A wonderful mildness of climate too, very like the warmth of spring, continues through all seasons of the year with like whole someness. The nearest neighbours of the place, to the east, are of the Ethiopian race. Towards the south they face in the direction of those Arabians whose name is the Trogodytes; the land of these extends as far as the Red Sea. But where the slope is towards the west, other Ethiopians dwell, whom they call the Snub-nosed. To the north are the Nasamones, a race of the Syrtes enriched from the spoils of ships; for they beset the shores, and since they know the shoals, seize the vessels which are stranded by the shifting sea. The dwellers in the grove, whom they call Ammonii, live in scattered huts; the middle of the grove they hold as a citadel, surrounded by three walls. The first of these enclosed the ancient palace of their kings, within the next their wives lived with their children and concubines; here also is the oracle of the god; the outermost fortification was the abode of the attendants and the men-at-arms.

There is also another grove of Ammon; in the middle of it is a fountain — they call it the water of the Sun — ; at daybreak its flow is lukewarm, in the middle of the day, which is very hot indeed, the same fount is cold, as the day inclines towards evening it grows warmer, in the middle of the night it boils

forth hot, and as the night approaches nearer to dawn, it decreases greatly from its nocturnal heat, until at daybreak it cools off to its normal temperature.

What is worshipped as the god does not have the same form that artificers have commonly given to the deities; its appearance is very like that of a navel fastened in a mass of emeralds and other gems.

When an oracle is sought, the priests carry this in a golden boat with many silver cups hanging from both sides of the boat; matrons and maidens follow, singing in the native manner a kind of rude song, by which they believe Jupiter is propitiated and led to give a trustworthy response.

At the time we are describing, as the king drew near, the eldest of the priests called him son, declaring that his father Jupiter gave him that name. Alexander indeed said that he accepted and acknowledged it, forgetful of his human condition. He then asked whether the rule of the whole world was destined for him by the fates. The prophet, equally disposed to flattery, answered that he would be the ruler of all lands. After this the king went on to inquire whether all the murderers of his father had paid the penalty. The priest said that his father could suffer from no man's crime, but that for the crime against Philip all had suffered punishment; he added that Alexander would be invincible till he departed to join the gods." Then, after sacrifice had been offered, gifts were given both to the priests and to the god, and the king's friends also were allowed to consult Jupiter. They asked nothing more than whether the god authorized them to pay divine honours to their king. The prophets replied that this also would be acceptable to Jupiter.

[29] In the light of a genuine and entirely sane appraisal, these unquestionably vague responses of the oracle would have brought ridicule upon its trustworthiness, but Fortune makes those whom she has forced to have confidence in herself alone more eager as a rule for glory than big enough to have room for it. Accordingly, Alexander not only allowed himself to be called the son of Jupiter, but even ordered it, and thus while he wished to increase the renown of his exploits by such a title, he really [31] spoilt it. And the Macedonians, accustomed, it is true, to the rule of a king, but living in the shadow of a greater freedom than the other peoples, opposed his claim to immortality more stubbornly than was expedient either for themselves or for their [32] king. But instances of this may be reserved each for its appropriate time. Now I shall proceed with the rest of my narrative.

VIII. Alexander, as he returned from Ammon, came to the Mareotic Lake, situated not far from the island of Pharos. Contemplating the nature of the place, he had decided at first to build a city on the [2] island itself; then, as it was apparent that the island was not large enough for a great settlement, he chose for the city the present site of Alexandria, which derives its name from that of its founder. Embracing all the ground between the Lake and the sea, he planned a circuit of eighty stadia for the walls, and having left men to take charge of building the city, he went to Memphis. A desire that was not really unreasonable, but untimely, had seized him to visit not only the interior of

Egypt, but also Ethiopia; eager as he was to become acquainted with ancient remains, the celebrated palace of Memnon and Tithonus was drawing him almost beyond the limits of the sun.

But the imminent war, of which a much greater burden remained, had put an end to the season for leisurely travel. Therefore he put Aeschylus the Rhodian and Peucestes the Macedonian in charge of Egypt, giving them 4000 soldiers for the defence of that region, and ordered Polemon to defend the mouths of the Nile; for this purpose thirty triremes were given. Then Apollonius was put in command of the part of Africa which is adjacent to Egypt, and Cleomenes was made collector of the tributes of that part of Africa and of Egypt. Having ordered inhabitants of the neighbouring cities to move to Alexandria, he filled the new city with a great population. It is reported that when the king had marked out the circuit of the new city with peeled barley, as is the custom of the Macedonians, flocks of birds flew to the spot and ate the barley; and when that was regarded by many as a bad omen, the seers predicted that a great number of new-comers would dwell in that city, and that it would furnish sustenance to many lands.

[7] When the king was floating down the river, Hector, a son of Parmenion, in the fine flower of his youth and one of Alexander's greatest favourites, desiring to overtake him, embarked upon a small craft, which was loaded with more men than it could carry. So the boat sank with the loss of all on board. Hector struggled for a long time with the river, and although his drenched clothing and the sandals which were tightly fastened to his feet interfered with his swimming, nevertheless made his way half-dead to the bank; but he was tired out, and as he was trying to ease his breathing, which fear and the danger had strained, since no one came to his help — for the others had made their escape to the opposite bank — he died. The king was filled with great grief for the loss of his friend, and when his body was recovered, buried it in a magnificent funeral.

This sorrow was made greater by news of the death of Andromachus, to whom he had given the charge of Syria; the Samaritans had burned him alive. To avenge his murder, he hastened to the spot with all possible speed, and on his arrival those who had been guilty of so great a crime were delivered to him.

Then he put Menon in place of Andromachus and executed those who had slain his general. Certain tyrants, including Aristonicus and Stesilaiis of Methymnê, he handed over to their own subjects, who put them to death by torture because of their outrages.

Then Alexander gave audience to the envoys of the Athenians, the Rhodians, and the Chians; the Athenians congratulated him on his victory and begged that the Greek prisoners should be restored to their country; the Rhodians and the Chians made complaints of their garrisons. The requests of all seemed just, and were granted. To the people of Mitylenê also, because of their remarkable loyalty to his cause, he not only repaid the money which they

had spent on the war, but also added a great tract of neighbouring territory. To the kings of the Cypriotes besides, who had both gone over from Darius to him and had sent him a fleet when he was besieging Tyre, honour was paid according to their deserts.

Then Amphoterus, commander of the fleet, was sent to free Crete — for many parts of that island were beset by the arms both of the Persians and of the Spartans — with orders above all to clear the sea of the pirate fleets; for it was a prey to corsairs, who ^[16] made war on both kings. After attending to these affairs, he dedicated a mixing-bowl of gold and thirty cups to the Tyrian Hercules, and, intent upon Darius, ordered a march towards the Euphrates to be announced.

IX. But Darius, when he learned that his enemy had turned aside from Egypt into Africa, hesitated whether to halt in the neighbourhood of Mesopotamia or to make for the interior parts of his realm, thinking that he would undoubtedly be a more influential advocate of taking up war resolutely, if he were present in person with those remote nations, which he was with difficulty arousing through his satraps.

^[2] But when the report spread abroad on good authority that Alexander with all his forces would seek him in whatever region he should take refuge, being well aware with how energetic a foe he had to deal, he ordered all the aid from distant nations to be assembled in Babylonia. The Bactriani and Scythians, as well as the Indi, had already come together, and the forces of the remaining nations also were present to help his cause.

But although the army was almost half again as large as it had been in Cilicia, many lacked arms. These were being procured with the greatest zeal; the cavalry and their horses had coverings of iron plates joined together in one mesh; to those to whom before he had given nothing but javelins, shields and swords were added, and herds of horses to be broken were distributed to the infantrymen, in order that the cavalry might be more numerous than before. And as a mighty terror to the foe, he believed, two hundred scythed chariots a supplementary arm peculiar to those nations, followed; from the end of the pole spears tipped with iron projected, and on each side of the yoke he had affixed three swords on each side, between the spokes of the wheels many sharp points projected in opposite directions to each other, and then other scythes fixed in the rim of the wheels pointed upwards, and still others pointed towards the ground, to cut to pieces whatever came in the way of the horses as they were swiftly driven on.

^[6] When his army had been equipped and thoroughly armed in this way, Darius moved his forces from Babylon. On his right side was the Tigris, a famous river, the Euphrates protected his left side, his army ^[7] had filled the plains of Mesopotamia. Then, after crossing the Tigris, when he heard that the enemy was not far off, he sent ahead Satropates, commander of the cavalry, with 1000 elite horsemen. To Mazaeus, satrap of Babylon, 6000 were given, with which to keep the enemy from crossing the river; ^[8] he was also directed

to pillage and burn the region which Alexander was about to approach. For Darius believed that his enemy could be vanquished by want, since he had nothing except what he could seize by pillage; but to himself supplies were being brought, some by land, others by the Tigris River.

[9] And now he had reached Arbela, an insignificant village, but one which he was to make famous by his disaster. Here he left the greater part of his provisions and baggage, bridged the river Lycus, and as before at the Euphrates spent five days in getting his army across. From there, having advanced about eighty stadia, he pitched his camp by a second river — its name is Boumelus. It was a region most advantageous for deploying his forces, being an empty plain suitable for cavalry; not even shrubs and short bushes hide the ground, and an unobstructed view is allowed even to objects which are far away; and if there was any eminence in the plains, he gave orders that it should be levelled and the whole rising made fiat.

[11] Those who estimated the number of Darius' forces, so far as it could be inferred from a distance, could hardly make Alexander believe that after so many thousands had been killed still greater forces had been recruited. But being a man who scorned every danger, and especially great numbers, he encamped on the eleventh day at the Euphrates. Having bridged the river in two places, he ordered the cavalry to go first and the phalanx to follow; for Mazaeus, who had hastened to the spot with 6000 horsemen in order to prevent his crossing, did not dare to risk himself in a battle. Then, after a few days had been granted to the soldiers, not for rest, but to strengthen their morale, he began vigorously to follow the enemy, for fear that Darius might make for the interior of his kingdom and that it might be necessary to follow him through places altogether deserted and without supplies. Accordingly on the fourteenth day he penetrated beyond Armenia to the Tigris. The entire region beyond the river was smoking from a recent conflagration; for Mazaeus was setting fire to whatever he came to, as if it were the enemy's territory. And at first, since the darkness which the smoke had spread abroad obscured the light of day, Alexander halted through fear of ambushes, then, as the scouts that had been sent ahead reported that all was safe, he sent on a few of the cavalry, to try to ford the river. The water rose at first as high as the horses' flanks, then, when they came to mid-channel, to their necks as well.

[16] And certain it is that no other river in the region of the Orient rushes on with such violence, carrying with it not only the waters of many torrents, but also rocks. And so, from the speed of its flow it has been given the name "Tigris," because in the Persian tongue they call an arrow *tigris*.

[17] Therefore the infantry, as if divided into wings encircled by the cavalry, and carrying their arms over their heads, without any difficulty penetrated to the mid-channel. The king being the first among the infantry to land on the farther bank, pointed out the shallower water to the soldiers with his hand, when his voice could not be heard. But they could with difficulty keep a firm footing, since now the slippery stones deceived their steps and now too swift a

current swept their feet away. The toil of those was the greatest who carried burdens upon their shoulders; for since they could not direct their own course they were carried away by the unmanageable burden into swift and deep places, and while each man was striving to save his own spoils, a greater struggle arose among themselves than with the river, and the heaps of packs floating here and there had upset many of them. The king admonished them to be satisfied with keeping hold of their weapons; that he would restore everything else. But neither advice nor command could be heard; on the one hand fear dazed them, and besides this their shouting at one ^[21] another as they struggled together. At last, where the current of the river was less violent and disclosed shallower water, they landed, without the loss of anything except a few packs.

The army could have been destroyed, if anyone had had the courage to conquer it, but the king's constant good fortune turned the enemy from the spot. In the same way he crossed the Granicus, while so many thousands of horse and foot were at a standstill on the further bank; thus in the narrow passes of Cilicia he overcame such a horde of foes; even the charge of reckless daring, which he had in abundance, can have less force, because there was never opportunity to decide whether he had acted rashly. Mazaeus, who, if he had fallen upon them while they were crossing the river, would undoubtedly have overwhelmed them in their disorder, did not begin to ride against them until they were on the bank and fully armed. Mazaeus had sent ahead only 1000 horsemen; and Alexander, having ascertained their small number and then treated it with scorn, ordered Ariston, commander of the Paeonian cavalry, to charge them at full speed." ^[25] Glorious on that day was the fighting of the cavalry, and in particular of Ariston; aiming his spear straight at the throat of Satropates, leader of the Persian horsemen, he ran it through, then overtaking him as he fled through the midst of the enemy, hurled him from his horse, and in spite of his resistance cut off his head with a sword, brought it back, and amid great applause laid it at the king's feet.

X. There for two days the king remained in his camp; then he ordered a march to be announced ^[2] for the following day. But about the first watch the moon, in eclipse, hid at first the brilliance of her heavenly body, then all her light was sullied and suffused with the hue of blood, and those who were already anxious on the very eve of so critical a contest were struck with intense religious awe and from that with a kind of dread. They complained that against the will of the gods they were being dragged to the ends of the earth; no longer could rivers be approached, nor did the heavenly bodies keep their former brilliance, desert lands and solitude everywhere met them; to gratify the vanity of one man the blood of so many soldiers was being spent, their king disdained his native land, disowned his father Philip, and with vainglorious thoughts aspired to heaven. Already the affair was approaching a mutiny, when Alexander, unterrified in the face of everything, ordered the generals and the higher officers of the soldiers to appear in full numbers at the

king's tent, and the Egyptian soothsayers, whom he believed to be most skilled in reading the heavens and the stars, to declare their opinion.

But they, although they knew well enough that the heavenly bodies which determine the seasons have their destined changes, and that the moon suffers eclipse either when it goes behind the earth or is covered by the sun, do not teach the common people the knowledge which they themselves possess; [6] but they declared that the sun represented the Greeks and the moon the Persians, and that whenever the moon suffered eclipse, defeat and slaughter was foretold for those nations, and they enumerated ancient examples of Persian kings whom an eclipse of the moon showed to have fought without the [7] favour of the gods. Nothing sways the common herd more effectively than superstition; generally uncontrolled, savage, fickle, when they are victims of vain superstition, they obey the soothsayers better than they do their leaders. Therefore the interpretations of the Egyptians, when they were made public, restored the down-hearted to hope and confidence.

[8] The king, thinking that he ought to take advantage of the ardour of their spirits, broke camp in the second watch; he had the Tigris on his right, on the left the mountains which they call the Gordyaeon. When they had begun this march, scouts who had been sent ahead reported to them towards daybreak that Darius was coming. Therefore Alexander went on at the head of his troops with the soldiers drawn up and his line in order. But they were loiterers of the Persians, not more than a thousand in number, who had given the impression of a great army; for when the truth cannot be discovered, the false is exaggerated through fear. When the truth was known, the king with a few of his men followed hard after the band as they fled to their main body, killing some and capturing others; and he sent riders ahead to reconnoitre, and at the same time to put out the fires which the barbarians had set in the villages. For as they fled they had hurriedly thrown fire-brands upon the house-roofs and on piles of grain, which, although they had lodged at the top, had not yet penetrated to the lower parts.

Hence, when the fire was extinguished, the greater part of the grain was saved; the supply of other necessities also began to be abundant. This very fact fired the ardour of the soldiers in their pursuit of the enemy; for since they were burning and devastating the land, there was need of haste lest they should destroy everything by fire before they could be stopped. Therefore necessity was changed to policy; for Mazaeus, who had before burned the villages at his ease, now was content to make his escape and left most things uninjured to the enemy. Alexander had learned that Darius was not more than stadia distant from him; therefore, being furnished even to satiety with a supply of provisions, he remained for four days in the same place.

[16] Then letters of Darius were intercepted, in which the Greek soldiers were tempted either to kill or to betray their king, and Alexander was in doubt whether to read them before an assembly, since he thoroughly trusted the goodwill and loyalty towards him of the Greek troops also. But Parmenion

dissuaded him, declaring that the ears of the soldiers ought not to be infected by such promises; the king, he said, was exposed to the treachery of even any one man; nothing was criminal in the eyes of avarice. Yielding to the author of this advice, Alexander broke camp.

[18] As he was on his way, a eunuch among the prisoners who were in attendance on the wife of Darius reported to him that she was failing and could barely draw breath. Worn out by the constant toil of marching and by grief, she had swooned in the arms of her mother-in-law and her maiden daughters, and then had died. Another messenger came also bringing that same news. And the king, just as if the death of his own mother had been announced, uttered many laments and with rising tears, such as Darius might have shed, came into the tent where the mother of Darius was sitting by the dead body. Here indeed his grief was renewed, when he saw her prostrate on the ground. The mother, reminded also of her former misfortunes by this recent loss, had taken to her bosom her grown-up daughters, a great solace for their common sorrow, but to whom she herself ought to have been a comfort. Before her eyes was her little grandson, to be pitied for the very reason that he did not yet realize the flood of calamity which streamed towards him most of all.

You would have thought that Alexander was weeping among his own kin, and that he was not offering, but looking for, consolation. Certain it is that he abstained from food and that he observed every honour in performing the funeral rites in the native manner of the Persians, worthy, by Heaven! even now of reaping the fruit of such great compassion and continence. He had seen her only once, on the day when she was taken prisoner, but it was when he went to visit, not her, but the mother of Darius, and her remarkable beauty had been an incentive, not to passion, but to glory.

Of the eunuchs who were in attendance upon the queen, Tyriotes amid the confusion caused by the mourners escaped through that gate which, because it did not face the enemy, was only slightly guarded, reached the camp of Darius, and being received by the watchmen, was led into the king's tent, lamenting and with rent garments. On seeing him Darius, deeply disturbed by the expectation of more sorrows than one and uncertain what to fear most, said: "Your expression reveals some great misfortune or other, but do not spare the ears of a wretched man; I have learned to be unhappy, and it is often a consolation for calamity that a man should know his fate. You are not going to tell me, are you, what I most suspect but dread to speak out, the dishonour of my family, which to me, and, as I believe, to them — is more awful than any punishment?" To these words Tyriotes replied: "That suspicion of yours is indeed far from the truth; for the greatest honour that can be shown to queens by their subjects has been observed towards yours by the victor. But your wife a short time ago passed away." [29] Then truly, not only groans but shrieks were heard in the whole camp. And Darius had no doubt but that she had been killed because she had been unable to endure outrage, and beside

himself with grief he cried: "What great crime have I committed, Alexander? Whom of your kindred have I murdered, that you should take this revenge for my cruelty? Me you hate, without provocation, indeed; but suppose that you have justly made war upon me, ought you then to have waged it against women?" Tyriotes swore by his country's gods that she had suffered no violation; that Alexander had lamented her death, and had wept as bitterly as Darius himself was weeping. But by these very words the mind of the loving husband was turned again to anxiety and suspicion, imagining that Alexander's grief for a captive was ^[32] undoubtedly caused by habitual intimacy. Accordingly, having dismissed all witnesses and retaining only Tyriotes, no longer weeping, but sighing, he said: "Do you not see, Tyriotes, that there is no room for falsehood? Instruments of torture will soon be here; but do not wait for them, I beseech you by the gods, if you have any reverence for your king; he did not dare, did he, being master of events and young, to do that which I both desire to know, and am ashamed to inquire?" ^[33] The eunuch offered his body for torture, but called upon the gods to witness that the queen had been ^[34] treated chastely and with respect. Then at last, when Darius was made to believe that what the eunuch declared was true, he covered his head and wept for a long time, then with tears still flowing he threw back the mantle from his face and, lifting his hands to heaven, said: "O Gods of my fathers, above all make firm my rule, but if it be now finished with me, may no one, I pray, be king of Asia, rather than that enemy so just, that victor so merciful."

XI. Accordingly, although after twice seeking peace in vain he had concentrated all his plans on war, yet overcome by his enemy's continence, Darius sent ten envoys, the leading men of his court, to present new conditions of peace. Alexander, having called a council, ordered these envoys to be given audience.

The eldest of them said: "That Darius should seek peace now for this third time no force has compelled him, but he is constrained to do so by your justice and continence. We have not felt that his mother, wife and children were prisoners, except in being without him; guarding like a father the chastity of those who still live, you call them queens, and suffer them to retain the semblance of their former fortune.

I see your expression as sorrowful as that of Darius, when he sent us to you; and yet he is mourning for a wife, you for an enemy. Already you would be standing in line-of-battle, had not the concern for her obsequies delayed you. Is it at all strange if he seeks peace from so friendly a spirit? What need is there for arms among those who feel no hatred? Heretofore he set the river Halys, which marks the farther boundary of Lydia, as the limit of your rule; he now offers all the country between the Hellespont and the Euphrates as a dowry for his daughter, whom he gives you in marriage. Keep his son Ochus, who is in your possession, as a hostage of peace and good faith, return his mother and his two maiden daughters; in return for their three persons he begs

you to accept 30,000 talents of gold.

“I would not venture to say that this is the time when you ought, not only to grant peace, but even to seize it of your own accord, if I were not aware of yourself-restraint. Consider how great a tract you have left behind you, look and see how much you are seeking to gain. A very dangerous thing is too great an empire; for it is difficult to hold what one cannot grasp. Do you not see how ships that exceed a moderate bulk cannot be managed? I really think that Darius has lost so much for no other reason than because too great possessions offer opportunity for great loss. Truly it is easier to conquer than to protect; how much more readily do our hands seize than hold! Even the death of Darius’ wife may warn you that your compassion already has less scope than it had.”

Alexander bade the envoys withdraw from the tent and referred the question to his council. For a long time no one ventured to say what he thought, — since the king’s inclination was uncertain; at last Parmenion said that he had before recommended the return of the prisoners taken at Damascus to those who wished to ransom them; that a vast sum of money could have been realized from those men who, as bound captives, kept busy the hands of many brave warriors. And that now too he strongly advised exchanging one old woman and two girls, a hindrance to their journeys and their marches, for [13] 30,000 talents of gold. Alexander could acquire a rich realm by negotiation, not by war, and no other man had possessed the lands between the Danube and the Euphrates, lands whose limits were separated by an immense space in between. Also he ought rather to look back upon Macedonia than fix his gaze on Bactra and the Indi.

[14] Parmenion’s speech was displeasing to the king; accordingly, when he finished speaking, Alexander replied: “I too should prefer money to glory, if I were Parmenion; as it is, being Alexander, I am secure against poverty, and I remember that I am a king, not a trader. I have nothing at all for sale but above all I do not put my fortune on the market; if it is our desire that the prisoners be returned, we shall more honourably give them as a gift than ransom them for a price.”

Then, having called in the envoys, he answered them after this fashion; “Announce to Darius that my acts of clemency and generosity were due, not to my friendship for him, but to my natural impulses.

To wage war with captives and women is not my habit; he must be armed whom I hate. But if it were at least in good faith that he asks for peace, I might perhaps consider whether I would grant it. But, in solemn truth, since he now with letters tempts my soldiers to betray me, and now with money bribes my friends to kill me, I must pursue him to destruction, not as a legitimate enemy, but as an assassin who resorts to poison.

“Furthermore, as to the conditions of peace which you propose, if I accept them, they make him the victor. He generously offers me what is beyond the Euphrates. You have forgotten then, where it is in fact that you now come to

see me. Surely I am across the Euphrates! Therefore my camp is beyond the most liberal boundary of the dowry which he promises. Drive me from here, in order that I may know that what you offer to cede is yours. With like generosity he gives me his daughter, who forsooth is the destined bride of one of his slaves. A high honour truly he confers upon me in preferring me to Mazaeus as a son-in-law!

“Go, report to your king that what he has lost and what he still possesses are prizes of war; since it is war that rules the boundaries of both realms, each will have what the fortune of to-morrow shall allot to him.” The envoys replied that since his intention was war, he was acting without guile in not deceiving them with the hope of peace. For their own part, they asked that they might be sent back as soon as possible to their king; that he also ought to prepare for war. They were dismissed, and reported to Darius that battle was imminent.

XII. Darius at once sent on Mazaeus with 3000 horsemen to take possession of the roads which the enemy was likely to make for. Alexander, after having paid the due rites to the body of Darius’ wife, left within the same fortifications with a garrison of moderate size the more burdensome part of his army and hastened against the enemy. He had divided the infantry into two wings and encircled each flank with cavalry; the baggage followed the army. Then he sent Menidas in advance with his cavalry with orders to find out where Darius was. But Menidas, when he found that Mazaeus had encamped near by, feared to advance farther and reported that he had heard nothing else save the noise of men and the neighing of horses. Mazaeus too, when he caught sight of the scouts from afar, returned to his camp, announcing the coming of the enemy.

Therefore Darius, who wished to fight in open plains, ordered his soldiers to arm themselves and drew up his line of battle. On his left wing were Bactrian cavalry, about 1000 in number, the Dahae, of just the same number, and the Arachosii and the Susiani, 4000. These a hundred scythed chariots followed. Next to the chariots was Bessus with 8000 horsemen, who likewise were Bactriani. The Massagetae brought up his rear with 2000. To these he had joined the infantry forces of many peoples, not mingled together, but each group arranged with the cavalry of its corresponding nation. Then Ariobarzanes and Orontobates led the Persians with the Mardii and the Sogdiani. These men commanded divisions of the forces, in charge of the whole was Orsines, a descendant of the “seven Persians and tracing his genealogy also to Cyrus, that most renowned king. These were followed by other nations, not very well known even to their allies. Phradates came after these nations, leading fifty four-in-hand chariots, with a large army of Caspii. The Indi and the rest of the dwellers on the Red Sea, mere names rather than auxiliaries, were behind the chariots.

The rear of this part of the army was brought up by other scythe-bearing chariots, to which he had joined the foreign soldiers. These were followed by

those who are known as the Lesser Armenians, the Armenians by the Babylonians, and both by the Belitae and those who dwelt in the mountains of the Cossaei. After these marched the Gortuae, really a Euboean race, who formerly followed the Medes, but were now degenerate and ignorant of their native customs. Next to these he put the Phrygians and the Cataonians. Then the Parthylaei, inhabiting the lands now held by the Parthians from Scythia, brought up the rear of the whole force. Such was the form of the left wing. The right was held by the nation of Greater Armenia with the Cadusii, the Cappadocians, the Syrians, and the Medes. These also had fifty scythe-bearing chariots. The sum of the entire army consisted of 45,000 cavalry, and the infantry numbered 200,000. Drawn up in this manner, they advanced ten stadia, and then, being ordered to halt under arms, awaited the enemy.

Alexander's army was seized by a panic, the reason for which was not apparent; for they became frenzied and proceeded to tremble, as a secret dread ran through the breasts of all. A gleaming of the heavens shining here and there, like that in the burning heat of summer, presented the appearance of fire, and they believed that fires were blazing from the camp of Darius, as if they had incautiously come upon his guarding troops. Now if Mazaeus, who was guarding the road, had fallen upon them in their panic, a great disaster might have been suffered; as it was, while he sat idle on the eminence of which he had taken possession, satisfied not to be attacked, Alexander, becoming aware of the army's terror, ordered the signal for a halt to be given, and bade the soldiers lay down their arms in front of them and rest themselves, advising them that there was no cause for their sudden alarm, that the enemy were at a distance. At length they came to their senses and recovered alike their arms and their courage. And nothing seemed safer under the circumstances than to fortify a camp in that same place.

On the following day Mazaeus — he had taken position with the best of his cavalry on a high hill, from which the camp of the Macedonians was in sight — either through fear or because he had been ordered merely to keep watch, returned to Darius. The Macedonians took possession of the very hill which he had abandoned; for it was safer than the plain, and from it the enemies' line of battle, which was being deployed on the level ground, could be observed.

But a mist, which the moist mountains had poured about, did not indeed cut off a general view, but did prevent the different divisions of the army and their arrangement from being made out. Their great number had flooded the plains, and the noise made by so many thousands had filled the ears even of those who stood afar off. The king began to waver in his determination, and to weigh his plan and that of Parmenion, although it was now too late; for they had come to a point from which the army could not be withdrawn without disaster, unless it were victorious. Accordingly, concealing his feelings, he ordered the mercenary cavalry from Paeonia to advance. He himself, as was said before, had extended the phalanx into two wings, both of which were protected by cavalry. And now the mist had been dispelled, and the clearer

light had revealed the army of the enemy, and the Macedonians, either from eagerness or from the tediousness of waiting, raised a mighty shout, after the manner of those engaged in battle. When this was returned by the Persians and had filled the surrounding forests and valleys with a fearsome sound, the Macedonians could no longer be restrained from hastening against the enemy on the run as well. But the king, thinking it still better to fortify a camp on that same hill, ordered a palisade to be set up, and when the work had been promptly completed, he withdrew to his tent, from which the whole army of the enemy was in sight.

XIII. Then verily the entire vision of the coming peril was before his eyes; horses and men shone with splendid arms, and the concern of the generals, as they rode up and down among their lines, showed that on the side of the enemy everything was being made ready with special care, and many trifling things, such as the noise of the men, the neighing of horses, the brilliance of arms shining here and there, had disturbed a mind already on edge with expectation. Therefore, either because he was really in doubt, or to try his officers, he called a council, inquiring what was best to be done. Parmenion, the most skilled among his generals in the art of war, gave it as his opinion that a surprise was better than an open battle. In the dead of night the foe could be overwhelmed; being of discordant customs and languages, as well as terrified in their sleep by an unforeseen danger, when would they unite in the confusion of an attack by night? But in the daytime the terrible aspect of the Scythians and the Bactriani would for the first time confront the Macedonians; their faces are shaggy and their hair unshorn, to say nothing of the enormous bulk of their huge bodies. Soldiers are affected more by vain and trivial things than by reasonable causes of fear. Then too so great a multitude could surround their smaller numbers, since they were fighting, not in the narrow and inaccessible by-ways of Cilicia, but in an open and broad plain.

Almost all agreed with Parmenion; Polypercon thought that victory undoubtedly depended upon that plan. Alexander, looking solemnly at the latter — for he had lately chided Parmenion more severely than he wished and did not have the heart to upbraid him again — said: “The craft which you recommend to me is that of petty robbers and thieves; for their sole desire is to deceive. I will not suffer my glory always to be impaired by the absence of Darius, or by confined places, or by deceit by night. I am determined to attack openly by daylight; I prefer to regret my fortune rather than be ashamed of my victory. Besides, this consideration too is added; I am well aware that the barbarians keep watch by night and stand under arms, so that it is not really possible to deceive them. Therefore do you prepare for battle.” When they had been thus aroused, he bade them take food and rest.

Darius, inferring that the enemy would do what Parmenion had advised, had ordered that the horses should stand bridled, that a great part of the army should be armed, and that night watch should be kept with unusually vigilant care; therefore his entire camp was aglow with fires. He himself with his

generals and his relatives rode about among the divisions as they stood under arms, calling upon the Sun and Mithras, and the sacred and eternal fire, to inspire them with a courage worthy of their ancient glory and the records of their forefathers. And surely, he said, if any tokens of divine aid could be read by mortal minds, the gods were on their side. It was they who had lately struck sudden panic into the minds of the Macedonians, who were still harried and hunted by frenzy and throwing away their arms, and the gods who watch over the Persian empire were about to inflict upon madmen the punishment which they deserved. Nor was their leader himself saner than his men; for after the manner of wild beasts, fixing his gaze only on the booty at which he was aiming, he was rushing upon the destruction behind which the booty lay.

There was like concern among the Macedonians also, and they passed the night in fear, as if that were the time set for the battle. Alexander, never more alarmed, ordered that Aristander should be summoned for vows and prayers. The seer, in white robe, bearing in his hand the sacred branches, with veiled head led the king in prayers as he propitiated Jupiter and Minerva Victoria. Then at last, after a sacrifice had been duly performed, the king returned to his tent, to rest for the remainder of the night. But he could neither go to sleep nor endure repose; now he thought of sending his army from the crest of the mountain against the right wing of the Persians, now of meeting the enemy front to front, sometimes he hesitated whether he should not rather direct his army against the left wing. At last a deeper sleep than usual overcame his body, worn out as it was by anxiety of mind.

And now, at daybreak, the generals had assembled to receive their orders, amazed at the unwonted silence around the king's tent; for at other times he had been wont to summon them, and sometimes to chide the tardy, now they marvelled that he was not aroused even at the final crisis of affairs, and believed that he was not resting in sleep, but willing away — through fear. Yet none of the body-guard ventured to enter the tent; and already the time was at hand, and the soldiers without the order of the commander could neither arm themselves nor take their places in the ranks. Parmenion, after hesitating for a long time, himself gave the order to take food. And already it was necessary to go forth; then at last Parmenion entered the tent, and after often calling the king often by name, when he could not waken him with his voice, he did so by touching him. "It is broad daylight," said he, "the enemy is advancing in battle-array, your soldiers, still unarmed, await your command. Where is that vigour of mind of yours? Truly you are wont to wake the very watchmen." To this Alexander replied: "Do you think that I could have gone to sleep before I had unburdened my mind of the care which was delaying my rest?" And he ordered the signal for battle to be given with the trumpet. And when Parmenion continued to express no less surprise at his having said that he had slept free from care: "It is not at all strange," said he, "for when Darius was setting fire to the land, destroying villages, and ruining food-supplies, I was beside myself; but now what have I to fear, when he is preparing to

contend in battle? By Heaven, he has satisfied my heart's desire. But the reason for this feeling also shall be given later. Do you go to the forces which each of you commands. I will soon be present and will explain what I wish to be done." Very rarely, rather at the advice of his friends than through fear of encountering danger, was Alexander in the habit of using a cuirass; on that occasion at any rate he put on a protection for his body, and went to his soldiers. Never before had they seen the king so joyful, and from his undaunted aspect they inferred a sure hope of victory.

And the king, after razing the palisade, ordered his forces to go forth, and arranged his line of battle. On the right wing were placed the horsemen whom they call the body-guard; Clitus commanded these, and with them he joined the squadrons of Philotas, and on its flank put the rest of the commanders of cavalry.

Last stood the troop of Meleager, followed by the phalanx. Behind the phalanx were the Silver-shields, under command of Nicanor, son of Parmenion. In reserve were Coenus with his troops, and behind him the Orestae and Lyncestae, after them Polypercon, and next the foreign forces. Of this body the leader Amyntas was not present; Philippos (son of Balacrus) who had lately been received as an ally, commanded them.

Such was the form of the right wing. On the left Craterus led the cavalry of the Peloponnesians, and to these were joined the horsemen of the Achaeans, the Locrians, and the Malieis. The rear of these was brought up by the Thessalian cavalry, led by Philippos. The infantry force was protected by the cavalry. This was the front of the left wing. But in order that it might not be surrounded by superior numbers, he had girt it in the rear by a powerful force. He had strengthened the wings also by reserves, placed not straight in front but on the flanks, in order that, if the enemy should try to surround the — line of battle, they should be ready to fight. Here were the Agriani, whom Attalus commanded, and joined with them the Cretan archers. The hindermost ranks he faced towards the rear, so as to fortify the whole battle-line by a circular formation.

Here were the Illyrians, joined with the mercenary soldiers, and there he had also posted the light-armed Thracians. And by his dispositions he made his army so mobile that those who stood in the rear to prevent encirclement could nevertheless, by a turning movement, be brought round to the front. Therefore the front was not better protected than the flanks, nor the flanks than the rear.

When the army was thus arranged, he warned them, in case the enemy should make a great uproar as they sent forth their scythe-bearing chariots, to receive them in silence as they rushed upon them, and open their ranks (he had no doubt that they would pass through without doing harm, if no one opposed them) but if they sent them forth without noise, they themselves were to terrify them by shouting and with their javelins stab the frightened horses from both sides at once. Those who commanded the wings were ordered to

extend them in such a way that they might neither be surrounded by standing too close together, nor yet make the rear ranks so thin as to be ineffective. The baggage with the prisoners, among whom the mother and children of Darius were guarded, he placed not far from the field of battle upon a high hill, leaving a guard of moderate size. The left wing, as at other times, was given in charge to Parmenion, the king himself took his place on the right.

Not yet had they come within spear-range, when one Bion, a deserter, with all possible speed came to Alexander, reporting that Darius had spread iron caltrops planted in the ground over which he believed that his enemy would send forth his cavalry, and that the place had been marked by a clear sign, in order that the device might be avoided by his own men. Alexander, after giving orders that the deserter should be guarded, called together his generals, and explaining what had been told, warned them to avoid the part which had been designated, and to inform the horsemen of the danger.

But when he began to encourage the army, they could not hear him, since the noise made by the two forces deafened them, but in the sight of all riding about among his generals and those who were nearest to him, he addressed them as follows: XIV. that after having traversed so many lands in the hope of the victory for which they must fight this one contest was left them. He recalled the Granicus River, the mountains of Cilicia, and Syria and Egypt, seized as they passed through, as great incentives to hope and glory. The Persians, recalled from flight, would fight only because they could not run away. It was now the third day that pallid with fear and burdened by their arms they had remained fixed in the same spot. There was no surer sign of their desperation than that they were burning their cities and their fields, thereby having admitted that whatever they had not ruined belonged to the enemy. They must not fear the merely meaningless names of unknown nations; for it had nothing to do with the result of the war who of their number were called Scythians or who Cadusians. For the very reason that they were unknown they were unrenowned; brave men were never unknown, but cowards dug out from their lurking places brought with them nothing but mere names. The Macedonians owed it to their valour that there was no place in the whole world that was unacquainted with such men.

Let them but look at the heterogeneous army of the barbarians; one had nothing but a javelin, another hurled stones from a sling, few had regular arms. Hence on their side more men stand, on our side more will fight. Nor did he demand that they should enter battle bravely unless he himself should set an example to the rest in valour; that he would fight before the foremost standards. Many scars — as so many ornaments to his body — were a warrant on his behalf; they themselves knew that he, almost alone, had no share in the common booty, but used the rewards of victory in honouring and enriching them. That these words he addressed to brave men; if there were any who were not of that kind, to them he would have said this: that they had come to a place from which they could not flee. That after traversing so many spacious

lands, after so many rivers and mountains had been left in their way behind, they must make the journey to their native land and their homes by main force.

Thus the leaders, thus the nearest of the soldiers were inspired.

Darius was on his left wing, closely surrounded by a great throng of his men, the elite of his infantry and cavalry, and he had scorned the enemy's small numbers, thinking that the extension of their wings made their battle-line weak. Then, standing aloft, as he did, in his chariot, and turning his eyes and stretching out his hands right and left to the troops who stood about him, he said: "We, a short time since lords of the lands which on one side the Ocean laves, on the other the Hellespont embraces, must now fight, not for glory, but for life, and for what you ^[10] value higher than life, for freedom; this day will establish or end the greatest empire any age has seen. At the Granicus, we fought against the enemy with a very small part of our strength; in Cilicia, Syria could receive us in case we were defeated, and the Tigris and the Euphrates were mighty bulwarks of ^[11] our realm. We have come to the place where, if we are worsted, there is no room even for flight. Everything behind us has been consumed by so long a war; the cities do not have their inhabitants, the fields have no labourers. Our wives also and our children follow this army, an easy prey for the enemy unless we oppose our bodies in defence of our dearest pledges.

"So far as my duty is concerned, I have assembled an army which this almost boundless plain can hardly contain, I have distributed men and horses, I have seen to it that so vast a multitude may not lack supplies, I have chosen a place in which our army ^[13] can deploy. The rest is in your power; only have courage to conquer, and scorn mere reputation, the weakest of weapons against brave men. What you have heretofore feared as valour is rashness; and when this has spent its first attack, it becomes weak, like some insects when they have ejected their sting.

Moreover these plains have betrayed their small numbers, which the mountains of Cilicia had hidden. You see their thin ranks, their extended wings, their drained centre; for those in the rear, whom he has faced outwards, are already turning their backs. They can be trampled down, by Heaven!, by the hooves of our horses, even if I send forth nothing but ^[15] scythe-bearing chariots. And we shall have won the war, if we win the battle. For they too have no opportunity for flight; on the one side the Euphrates, on the other the Tigris hems them in and checks them.

"Furthermore, what was before in their favour, is now changed to the opposite. Our army is easily moved and unencumbered, theirs is laden with plunder. Therefore, hampered as they are by spoils taken from us, we shall cut them to pieces, and the same thing will be the cause and the fruit of our victory. But if the name of their nation affects any one of you, let him bear in mind that the arms of the Macedonians are there, but not their bodies. For we in our turn have drained plenteous blood, and loss is always more serious in

small numbers. As to Alexander, however great he may seem to the wavering and timid, he is but a single mortal, and if you have any belief in me, a rash and mad one, as yet more fortunate because of our fear of him than because of his own valour. But nothing can be lasting which is not supported by reason. Although the breeze of good luck may seem to blow, yet in the long run it is not sufficient support for rashness. Moreover, the vicissitudes of life are short and inconstant, and Fortune never shows indulgence without reserve.

Perhaps the gods have so directed the course of the fates, that the empire of the Persians, which in a successful career of 230 years they had raised to the highest pinnacle, they might smite with a mighty shock merely and not lay it low, and that they might thus remind us of human frailty which is too often forgotten amid prosperity. Not long ago we were waging an offensive war against the Greeks, now in our own lands we are resisting a war brought upon us. We in our turn are victims of Fortune's changes; of course this empire, since we both aspire to it, is too large for one nation to occupy!

"But even if hope were lost, yet necessity ought to spur us on. We have come to our extremest danger. My mother, two daughters, Ochus, born to the hope of this empire, our nobles, that offspring of royal stock, your leaders, he holds prisoners, like so many criminals. Unless there is some help in you, I am captive in my greater part. Rescue my flesh and blood from bonds; restore to me my dear ones, mother and children, for whom you yourselves do not refuse to die; as for my wife, I have lost her in that prison house. Believe that all these are now stretching out their arms to you, are imploring the gods of our fatherland, are demanding your aid, your pity, your loyalty, to free them from fetters, from slavery, from the dole of beggary. Or do you believe that they serve with calmness those whose rulers they disdain to be?

"I see the enemies' line advancing; but the nearer I come to the crisis, the less content can I be with the words which I have spoken. I conjure you by the gods of our fatherland, by the eternal fire which is carried before me on altars, by the radiance of the sun whose rising is within the confines of my realm, by the immortal memory of Cyrus, who was the first to take this empire from the Medes and Lydians and brought it to Persia, save the name and nation of the Persians from utter disgrace. Onward! full of vigour and confidence, to leave to posterity the glory which you received from your ancestors. In your right hands you now carry freedom, power, hope for the future. Whoso has scorned death has escaped it; every coward it overtakes. I myself, not only because it is my country's custom, but also that I may be seen of all, ride in a chariot, and you have my permission to imitate me whether I prove to set an example of courage or of cowardice."

XV. Meanwhile Alexander, both in order to pass around the place of the snares pointed out by the deserter, and also to encounter Darius, who was guarding one wing, ordered his army to charge on a slant. Darius also turned his army in the same direction, having ordered Bessus to command the horsemen of the Massagetae to charge Alexander's left wing on its flank.

Darius himself had before him the scythe-bearing chariots, all of which on a given signal he poured upon the enemy. The charioteers drove on at full speed, in order to trample down greater numbers by a surprise attack. Therefore some were cut to pieces by the spears that projected far in advance of the pole, others by the scythes that pointed downward on both sides. And the Macedonians did not give ground gradually, but in scattered flight had thrown their ranks into disorder.

Mazaeus also struck them with fear in their panic by ordering his 1000 cavalry to wheel about, in order to plunder the enemy's baggage, thinking that the prisoners also who were being guarded would break their bonds, when they saw their countrymen approaching.

This move had not escaped the notice of Parmenion, who was on the left wing; therefore he hastily sent Polydamas to the king, both to notify him of the danger and to ask what he ordered to be done.

Alexander on hearing Polydamas said: "Go, report to Parmenion, that if we win the battle, we shall not only recover our own property, but shall seize what belongs to the enemy. Therefore there is no need for him to lead off any of his forces from the battleline, but, as is worthy of me and of my father Philip, let him scorn the loss of our packs and fight valiantly."

Meanwhile the barbarians had ransacked the baggage, and when many of the guards had been killed, the prisoners, freed from their bonds, seized whatever was at hand with which they could arm themselves, and having joined forces with the horsemen of their countrymen, fell upon the Macedonians, who were thus surrounded by a double danger.

Filled with joy, the attendants upon Sisigambis reported that Darius had won, that the enemy had been overthrown with great bloodshed, and finally had even been stripped of their baggage; for they believed that the fortune of the battle was the same everywhere, and that the victorious Persians had dispersed to pillage. Sisigambis, when the prisoners urged her to free her mind from sorrow, remained in the same attitude as before. Not a word escaped her, neither her colour nor her expression changed; she sat unmoved — fearing, I suppose, by premature rejoicing to offend Fortune — , so much so that those who looked upon her were uncertain what her inclination was.

Meanwhile Menidas, Alexander's commander of cavalry, had come with a few squadrons to defend the baggage — whether on his own initiative or by the king's order is uncertain — , but he could not sustain the attack of the Cadusians and Scythians; for with hardly any attempt at battle he fled back to the king, a witness to the loss of the baggage and not ^[13] its rescuer. Already Alexander's resentment had changed his plan of action, and he feared with some reason that anxiety to recover their property might turn his soldiers from fighting; therefore he sent Aretes, leader of the lancers — they call them *sarisophori* — against the Scythians. Meanwhile the chariots, which in the neighbourhood of the leading standards had thrown the army into confusion, had charged upon the phalanx; the Macedonians with steady courage received

them into the midst of their column. Their line was like a rampart; they had made a continuous row of spears together, and on both sides stabbed the flanks of the horses, as these rushed recklessly upon them. Then they began to encircle the chariots also and to hurl those who fought in them to the ground. The great overthrow of horses and charioteers had filled the field of battle; the charioteers could not control their frightened horses, which by repeated tossing of their necks had not only thrown off their yokes, but had even overturned the chariots; when wounded, they dragged along the dead, and were unable to stop through terror or to advance through weakness. Yet a few chariots-and-four made their way through to the rear, destroying those whom they met by a wretched death; for the severed limbs of men lay upon the ground, and since there was no pain while their wounds were still warm, maimed and weak though they were, some did not drop their weapons until they fell on their faces, dead from great loss of blood.

Meanwhile Aretes, having slain the leader of the Scythians who were plundering the baggage, was attacking them the more violently in their terror. Then the Bactriani came up, sent by Darius, and changed the fortune of the battle. Accordingly, many of the Macedonians were overwhelmed at the first shock, still more fled back to Alexander. Then the Persians, raising a shout such as victors are wont to utter, charged proudly upon the enemy, thinking that they had everywhere been put to flight. Alexander rebuked his frightened men, encouraged them, and single-handed gave fire to the battle, which had already slackened; and having at last restored their — courage, he bade them charge the enemy. The Persian force was weaker on the right wing; for the Bactriani had withdrawn from there to attack the baggage. Alexander therefore attacked their thinned ranks and penetrated them with great slaughter of the enemy.

But the Persians who were on the left of the wing, hoping that he could be surrounded, opposed their force to the rear of the embattled king; and caught between the two bands, he would have incurred extreme peril, had not the cavalry of the Agriani put spurs to their horses and attacked the barbarians thronging about him, and by slashing at their backs compelled them to turn and face them. Both armies were confused. Alexander had the enemy both in front and behind him. Those who were assailing him from behind were themselves hard pressed by the cavalry of the Agriani. The Bactriani, returning after plundering the enemies' baggage, could not reform their ranks; many bands of troops at the same time, detached from the rest, were fighting wherever chance had brought them together. The two kings, whose forces were almost joined as one, had given impetus to the contest. More of the Persians were falling; the number of wounded was about equal on both sides.

Darius rode in his chariot, Alexander on horseback. Both were defended by elite troops, regardless of their lives; for if their king were lost they did not wish to be saved, nor could they be. Each man thought it glorious to meet death before the eyes of his king. Yet those experienced the greatest danger

whom their men were most resolutely defending; for every man was seeking for himself the glory of slaying a king.

Now, whether it was an optical illusion or a reality, those who were around Alexander believed that they saw a little above the king's head an eagle quietly flying, not terrified by the clash of arms, not by the groans of the dying, and for a long time it appeared around Alexander's horse, seeming rather to float in the air than to fly. Certain it is that the seer Aristander, clad in a white robe and displaying a laurel wreath in his right hand, kept pointing out a bird to the soldiers, who were intent upon fighting, as a sure omen of victory. As a result, immense eagerness and confidence roused to battle those who shortly before were in terror, and especially so after Darius' charioteer, who sat in front of the king himself and guided his horses, was run through by a spear. And neither the Persians nor the Macedonians had any ^[29] doubt that the king himself had been slain. Therefore the courtiers and guards of Darius with mournful wailing and a medley of shouts and groans threw into confusion almost the entire line of those who were still fighting on equal terms. And the left wing had abandoned the chariot for headlong flight, and the close ranks on the right received it into the midst of their array.

[30] It is said that Darius, drawn scimitar in hand, hesitated whether to avoid the disgrace of flight by an honourable death; but standing as he was high in his chariot, he blushed to abandon the battle-line of his subjects, who were not yet all leaving the field, and while he wavered between hope and despair, the Persians gradually gave ground and opened their ranks. Alexander, having changed his horse — for he had tired out several — was stabbing at the faces of those who stood their ground, the backs of those who fled. And already it had ceased to be a battle and become a massacre, when Darius also turned his chariot to flee. The victor was close upon the backs of the fugitives, but the cloud of dust which rose to the sky had made it impossible to see; therefore they wandered as if in the darkness of night, ever and anon coming together at the sound of a familiar voice or in response to a signal. Yet they made out the noise of the reins by which the horses which drew the chariot were constantly lashed; these were the only traces of the fleeing king that they had.

XVI. But on the left wing of the Macedonians — Parmenion as was said before, was in charge of it — the fortune of the battle was far different on both sides. Mazaeus, who had furiously charged it with the entire cavalry force of his countrymen, was pressing hard upon the flanks of the Macedonians. And already with his superior numbers he had begun to encircle their line, when Parmenion sent horsemen with orders to report to Alexander in what danger they themselves were; unless he was speedily aided, he could no longer hold his men from flight. The king, following hard upon the backs of the fugitives, had already advanced a long way, when the dismal news came from Parmenion. The riders were ordered to rein in their horses, and the army came to a stop, while Alexander gnashed his teeth with rage that the victory was being snatched from his hands and that Darius was more fortunate in his flight

than he in his pursuit. Meanwhile the report of his king's defeat had come to Mazaeus; therefore, although he was the stronger, yet alarmed by the ill-fortune of his side, he began to press less vigorously upon the terror-stricken Macedonians.

Parmenion naturally did not understand the reason for the voluntary slacking of the attack, but he promptly took advantage of the chance for victory. He ordered the Thessalian cavalry to be summoned to him and said: "Do you see that those who just now were fiercely pressing on are giving ground, badly frightened by some sudden cause of fear? No doubt the fortune of our king has won victory also for us. The Persians have all met defeat and carnage. Why do you hold back? are you not a match even for runaways?" He seemed to speak truly, and hope had aroused even the laggards; applying the spurs, they rushed upon the foe. And they gave way, no longer gradually, but at heightened speed, and were to all intent on flight, save that they had not yet turned their backs. Yet Parmenion, being as yet unaware what the king's fortune had been on the right wing, held back his men. Mazaeus, although given opportunity for battle, crossed the Tigris, not in a direct course but in a longer and hence safer detour, and entered Babylon with the survivors of the defeated army.

Darius with a few companions of his flight had hastened to the river Lycus; after crossing it he hesitated whether to break down the bridge. For it was announced that the enemy would soon be there. But he saw that so many thousands of his men, who had not yet reached the river, would fall prey to the enemy if the bridge were destroyed. As he went away, leaving the bridge intact, he is reliably reported to have said that he preferred to give a passage to his pursuers rather than take one away from those who were in flight. He himself, having covered a great distance in his flight, arrived in Arbela at about midnight.

Who would be able to comprehend in thought, or express in words, so many of fortune's mockeries — the great slaughter of leaders and their forces, the flight of the vanquished, the disasters, now to individuals and now to all in general? Alas! Fortune piled up the events of almost a generation in that one day.

Some took the shortest way that offered, others sought remote woods and paths unknown to their pursuers. Horse and foot in confusion were intermingled, without a leader, the unarmed with the armed, the unhurt with the weak. Then pity gave place to fear, and those who could not follow were abandoned to their fate amid mutual laments. Burning thirst tormented especially the wearied and the wounded, and they threw themselves down everywhere at all the brooks, and open-mouthed caught the water that flowed by. Since they had eagerly drunk of it when it was turbid, at once their bellies were so painfully distended by the weight of the mud, that their limbs were weakened and numbed, and when the enemy came up they were aroused by fresh wounds. Some, finding the nearest streams occupied, had turned farther

aside, to get whatever hidden water trickled anywhere, and there was no pool so remote or so dry as to elude the thirst of the searchers. And from the villages nearest to the road the shrieks of old men and women could be heard, who in the barbarian manner were still calling on Darius as their king.

Alexander, having checked the onset of his men, as was said before, had come to the river Lycus, where the vast number of fugitives had loaded the bridge, and many, when hard pressed by the enemy, had thrown themselves into the river and, weighed down by their arms and exhausted by fighting and by flight, had been swallowed up in the flood. And finally, to say nothing of the bridge, not even the river could contain the fugitives, who blindly continued to pile troop upon troop; for when panic has entered men's minds, they fear only what they first began to dread. Alexander, urged by his men not to cease pursuing those who were making good their escape, pleaded in excuse that their weapons were blunted, their arms wearied, and their bodies exhausted by so much running, and that the time of day was close upon nightfall; but actually being anxious about the left wing, which he believed to be still standing in line of battle, he resolved to turn back and give aid to his men.

And he had already turned about, when horsemen sent by Parmenion reported the victory of that part of the army also. But no greater peril did the king encounter on that day than while he was leading his forces back to the camp. He was followed only by a disorderly handful, exulting in their victory — for they believed that all the enemy had been completely put to flight or had fallen in battle — when on a sudden a troop of cavalry appeared before them, who at first checked their course, then, seeing the small number of the Macedonians, drove their squadrons against them. The king was marching at the head of his men, making light of the danger rather than scorning it. And in fact his constant good fortune in times of danger did not fail him. For when the leader of the horsemen rushed upon him, eager for battle and for that reason incautious, the king ran him through with his spear; and when he fell from his horse, Alexander killed the next man and then several others with the same weapon. His friends also attacked the disorganized enemy. But the Persians did not fall unavenged, for the entire armies did not enter battle more furiously than these irregular troops. At length the barbarians, when the dim light made flight seem safer than fighting, withdrew in scattered groups. The king, safe and sound after being quit of extraordinary danger, led his men back to camp.

There fell of the Persians, so far as the victors could determine the number, 40,000"; of the Macedonians less than 300 were lost. Moreover, the king owed this victory in greater part to his merit than to his fortune; he won it by his genius, not, as before, by the advantage of the ground. For he drew up his line of battle with the utmost skill, he personally fought most valiantly, and with great good judgement he scorned the loss of packs and baggage, since he saw that the issue of ultimate success depended upon his line of battle, and

while the result of the fight was still in doubt, he conducted himself as a victor.

Then, when he had routed the panic-stricken foe he pursued them in their flight with greater prudence than over-eagerness, a thing which can hardly be believed in a man of such fiery spirit. For if, while a part of his army was still engaged in battle, he had persisted in pressing after them as they gave way, he would either have been defeated through his own fault, or he would have owed his victory to another's valour. Finally, if he had yielded to fear of the large force of cavalry which fell upon him he would have been forced, in the hour of victory, either to flee in disgrace or to perish miserably.

The leaders of his forces too must not be cheated of their meed of glory; in fact the wounds which each man suffered are proofs of their valour; Hephaestion was struck in the arm by a spear, Perdikkas and Coenus and Menidas were all but slain with arrows.

And if we wish justly to estimate the Macedonians of that day, we shall admit that their king was fully worthy of such subordinates, and they of so great a king.

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Alexander's dissipation at Persepolis. At the instigation of a courtesan he burns the palace. The Macedonians and finally the king himself are ashamed of his action, but endeavour to justify it (vii).

Darius had reached Ecbatana. From there he had decided to go to Bactra, but alarmed by Alexander's speed, he changes his plan. He addresses his troops, trying to encourage them for a final contest (viii).

As the result of Darius' speech his generals express various opinions. Nabarzanes, who had formed a treasonable plot with Bessus, advises him to turn over the rule temporarily to Bessus. Darius was on the point of killing Nabarzanes, but he and Bessus escaped. Artabazus and the Greeks troop support Darius (ix).

Bessus and Nabarzanes plan to betray or imprison Darius, skilfully concealing their design (x).

Their plot is revealed to Darius. He rejects the protection of the Greek troops, being ready to die if his own countrymen do not wish for his safety (xi).

Bessus, deceiving Darius by false words and forced tears, seizes him, binds him in golden fetters, and places him in a common cart (xii).

Alexander hears of Darius' danger and hastens to his rescue. Bessus and his accomplices, fearing capture, stab Darius and take to flight, killing the animals and the slaves. Alexander sends Nicanor with a part of the cavalry in pursuit and follows with the rest; about 3000 were killed; the rest taken

prisoner. A Macedonian soldier finds Darius (xiii).

Darius thanks the gods that he does not die alone; also thanks the man who found him; sends a message to Alexander, wishing him a glorious life on the throne of Cyrus and praying him to punish the assassins.

BOOK V

IF I should wish to describe, each in its own time, all that was done meanwhile under the lead and by the command of Alexander either among the Greeks or among the Illyrians and in Thrace, I should have ^[2] to interrupt the course of events in Asia, which, especially up to the flight and death of Darius, might seem far more fittingly to be presented as a whole, and just as they form a continuous series, so they should be joined together in my own work. Accordingly, I shall begin by telling of the events connected with the battle at Arbela.

^[3] Darius had reached Arbela at about midnight, and Fortune had driven to the same spot the flight of ^[4] a great part of his friends and of his soldiers. Having called these together, he explained to them that he had no doubt that Alexander would make for the most populous cities and the lands abounding in supplies of every kind; that the Macedonian king and his soldiers had an eye to a rich and easily ^[6] acquired booty. This under present conditions would prove to be the salvation of his own fortunes; for he himself intended to go to the deserts with a lightly equipped band. The remote parts of his realm were still untouched, and from them he would ^[6] without difficulty get together forces for war; by all means let that most insatiable race seize his treasure and glut itself with gold, for which it had long hungered — a race soon to fall a prey to itself! he himself had learned from experience that costly equipment and concubines and trains of eunuchs were nothing else than burdens and hindrances. Alexander, dragging these same clogs after him, would be inferior in the resources by which he had formerly conquered.

This speech seemed to all to be full of desperation; for they saw that Babylon, that richest of cities, was being abandoned; presently Susa, presently the other ornaments of the realm, the cause for the war, would be seized by the victor. But Darius went on to show them that in times of adversity it was not at what was splendid to tell of but at what was of actual service, that one must aim; that wars were waged with steel, not with gold, with men, not with the buildings of cities. Everything fell to those who were armed; thus their forefathers, though in the beginning defeated, had speedily recovered their former fortune. And so, whether he had strengthened their courage, or they yielded to his command rather than to his judgement, he entered the territories of Media.

A little later Arbela was surrendered to Alexander, filled with the king's equipment and with rich treasure; there were 4000 talents in money, besides costly raiment, since, as was said before, the wealth of the entire army was concentrated in that spot.

Then, because of the increasing diseases, which the stench of the dead bodies lying over all the plains had spread abroad, he speedily moved his camp. As they went on, Arabia was on their left hand, a region sources

probably caused him to add something (about perfumes) which is really applicable to Arabia proper only. famous for its abundance of perfumes; the route is through plains in the land lying between the Tigris and the Euphrates, which is so fertile and rich, that the flocks are said to be kept from feeding there, for fear that they may die of satiety. The reason for its fertility is the moisture which oozes from both rivers, and almost the whole soil sweats because of the veins of water.

The rivers themselves flow forth from the mountains of Armenia, and then with a wide separation of their waters continue the course which they have begun. Those who have noted the greatest extent of the space between them in the neighbourhood of the mountains of Armenia have made its measure 2500 stadia. When these same rivers have begun to cut through Media and the land of the Gordyaei, they little by little come closer together, and the farther they flow, the narrower is the breadth of land that they leave between them. They are closest together in the plains which their inhabitants call Mesopotamia; for they shut this in between them on both sides. Finally, passing through the territories of the Babylonii, they burst into the Red Sea. Alexander arrived on his fourth day's march at the city of Mennis. In that place there is a cavern from which a spring pours out so vast an amount of bitumen that it is a well-known fact that the walls of Babylon, a prodigious work, are cemented with bitumen from that spring.

Now, as Alexander kept on his way to Babylon, Mazaeus, who had fled to that city from the battlefield, met him as a suppliant with his mature children, and surrendered the city and himself. His coming was welcome to the king; for the siege of so strongly fortified a city would have been a great task. Moreover, it was evident that a man of distinction and ready action, who had also gained widespread reputation in the recent battle, would by his example induce the rest to surrender. Therefore the king received him courteously with his children; but he ordered his men to enter the city in square formation, with himself at their head, as if they were going into battle.

A great part of the Babylonians had taken their places on the walls in their eagerness to become acquainted with their new king, still more had gone out to meet him. Among the latter Bagophanes, guardian of the citadel and of the royal funds, in order not to be outdone in alacrity by Mazaeus, had strewn the whole road with flowers and garlands, and had placed here and there on both sides silver altars, which he had piled high, not only with frankincense, but with perfumes of all kinds. As gifts there followed him herds of horses and cattle; lions and leopards too were carried before them in cages.

Then came the magi, chanting a hymn after their manner, after them the Chaldeans, and of the Babylonians not only their prophets, but also musicians with their own kind of instruments; the latter were accustomed to sing the praises of the kings, the Chaldeans, to explain the movements of the heavenly bodies and the appointed changes of the seasons.

Lastly followed the Babylonian cavalry, whose apparel and that of their

horses met the demands of luxury rather than of magnificence.

Alexander, surrounded by armed men, had ordered the throng of townspeople to march after the hinder-most of the infantry; he himself entered the city in a chariot, and then entered the palace. On the following day he inspected Darius' furniture and all his wealth.

But the beauty and antiquity of the city itself drew to it the eyes, not only of the king, but also of all, and deservedly. Semiramis had founded it, not, as many have believed, Belus, whose palace is still pointed out. Its wall, built of small baked brick, cemented with bitumen covers a space of thirty-two feet in width; it is said that two four-horse chariots can meet and pass each other without risk. The wall rises to a height of fifty cubits; the towers are ten feet higher than the walls. The circuit of the entire work embraces 365 stadia; there is a tradition that the building of each stade was finished in a single day. The edifices of the city are not brought close to the walls, but are distant from them about the space of one iuger. And they have not occupied the whole city either with houses — eighty stadia are occupied by these — and they are not all continuous, I suppose because it seemed safer for them to be scattered over numerous places. The spaces which remain they sow and cultivate, in order that, if a force from without should assail them, supplies may be furnished to the besieged from the soil of the city itself.

The Euphrates flows through Babylon and is held in check by embankments, massive works of great labour. Moreover, all these great works are surrounded by artificial hollows, sunk to a vast depth to meet the rush of the river; for when it has risen above the top of the embankment built against it, it would damage the buildings of the city, if there were no hollows and pools to receive it. These are built of baked brick and the entire work is cemented with bitumen. A bridge of stone built over the river connects the two parts of the city. This also is counted among the marvels of the Orient. For the Euphrates carries a depth of mud, and even when this was dug out far into the river for laying the foundations, they could with difficulty find firm ground for supporting the work; moreover, sand, which is piled up from time to time and adheres to the piers by which the bridge is supported, slows down the course of the river, which, being thus held back, is dashed against the bridge with greater violence than if it flowed in an unimpeded course.

They have a citadel also, surrounded by a circuit of twenty stadia. The foundations of its towers are sunk thirty feet in the earth, and the top of its [32] fortification rises to a height of eighty feet. On the top of the citadel are the hanging gardens, a wonder celebrated in the tales of the Greeks, equalling the extreme height of the walls and made charming by the shade of many lofty trees. Columns of stone were set up to sustain the whole work, and on these was laid a floor of squared blocks, strong enough to hold the earth which is thrown upon it to a great depth, as well as the water with which they irrigate the soil; and the structure supports trees of such great size that the thickness of their trunks equals a measure of eight cubits. They tower to a height of fifty

feet, and they yield as much fruit as if they were growing in their native soil. And although lapse of time gradually undermines and destroys, not only works made by the hand of man, but also those of Nature herself, this huge structure, although worked upon by the roots of so many trees and loaded with the weight of so great a forest, endures unchanged; for it is upheld by cross walls twenty feet wide at intervals of eleven feet, so that to those who look upon them from a distance real woods seem to be overhanging their native mountains. There is a tradition that a king of Syria, who ruled in Babylon, undertook this mighty task, induced by love for his wife, who from longing for the woods and groves prevailed upon her husband to imitate in the level country the charm of Nature by a work of this kind.

King Alexander stayed in this city longer than anywhere else, and nowhere did he do more harm to the discipline of his soldiers. Nothing is more corrupt than the habits of that city, nothing more inclined to arouse and attract dissolute desires.

Fathers and husbands allow their children and wives to prostitute themselves to their guests, provided a price is paid for their shame. Convivial festivals throughout all Persia are dear to the kings and their courtiers; but the Babylonians in particular are lavishly devoted to wine and the concomitants of drunkenness. The women who take part in these feasts are in the beginning modestly attired, then they take off their outer garments one by one and gradually disgrace their modesty, at last — with due respect to your ears — they throw aside the inmost coverings of their bodies. This shameful conduct is not confined to courtesans, but is practised by matrons and maidens, with whom the baseness of prostitution is regarded as courtesy. After being pampered for the thirty-four days amid such debaucheries, that army which had conquered Asia would undoubtedly have been weaker to face the dangers which followed, if it had had an enemy.

But so as to make the damage less noticeable, it was recruited from time to time by a reinforcement.

For Amyntas, son of Andromenes, brought 6000 Macedonian foot soldiers from Antipater, besides 500 cavalry of the same nation, with these Thracian horsemen, accompanied by 3500 infantry of their people, and from the Peloponesus about 4000 mercenaries had arrived with 380 horsemen. The same Amyntas and brought fifty adult sons of Macedonia's chief men for a body-guard for these wait upon the kings at table, bring them their horses when they go to battle, attend them at the chase, and stand guard in turn before the doors of their bedroom; and these duties are the novitiate and training school of great prefects and generals.

Accordingly the king, after appointing Agathon to command the citadel of Babylon with 700 Macedonians and 300 mercenaries, left Menes and Apollodorus as governors in charge of the region of Babylonia and Cilicia. To these 2000 soldiers and a thousand talents were given; and both were ordered to levy additional troops. He presented Mazaeus, the deserter, with the satrapy

at Babylon, and ordered Bagophanes, who had surrendered the citadel, to follow him; Armenia was given to Mithrenes, the betrayer of Sardis. Then from the money handed over at Babylon there were assigned to each of the horsemen of the Macedonians 600 drachmae; the foreign cavalry received 500 each, the Macedonian infantry 200 apiece, and the mercenaries pay for two months.

II. After these affairs were thus arranged, Alexander came into the region which is called Sittacenê, a fertile land abounding in wealth of commodities and in all kinds of supplies. For that reason he remained there longer than usual, and that the soldiers might not through leisure and idleness become less spirited, he appointed judges and offered to those who wished to enter a contest in military valour prizes of a new kind; those who should have been judged the bravest were each to command a troop of 1000 men — they called them *chiliarchae* — this being the first time that the forces were divided into that number; for previously there had been *lochoi* consisting of 500 men, and the prizes of command had not gone to bravery.

A great throng of soldiers had assembled to take part in this illustrious contest, both to act as witnesses of the deeds of each entrant, and to give their opinion as to the judges; for they could not fail to know whether honour was paid to each man justly or falsely. First of all the prize for valour was awarded to old Atarrhias, who before Halicarnassus, when the battle was abandoned by the younger men, had been chiefly instrumental in arousing them to action, Antigenes was judged to be next to him, Philotas of Augaea gained third place, the fourth was assigned to Amyntas, and after these came Antigonos and next Lyncestes Amyntas, Theodotus gained seventh place, and Hellanicus the last.”

Also in the military discipline handed down by his predecessors Alexander made many changes of the greatest advantage. For whereas before the cavalry were enrolled each man in his own race, apart from the rest, he gave up the separation by nations and assigned them to commanders not necessarily of their own people, but of his own choice. When he wished to move his camp, he used to give the signal with the trumpet, the sound of which was often not readily enough heard amid the noise made by the bustling soldiers; therefore he set up a pole on top of the general’s tent, which could be clearly seen from all sides, and from this a lofty signal, visible to all alike, was watched for, fire by night, smoke in the daytime.

And now, as he was on the point of approaching Susa, Abulites, the satrap of that region, whether by order of Darius, in order that the booty might detain Alexander, or of his own volition, sent his son to meet him, promising that he would surrender the city. The king received the young man courteously, and under his guidance came to the river Choaspes, which brings down, as report says, a fine water. There Abulites met him with gifts of regal splendour.

[10] Among the presents were the camels known as dromedaries and of extraordinary swiftness, twelve elephants imported by Darius from India, no

longer a terror to the Macedonians, as he had hoped, but a help, when Fortune transferred the wealth of the vanquished to the victor. Moreover, when he entered the city, he amassed from its treasures an incredible sum of money, 50,000 talents of silver, not stamped into coins, but rough ingots. Many kings during a long term of years had amassed such great wealth for their children and their posterity, as they thought, but a single hour delivered it into the hands of a foreign king.

[13] Then Alexander seated himself on the royal throne, which was far too high for his bodily stature. Therefore, since his feet did not reach its lowest step, one of the royal pages placed a table under his feet. And when Alexander had noticed that a eunuch who had belonged to Darius was lamenting, he inquired the reason for his sadness. The eunuch replied that Darius was accustomed to eat at that table, and that he could not without tears see a board consecrated to his service reduced to so insulting a use. Thereupon the king was touched with shame at such violation of the gods of hospitality, and was already giving orders for the table to be taken away, when Philotas cried: "By no means do so, my king, but accept this omen also, that the board from which your enemy partook of sumptuous meals has been your footstool."

The king, when about to approach the frontier of Persia entrusted the city of Susa to Archelaus with a garrison of 3000; to Xenophilus was given charge of the citadel and a thousand superannuated Macedonian soldiers were ordered to act as its garrison; the protection of the treasures was left to Callicrates, the satrapy of the district of Susa was restored to Abulites. The mother also and the children of Darius he left behind in that city. And it happened that some Macedonian garments and a great quantity of purple cloth had been sent to him as a gift from Macedonia, along with the women who had made them. These he ordered to be given to Sisigambis — for he treated her with every honour and even with the devotion of a son — and he caused her to be advised that, if the clothing also pleased her, she should train her granddaughters to make it, and that he made her a present of women who could teach them. At these words the tears in the queen's eyes revealed the feeling that she spurned such a gift; for there is nothing that the women of Persia feel to be a greater disgrace than to work in wool.

Those who had brought the gifts reported that Sisigambis was sorrowful, and the situation seemed to call both for an apology and for consolation. Therefore Alexander in person came to her and said: designations are used for the homeland of the Persians, for the empire at its greatest extent, and for such part of it as, at the time in question, was under Persian rule.

"Mother, in this clothing which I am wearing you see, not only a gift of my sisters, but also their handiwork. It was our customs that led me astray. Do not, I beseech you, interpret my ignorance as an insult. What I have known to be in accordance with your habits, I have, I hope, scrupulously observed. I know that in your country it is a crime for a son to remain seated in the presence of his mother, except when she has given him permission; as often as

I have visited you, I myself have stood until you gave me a sign that I might sit. You have often wished to show me respect by prostrating yourself; I have prevented it. I apply to you the title due to my dearly beloved mother Olympias.”

III. Having soothed the queen’s feelings, the king came at his fourth camp to the river Tigris; the natives call it Pasitigris. It rises in the mountains of the Uxii and for fifty stadia rolls on rapidly amid rocks and with wooded banks. Then plains receive it, through which it passes in a gentler course, now fit for boats. There are 600 stadia of smoother ground through which in a quiet stretch of water it makes its way into the Persian Sea. Having crossed the river with 9000 foot-soldiers and Agrianian archers and 3000 Greek mercenaries besides 1000 Thracians, he came into the land of the Uxii. This adjoins Susa, and extends into the first part of Persia, leaving a narrow passage between itself and the Susiani.

[4] Medates was the governor of that region, a man by no means a time-server; for he had decided to endure the utmost to the best of his loyalty. But men who were well acquainted with the country informed Alexander that there was a secret road through the mountain pastures and leading away from the city; if he would send a few light-armed troops, they would come out above the heads of the enemy.

[6] When this plan had been approved, the same men were their guides over the roads. 1500 mercenaries and nearly 1000 Agriani were put under the command of Tauron and ordered to begin their march after [7] sunset. Alexander himself broke camp in the third watch, passed through the narrows about daybreak, and after cutting timber for making hurdles and mantlets, so that men bringing up siege-towers should be out of reach of missiles, began the siege of the city. The whole place was precipitous and encumbered by rocks and crags. Therefore the soldiers were repulsed after suffering many wounds, since they had to contend not only with the enemy, but also with the terrain; they came on again however, since the king had taken his place among the foremost, asking whether the victors over so many cities did not blush to falter in the siege of an insignificant and obscure fortress, at the same time reminding them that Tauron would presently bring help. As he said these words he was being attacked at long range; and the soldiers — they had been unable to prevail upon him to retire — were protecting him by interposing a tortoise-formation.

[10] At last Tauron showed himself with his troops above the height of the city’s citadel. At sight of him both the courage of the enemy began to give way and the Macedonians to enter battle with more spirit. The double danger pressed the townsmen hard, and the force of the enemy could not be checked. A few were resolved to die, more to flee, the greater part withdrew to the citadel. From there when thirty envoys were sent to plead for mercy, the grim answer was returned by the king that there was no room for pardon. Therefore alarmed by the fear of torture also, they sent men by a secret way, unknown to

the enemy, to Sisigambis, the mother of Darius, to beg that she herself should appease the king, knowing, as they did, that she was loved and honoured by him as a mother. Medates too had taken to wife her sister's daughter, and thus was a near relative of Darius.

For a long time Sisigambis resisted the entreaties of the suppliants, declaring that to intervene in their behalf was not consistent with the fortune in which she found herself, and she added that she feared to take too great advantage of the victor's indulgence, and that she reflected more often that she was a prisoner than that she had been a queen. Overcome at last, in a letter she begged Alexander to excuse her for presuming to beg a favour; she asked that he would pardon them also, if not, that he would pardon her; that she was pleading only for the life of a friend and relative of hers, who was no longer his enemy, but a suppliant. The moderation and clemency of the king, as it was at that time, even this act alone could make clear; he pardoned not only Medates, but to all, both those who had been taken prisoner and those who had surrendered, he granted both freedom and even immunity, left the city intact, and allowed it to cultivate its fields without tribute. If Darius had been victor his mother would not have obtained more from him.

Then Alexander incorporated the subdued race of the Uxii in the satrapy of the Susiani, and having divided his forces with Parmenion, he ordered him to go on by the road through the plains, while he himself with a light-armed band took the ridge of the mountains whose back runs without interruption into Persia. Having laid waste all this region, on the third day he entered Persia, and on the fifth day the pass which the Persians call the Susidan Gates. Ariobarzanes with 25,000 foot-soldiers had taken possession of that pass, shut in on all sides by steep and craggy rocks, on the summits of which the barbarians stood out of reach of missiles, purposely quiet and pretending fear, until the army of Alexander should enter the narrowest part of the pass. But when they saw that in scorn of them it continued to advance, then indeed they rolled stones of huge size down the slopes of the mountains, and these, often striking against the rocks below, fell with greater force and crushed, not only single soldiers, but entire troops. Stones also hurled from slings, as well as arrows, were poured upon them from all sides.

And this was not the most wretched fate for brave men to bear, but that they were being slain unavenged, like wild beasts caught in a pit. Therefore their wrath turned to frenzy, and grasping the jutting rocks, they tried to clamber up and reach the enemy, lifting one another; but those very rocks, torn away by the hands of many who seized them at the same time, fell back upon those who had loosened them. Therefore they could neither stand nor make any effort, nor be protected even by a tortoise-formation, since the barbarians were rolling down masses of such great size. The king was tormented, not alone by resentment, but also by shame for having inconsiderately thrown his army into those narrow quarters. Invincible before that day, he had risked nothing without success; he had safely entered the pass

of Cilicia, he had opened a new route by sea into Pamphylia “; but now his good fortune was caught and had come to a standstill, and there was no other remedy than to return by the way he had come.

Therefore, having given the signal for retreat, he ordered his men to leave in close order, joining then-shields over their heads. There were thirty stadia which were retraced.

IV. Then, having encamped in a place open on all sides, he not only began to take counsel on what was to be done, but also, from a feeling of superstition, to summon soothsayers. But what prediction could Aristander, in whom among the seers he then had the greatest confidence, make at such a crisis? Therefore, rejecting sacrifices as untimely, he gave orders that the men acquainted with the country should be summoned; these pointed out a safe and open route through Media. But the king was ashamed to desert the soldiers who were unburied, because it was an inherited usage that hardly any military duty was so sacred as that of burying their dead. Accordingly, he gave orders that the prisoners whom he had lately taken should be called. Among these was a man well versed in the Greek and the Persian tongues, who declared that it was hopeless for the king to try to lead the army into Persia over the ridge of the mountains, but that there were paths through the woods barely to be traversed in single file, that everything was covered with foliage, and that the interlaced branches of the trees made the forests continuous. For Persis on one side is shut in by continuous chains of mountains. This height, which extends in length for 1600 stadia, and in width for 170, reaches from the Caucasus mountains *to* the Red Sea, and where the mountains end, another barrier, the sea, is interposed. Then at the roots of the mountains a spacious plain slopes down, a fertile land, and abounding in many villages and cities. Through these fields the river Araxes rolls the waters of many torrents into the Medus; the Medus — a lesser river than the one which flows into it — in a southerly direction goes on to the sea, and no other river is more favourable to the growth of vegetation, and it clothes with flowers whatever it flows near. Plane trees also and poplars cover its banks, so that to those who view them from afar the groves along the banks seem to be a continuation of those on the mountains. For the shaded stream flows in a channel sunk deep in the soil, and over it hang hills which are themselves also rich in foliage because of the moisture which makes its way to their roots. No other region in all Asia is regarded as more health-giving; the climate is tempered on one side by dark and shaded mountains in a continuous line, which alleviate the heat, on the other by the nearness of the sea, which warms the lands with moderate heat.

When the prisoner had made his reply, on being asked by the king whether he had learned this by hearsay or by observation, he replied that he had been a shepherd and had roamed over all those paths; that he had been twice captured, once by the Persians in Lycia, again by Alexander. The king was reminded of the prediction given by an oracle; for when he consulted it, the

reply was made that a citizen of Lycia would be his guide on the road leading into Persia. Therefore, after loading the man with promises as great as the present necessity demanded and as suited his condition, he ordered him to arm himself in the Macedonian fashion, and, uttering a prayer that it might result favourably, to show him the way, however steep and difficult it might be; that he would pass through it with a few men, unless by any chance the shepherd supposed that, where he had gone to feed his flock, Alexander could not go for the sake of glory and immortal fame. Again and again the prisoner explained to him how difficult the route was, especially for armed men. Then said the king: "Take my word for it that none of those who follow will refuse to go where you will lead the way."

Accordingly, having left Craterus to guard the camp with the infantry which he had been accustomed to command, and with the forces led by Meleager, and with a thousand mounted bowmen, he directed him, in order that the appearance of a camp might be kept up, purposely to order more fires than usual to be made, so that the barbarians might be more inclined to believe that the king himself was in the camp. Further, if haply Ariobarzanes should have learned that he was entering through the winding paths, and should try to oppose a part of his forces to block his advance, Craterus was to hold him back by alarming him, and force him to turn the attention of his army to the nearer ^[16] danger; but if he himself should elude the enemy and get possession of the pass, then Craterus, following the king, when he heard the noise made by the confusion of the enemy, must not hesitate to take that same route from which they had been driven the day before; for it would be empty when the attention of the enemy had been turned to himself.

Alexander himself in the third watch in silent march and not even having given the signal with the trumpet, went on to the route, which had been pointed out, through the paths; he had ordered the soldiers, who were lightly armed, to carry provisions for three days. But besides the pathless rocks and steep crags which from time to time made their footing insecure, snow drifted by the wind made their progress wearisome; for they were swallowed up as if they had fallen into pits, and when their comrades tried to lift them out, they dragged down instead of coming up with those who were aiding them. Night also and the unknown country, as well as the guide — since it was uncertain whether he was wholly to be trusted — increased their fear; for if he had deceived his guards, they themselves could be caught like so much wild game. The safety of their king and of themselves depended either on the trustworthiness or the life of a single prisoner.

[20] At last they reached the summit. On the right was a road to Ariobarzanes himself; here the king left Philotas and Coenus with Amyntas and Polypercon in command of a light-armed band, advising them to advance slowly, since cavalry mixed with infantry were marching, and the soil was very rich and abounded in fodder; guides for their route were given them from among the prisoners.

Alexander himself with his guards and a company of what they called the *agema*, advanced with great trouble by a path which was steep, but more remote from the pickets of the enemy. It was midday, and rest was essential for the wearied soldiers — for as much of the route was left as they had traversed, but it was less steep and difficult — therefore, when the troops had been refreshed by food and sleep, he continued his march at the second watch. And the rest he passed over without trouble; but where the summit of the mountains gradually descends to the more level ground, a great abyss, hollowed out by the rushing together of torrents, had broken into the road. Besides this, the branches of the trees, entangled one with another and clinging together, had interposed an apparently continuous hedge. In consequence, such extreme despair had fallen upon them, that they could hardly refrain — from tears. The darkness especially was a cause of terror; for even if any stars shone through the clouds, the trees, which were completely covered with leaves, prevented them from getting sight of them. Not even the use of their ears was left them, since the woods were shaken by the wind, which made a greater noise when the branches knocked against each other than was proportionate to its blast.

At last the long awaited daylight lessened all the terrors which night had made more formidable; the flooded spot could be passed round by a slight detour, and each man had begun to be his own guide for the route. And so they made their way out to a lofty height; and when they had observed from there the enemies' position, the armed force showed itself in vigorous fashion behind men who were in fear of nothing of the kind. A few of them, who had ventured to join battle, were slain. And so, on the one side the groans of the dying, on the other the pitiful appearance of those who were hastening back to their main body, turned to flight even those who were untouched before they made any attempt at a struggle. Then their shouting penetrated to the camp of which Craterus was in charge, and his soldiers were led out to take possession of the pass in which they had been brought to a standstill the day before. At the same time Philotas, with Amyntas, Polypercon and Coenus, who had been ordered to take a different route, struck the barbarians with another fear.

But even though the arms of the Macedonians thus gleamed on every side, and they were threatened with a double danger, they nevertheless fought a memorable fight. In my opinion, necessity spurs on even cowardice, and desperation is often a cause for hope. Unarmed as they were, they seized the armed men in their embrace, and dragging them down to the ground with them by the huge bulk of their bodies, stabbed most of them with their own weapons.

However, Ariobarzanes, closely attended by about forty horsemen and five thousand foot, burst through the centre of the Macedonians' line with much bloodshed on their own side and on their enemies', in haste to take possession of the city of Persepolis, the capital of the region. But shut out by the garrison of the city, and vigorously pursued by the enemy, he renewed the battle and

was killed with all the participants in his flight. Craterus also arrived, having driven on his force with all speed.

V. The king fortified a camp on the same spot where he had routed the enemy. For although the flight of the foe on all sides had acknowledged the victory, yet the interposition of very deep and sheer trenches in many places had broken up the road, and it was necessary to advance slowly and cautiously, no longer through suspicion of deception by the enemy, but by the terrain. As he was on his way, a letter was delivered to him from Tiridates, who was in charge of Darius' finances, informing him that the inhabitants of the city, on hearing of his coming, wished to pillage its treasures, and urging Alexander to hasten to take possession of the deserted riches; he said that the route was unimpeded, although the Araxes River crossed it. There is no merit of the king that I could praise with more justice than his rapidity in action. Leaving his infantry forces, and riding all night with his cavalry, wearied though they were by a march of so great extent, he reached the Araxes at daybreak. There were villages near by; these he destroyed and from their timbers supported by stones he quickly threw a bridge across.

And already he was not far from the city, when a wretched troop, to be paralleled among few examples of ill-fortune, met the king. They were Greek captives, to the number of nearly 4000, on whom the Persians had inflicted various kinds of torture. Some with their feet, others with their hands and ears cut off, and branded with the characters of barbarian letters, they had reserved for their long-continued mockery, and when the Persians perceived that they themselves also were under foreign subjection, they had not opposed the desire of the prisoners to go to meet Alexander. They resembled strange images, not human beings, and there was nothing that could be recognized in them except their voices; therefore they aroused more tears than they themselves had shed. Indeed, amid such manifold and varied misfortunes of individuals, to those who beheld their sufferings, similar indeed, but yet unlike, it could not be clear which was the most wretched; but when they cried out that at last Jupiter, avenger of the Greeks, had opened his eyes, all who beheld them seemed to themselves to have suffered the same torture.

The king, after having dried the tears which he had shed, bade them have a good heart, since they would see their cities and their wives, and he fortified a camp there, two stadia from the city. The Greeks had come out from the palisade to deliberate what it would be best to request of the king; and when some wished to ask for an abode in Asia, others to return to their homes, Euctemon of Cymê is said to have addressed them as follows: "We who but now were ashamed to come out from the darkness of a dungeon even to implore aid, desire, as things now stand, to display to Greece our mutilations — whether our shame or our grief is the greater is uncertain — as if they were a joyful spectacle. And yet they endure their miseries best who hide them, and no native land is so intimate to the unhappy as solitude and forgetfulness of their former condition. For those who count greatly on the compassion of their

relatives are not aware how quickly tears dry. No one faithfully loves one from whom he shrinks; for while calamity is given to complaining, prosperity too is proud. So true is it that each one has regard to his own fortune when he deliberates about that of another. If it were not that we are mutually wretched, we might long since have become a cause of disgust to one another; what wonder is it that the fortunate also always seek those like themselves?

“I beseech you, let us who have long been dead to the world seek a place in which we may bury these half-consumed bodies. Welcome forsooth shall we return to the wives whom we married in our youth! Our children in the bloom both of their age and their fortunes will of course recognize as their fathers the off-scourings of the slave-prison! And how many of us can traverse so many lands? Far from Europe, banished to the ends of the Orient, old and weak, with the greater part of our bodies battered, can we, forsooth, endure what has wearied armed men flushed with victory? What then of the wives whom chance and necessity have joined to us as our sole consolation, and their little children — do we drag them with us or leave them behind? If we come with these, no one will be willing to own us; shall we, then, at once abandon those dear ones who are with us, when it is uncertain whether we shall ever see those whom we seek? We must remain hidden among those who have begun to know us in this wretched plight.” So spoke Euctemon. Theaetetus, an Athenian, took up the discussion on the opposite side: “No good man,” he said, “will judge his kin by their bodily condition, especially when the cause of their calamity has been an enemy’s cruelty, not Nature. He deserves every misfortune who is ashamed of a misfortune due to chance; for he has a sinister opinion of humanity, and despairs of pity only because he himself would deny it to his ^[18] fellow man. The gods are offering them what they themselves would never have ventured to wish for: fatherland, wives, children, and whatever men either value at the price of life, or, if you would so put ^[19] it, redeem with death as the price. Why, then, do they not break out from this prison? At home they breathe a different air, see the light of a different sun. Their own customs, sacred rites, community of language, are desired even by barbarians, but these, your birthright, you yourselves would give up of your own accord, although you are so unhappy for no other reason than that you have been compelled to live without them. For my part, I would certainly return to my household gods and to my fatherland, and would accept so great a favour from the king; but if the love of mate and children, whom slavery has compelled you to acknowledge, should detain any of you, those at least to whom nothing is dearer than their native land should leave theirs behind.”

A few were of this opinion; habit, which is stronger than nature, overcame the rest. They agreed that the king should be asked to assign them some dwelling-place. One hundred were selected to make the request. Alexander, having supposed that they would ask for what he himself was thinking of giving to them, said: “I have ordered mounts to be assigned, on which you can ride, and a thousand drachmae to be given to each of you. When you have

returned to Greece, I will guarantee that, except for this misfortune of yours, none will believe that his condition is better than yours." They, with tears in their eyes, kept their gaze fixed upon the ground, nor dared either to lift their faces or to speak; when at last the king asked the cause of their sadness, Euctemon answered in words similar to those which he had used in the council. And the king, pitying not only their fortune but their change of heart, ordered 3000 drachmae to be given to each man; ten robes apiece were added, and herds and flocks and also grain were given them, in order that the land assigned to them might be cultivated and sown.

VI. On the following day the king called together the leaders of his forces and informed them that "no city was more mischievous to the Greeks than the seat of the ancient kings of Persia; it was from there that those huge armies had been poured into their country, from there first Darius, then Xerxes, had made godless war upon Europe; by its destruction they ought to offer sacrifice to the spirits of their forefathers." And already the barbarians, having abandoned the city, had scattered in flight whithersoever fear had driven each man, when the king without delay led in the phalanx. He had either stormed or received in surrender many cities filled with regal opulence, but the riches of this city surpassed all that had gone before. Into it the barbarians had heaped the wealth of all Persia; gold and silver had been amassed, a vast amount of clothing, furniture designed not for use but for luxurious display. Hence the victors themselves fought with one another with the steel; he was regarded as a foeman who had been first to seize a more precious prize. And when they could not carry all that they found, articles were no longer seized at random, but their value was appraised. They rent the royal robes, as each one dragged a part into his possession, they broke with mattocks vases of priceless art, nothing was left uninjured or carried off whole, each one carried the broken limbs of statues as he had torn them off.

And not avarice alone but cruelty also ran riot in the captured city; those who were loaded with gold and silver butchered as valueless the persons of prisoners; and in all directions people, whom previously their ransom had made it worth while to spare, were cut down when they came in the enemy's way. Therefore many forestalled the hands of the enemy by a voluntary death, putting on their most costly clothing and throwing themselves from the walls, along with their wives and children. Some set fire to their houses, which it seemed that the enemy would do a little later, in order to be burned alive with their families. At last the king ordered his men to spare the persons and the ornaments of the women.

So vast amount of wealth is said to have been taken as almost to be beyond belief. But we shall either have to feel doubtful about other particulars also, or believe that there was in this city a treasure of 120,000 talents. For transporting this — for the king had decided to take it with him for use in war — he ordered camels and other beasts of burden to be brought together from Susa and Babylon. There were added to this sum of money 6000 talents from

the capture of Parsagada. Cyrus had founded that city, which its governor Gobares surrendered to Alexander.

The king ordered Nicarchides to defend the citadel of Persepolis, having left as a garrison 3000 Macedonian soldiers. For Tiridates, who had handed over the treasure, the same rank was continued which he had held under Darius. Also a great part of the army and the baggage was left there, in charge of Parmenion and Craterus. Alexander himself with 1000 horsemen and a light-armed force of infantry made for the interior of Persia just at the setting of the Vergiliae, and although troubled by frequent rains and almost intolerable weather, he nevertheless persisted in pushing on to his destination. He had come to a road blocked by perpetual snows, which the violence of the cold had bound with frost, and the horror of the places and the pathless solitudes terrified the wearied soldiers, who believed that they were looking upon the end of the habitable world. In amazement they beheld everything desolate and without any trace of human cultivation, and they demanded that they should turn back, before even daylight and the sky should fail them.

The king forbore to rebuke his frightened men, but he himself sprang down from his horse, and on foot began to advance through the snows and over the hard-frozen ice. Ashamed not to follow were at first his friends, then his officers, finally the soldiers. And the king was first to make a way for himself by breaking the ice with a mattock; the rest followed the king's example. At last, after passing through almost pathless forests, they found sporadic traces of human cultivation, and flocks of sheep wandering here and there; and the inhabitants, who dwelt in isolated huts, since they believed that they were protected by the inaccessible by-paths, as soon as they caught sight of the soldiers, killed those who were not able to accompany them in their flight and made for the remote and snow-clad mountains. Then, through conversation with the prisoners they gradually became less wild, and delivered themselves up to the king. And the surrendered were not severely dealt with.

Then, after devastating the fields of Persia and reducing many villages into his power, he came to the race of the Mardi, a warlike people, differing greatly from the rest of the Persians in their manner of life. They dig caves in the mountains, in which they hide themselves with their wives and children, they feed on the flesh of their flocks and of wild animals. Not even the women have gentler dispositions, as is Nature's way; they have overhanging bushy hair, their garments do not reach their knees, they bind their brows with a sling; this is both an ornament of their heads and a weapon. But this race also the same onrush of Fortune overcame. And so, on the thirtieth day after he had set out from Persepolis the king returned to the same place. Then he gave presents to his friends and to the rest according to each man's deserts. Almost everything which he had taken in that place was distributed among them.

VII. But Alexander's great mental endowments, that noble disposition, in which he surpassed all kings, that intrepidity in encountering dangers, his promptness in forming and carrying out plans, his good faith towards those

who submitted to him, merciful treatment of his prisoners, temperance even in lawful and usual pleasures, were sullied by an excessive love of wine. At the very time when his enemy and his rival for a throne was preparing to renew the war, when those whom he had conquered were but lately subdued and were hostile to the new rule, he took part in prolonged banquets at which women were present, not indeed those whom it would be a crime to violate, but, to be sure, harlots who were accustomed to live with armed men with more licence than was fitting.

One of these, Thais by name, herself also drunken, declared that the king would win most favour among all the Greeks, if he should order the palace of the Persians to be set on fire; that this was expected by those whose cities the barbarians had destroyed.

When a drunken strumpet had given her opinion on a matter of such moment, one or two, themselves also loaded with wine, agreed. The king too, more greedy for wine than able to carry it, cried: "Why do we not, then, avenge Greece and apply torches to the city?"

All had become heated with wine, and so they arose when drunk to fire the city which they had spared when armed. The king was the first to throw a firebrand upon the palace, then the guests and the servants and courtesans. The palace had been built largely of cedar, which quickly took fire and spread the conflagration widely. When the army, which was encamped not far from the city, saw the fire, thinking it accidental, they rushed to bear aid. But when they came to the vestibule of the palace, they saw the king himself still piling on firebrands. Therefore, they left the water which they had brought, and they too began to throw dry wood upon the burning building.

Such was the end of the capital of the entire Orient, from which so many nations previously sought jurisdiction, the birthplace of so many kings, once the special terror of Greece, a city that built a fleet of a thousand ships, and armies by which Europe was flooded, bridged the sea with a causeway of boards formed by massive hulks of ships, tunnelled mountains, and let the sea into the cavity thus — made. And not even in the long age which followed its destruction did it rise again. The Macedonian kings laid waste other cities, which the Parthians now possess; of this city not a trace would be found, did not the Araxes River show where it stood. That river had flowed not far from its walls; the neighbouring peoples believe, but do not really know, that the city was twenty stadia distant from it.

The Macedonians were ashamed that so renowned a city had been destroyed by their king in a drunken revel; therefore the act was taken as earnest, and they forced themselves to believe that it was right that it should be wiped out in exactly that manner.

It is certain that Alexander himself, as soon as sleep had restored his senses after he had been overcome by drunkenness, regretted what he had done and said that the Greeks would have been more severely avenged upon the Persians, if these had been forced to see Alexander on the throne and in the

palace of Xerxes. On the following day he gave the Lycian guide of the route by which he had entered Persia a gift of 30 talents.

From there he crossed into the district of Media, where a reinforcement of fresh soldiers from Cilicia met him. They consisted of 5000 foot and 1000 horse; both were commanded by Platon, an Athenian. Strengthened by these forces, he resolved to pursue Darius.

VIII. Darius had already reached Ecbatana. This city was the capital of Media; the Parthians now possess it, and it is their abode for passing the summers. From there he had determined to go to Bactra, but fearing lest he should be overtaken by Alexander's rapidity, he changed his plan and his route. Alexander was distant from him 1500 stadia, but already no interval seemed great enough in the face of the Macedonian's swiftness; consequently Darius was preparing himself for battle rather than for flight. He was followed by 30,000 infantry, among whom were 4000 Greeks, whose long fidelity to the king remained invincible to the end. Also he had mustered bands of slingers and archers to the number of 4000; besides these there were 3300 horsemen, mostly Bactriani. Bessus, satrap of the district of Bactra, commanded them. With this force he turned aside a little from the military road, having ordered the camp-followers and the guards of the baggage to precede him.

Then, having called a council, he said: "If Fortune had joined me with cowards, and with those who regard life on any terms preferable to a noble death, I would keep silent rather than waste words to no purpose. But having made trial of your valour and loyalty by a greater test than I could have wished, I ought to strive even more to be worthy of such friends, rather than to doubt whether you are still like yourselves. Out of so many thousands who were under my command you have followed me, although I was twice defeated and twice put to flight. Your fidelity and constancy make me believe that I am a king. Traitors and deserters rule in my cities, not, by Heaven! because they are deemed worthy of such honour, but that your minds may be tempted by their rewards. In spite of this, you have preferred to follow my fortune rather than the victor's, proving yourselves most worthy of being requited by the gods in my behalf, if it should not be in my own power.

And, by Heaven! they will recompense you. No future generation will be so deaf, no Fame so ungrateful, as not to extol you to the skies with meed of praise.

"Therefore, even if I had considered resorting to flight, from which my mind utterly recoils, yet, relying upon your valour I should have gone to meet the foe. How long, pray, shall I be an exile in my realm, and through the bounds of my empire flee before a foreign and alien king, when it is allowed me to the traitors and deserters might tempt some of the adherents of Darius to follow their example. by trying the fortune of war either to regain what I have lost or to meet an honourable death? Unless haply it is better to await a victor's will and, like Mazaeus or Mithrenes, to accept on sufferance the rule

of a single province, supposing that Alexander may now prefer to gratify his vanity rather than his anger. But may the gods forbid that anyone should dare to take from me this adornment of my head, or to bestow it on me, or that I should lose my empire while I still live, but the end of my rule shall be the same as the end of my breath.

“If you have this spirit and this principle, there is no one of you for whom freedom has not been won. No one of your number will be compelled to endure the disdain of the Macedonians, none their haughty looks; the right hand of each of you will either gain vengeance for so many sufferings, or end them. I myself am an example of Fortune’s mutability, and with good reason I look for milder changes on her part. But if the gods do not favour just and righteous wars, at any rate brave men will be allowed to die — with honour. By the honour of your forefathers, who held the rule of the entire Orient with noteworthy glory, by those men to whom Macedonia formerly paid tribute, by those many fleets of ships sent against Greece, by those many trophies of your kings, I beg and implore you to assume the courage worthy of your fame and that of your nation, in order that with the same resolute spirits with which you endured the evils of the past you may meet whatever Fortune may hereafter allot; on me at any rate either a glorious victory or my overthrow will confer eternal fame.”

IX. As Darius said these words, the thought of the present peril cramped with horror the hearts and minds of all alike, and they were in doubt what to advise or to say, when Artabazus, the oldest of his friends, who, as I have said above, had been a guest of Philip, said: “We certainly, clad in our richest apparel and adorned with the finest arms that we possess, will follow our king to battle, and that too with the intention of hoping for victory, yet not shrinking from ^[2] death.” The rest received these words with approval, but Nabarzanes, who took part in the same council, had formed with Bessus a conspiracy for a crime unheard of before, of seizing their king by means of the forces which they both commanded and putting him in fetters; their purpose was that if Alexander should overtake them, they might by delivering the king alive into his hands gain the victor’s favour, since he would surely set a high value on the capture of Darius, but that, if they could escape Alexander, having killed Darius, they themselves might usurp ^[3] the sovereignty and renew the war. When they had long meditated this treason, Nabarzanes, preparing the way for their abominable purpose, said:

“I know that I shall express an opinion which at first thought will not be at all pleasing to your ears; but physicians also cure more desperate maladies by harsh remedies, and a pilot, when he fears shipwreck, rescues by jettison whatever can be saved. I, however, offer my advice, not in order that you may suffer any loss, but that by a helpful plan you may save yourself and your kingdom. We began the war with the gods against us, and persistent Fortune does not cease to persecute the Persians; there is need of a new beginning and new omens.

Hand over the auspices and the rule for a time to another, who shall be called king no longer than until the enemy shall withdraw from Asia; then he will return the sovereignty to you when he has won victory. Moreover, reason shows that this will soon come to pass; Bactra is untouched, the Indi and Sacae are under your rule, so many peoples, so many armies, so many thousands of horse and foot have strength available for restoring our affairs, that greater material for war is left than has been used up. Why do we, like brute beasts, rush into a destruction that is not necessary? It is the part of brave men rather to scorn death than to hate life; often through distaste for toil cowards are driven to hold themselves cheap. But valour leaves nothing untried. Assuredly death is the end of everything, and we may as well go to meet it in no passive spirit.

Accordingly, if we desire to go to Bactra, which is the safest place of refuge, let us make Bessus, the satrap of that region, king, because of the exigency; when affairs are settled, he will restore to you, the legitimate king, the rule which he has held in trust."

It is not at all surprising that Darius could not control his anger, although he did not know how great a crime lurked under these detestable words. Hence he said: "Basest of slaves, have you found the time which you desired, when you might disclose your treason?" and drawing his sword, he seemed to be on the point of killing Nabarzanes, had not Bessus and the Bactriani quickly surrounded the king, as if to plead against the act, under pretence of sorrow, but actually intending to make him prisoner, if he should persist. Nabarzanes meanwhile had slipped away and Bessus also followed him; they ordered the forces which they commanded to withdraw from the rest of the army, intending to hold a secret council. Artabazus, starting to express an opinion suitable to the present situation, began to try to soothe Darius, from time to time reminding him of the exigencies; the king, he said, ought to bear with patience either the folly or the error of those, of whatever sort they might be, who were nevertheless his subjects. Alexander was already close upon him, a dangerous foe even if all his men were on hand; what would happen if those who had followed him in his flight should be alienated? Darius followed the advice of Artabazus, albeit reluctantly, and although he had determined to move his camp, yet since the minds of all were disturbed, he remained where he was. But being overwhelmed with sadness and at the same time with despair, he shut himself in his tent.

The result was, that in the camp, which was under no one's command, there were varied impulses, and they no longer took council for the common good, as before. The leader of the Greek troops, Patron," ordered his men to arm themselves and be ready to carry out his orders. The Persians had formed a separate group; Bessus was with the Bactriani and was trying to win over the Persians, telling them of Bactra and the riches of that untouched region, and at the same time of the dangers which threatened those who remained where they were. The reply of all the Persians was about the same, that it was

impious for the king to be deserted. Meanwhile Artabazus performed all the duties of a commander; he did not cease to go round the tents of the Persians, to exhort them, and to warn them, now one by one, now in a body, until it was clear that they would obey his orders. He also induced Darius, though with difficulty, to take food and to turn his attention to the situation.

But Bessus and Nabarzanes resolved to carry out the criminal design which they had formerly agitated, being inflamed with a desire for sovereignty; but they could not hope for so great power while Darius lived. For in those nations the majesty of their kings is extraordinary; in response to his mere name the barbarians assemble, and veneration for his former fortune attends him even in adversity. The impious minds of the conspirators were puffed up by the province which they governed, one which in arms and men, as well as in extent of territory is second to none among those nations; it occupies a third part of Asia, and the number of its men of military age equalled the armies which Darius had lost. Therefore they scorned, not only Darius, but also Alexander; from there they expected to regain the power of the empire, should they succeed in getting possession of the province. After long deliberation on all possibilities, they decided to seize the king with the aid of the Bactrian troops, who could be counted upon for absolute obedience, and that then a message should be sent to Alexander, to make known to him that Darius was being held alive in their power; if, as they feared, Alexander should have rejected their betrayal, they intended to kill Darius, and make for Bactra with the forces of their nations.

However, Darius could not be seized openly, when so many thousands of the Persians would bear aid to their king; the loyalty of the Greeks also was feared.

Accordingly, they tried to effect through stratagem what they could not do by force; they decided to feign regret for their secession, and to excuse it to the king on the ground of their consternation. Meanwhile emissaries were sent to appeal to the Persians.

Now by hope, now by fear they work upon the feelings of the soldiers, saying that they were exposing themselves to utter ruin and were being dragged to destruction, when Bactra was open to receive them with possessions and wealth such as were beyond their imagination. While they were busy with these matters, Artabazus appeared, either by the order of the king or of his own accord, declaring that Darius had been appeased and that the same degree of friendship with the king was open to them. They, shedding tears, now excused themselves, now begged Artabazus that he would plead their cause and present their entreaties. Accordingly, when the night had been thus spent, at daybreak Bessus and Nabarzanes, with the Bactrian soldiers, came to the vestibule of the king's tent, hiding their secret crime under pretence of their customary service. Darius, having given the signal for marching, mounted his chariot according to his former custom; and Bessus and the rest of the traitors, prostrating themselves on the ground, had the

audacity to pretend to venerate the man whom a little later they were intending to make prisoner, and they even shed tears as indications of repentance. So ready is deceit in the human heart. Then their entreaties, presented in suppliant guise, forced Darius, who was by nature trusting and mild, not only to believe what they affirmed, but — even to weep. But not even then did the traitors repent of the crime which they had planned, although they saw what kind of man and king they were deceiving. He indeed, unaware of the danger which threatened him, was hastening to escape Alexander's hands, which alone he feared. —

But Patron, the leader of the Greeks, ordered his men to put on their arms, which before were carried with the baggage, and to be ready and on the alert for every order of his. He himself was following the king's chariot, eager for a chance to speak to him; for he had a premonition of the evil design of Bessus. But Bessus, in fear of that very thing, did not move from the chariot, acting as a guard rather than as a companion. Therefore Patron after waiting for a long time and often being restrained from speaking, kept his eyes fixed upon the king, wavering between loyalty and fear. When at last the king turned towards him, he ordered Bubaces, a eunuch who was following the chariot among those nearest Darius, to ask the Greek whether he wished to say anything to him. Patron replied that he did in fact wish to talk with him, but without witnesses, and when bidden to come nearer without an interpreter for Darius was not unacquainted with the Greek language — he said: "My king, out of 50,000 Greeks we are the few that are left, companions of all your fortune, and in your present state unchanged from what we were in your prosperity, ready to seek, in place of our native land and our homes, whatever lands you shall select. Your prosperity and adversity have linked us with you. By this invincible loyalty I beg and conjure you, pitch your tent in our camp; suffer us to be your body-guards. We have abandoned Greece, no Bactra belongs to us, all our hope is in you; would that it were true also of the rest! It is needless to say more. I, a foreigner and of an alien race, should not demand the guard of your person, if I believed that another could guarantee it." [7] Although Bessus was unacquainted with the Greek language, yet, pricked by conscience, he believed that Patron had surely revealed his plot; and since the words of the Greek were concealed from interpreters, any doubt was removed. Darius, however, being so far as could be inferred from his expression not at all alarmed, began to question Patron as to the reason for the advice which he brought. The Greek, thinking that there was no room for further delay, said: "Bessus and Nabarzanes are plotting against you, your fortune and your life are in extreme danger, this day will be the last for the traitors or for you." [9] And in fact Patron had gained the illustrious glory of saving the king. Those may scoff at my belief who haply are convinced that human affairs roll on and take place by mere chance, or that each man runs his ordered course in accordance with a combination of hidden causes determined long beforehand by an immutable law; at any rate, Darius replied, that although the loyalty of

the Greek soldiers was well known to him, yet he would never separate himself from his own countrymen; that it was more difficult for him to condemn than to be deceived. Whatever Fortune should offer him he preferred to endure among his own subjects rather than to become a deserter. He was perishing too late, if his own 12 soldiers did not wish him to be saved. Patron, despairing of the king's safety, returned to those whom he commanded, prepared to submit to every possible trial to the best of his loyalty.

XII. But Bessus had been seized with a strong impulse to kill Darius at once; fearing, however, that he could not find favour with Alexander unless he should deliver the king alive, putting off his wicked design to the following night, he began to give thanks because Darius had wisely and cautiously avoided the plot of a treacherous man, who already had an eye to the riches of Alexander; that he would have offered his king's life as a gift to the enemy. And it was not surprising, he said, that a man hired for a fee made everything a matter of traffic; that being without wife or child, without a home, banished from the whole world, he was a treacherous enemy who like a lot is tossed round the sale-room at the nod of bidders.

Then, as Bessus asserted his innocence and called upon his country's gods as witnesses to his loyalty, Darius assumed an expression of assent, although he had no doubt that the report of the Greeks was true; but the situation had reached such a pass that it was as dangerous not to believe his subjects as to be deceived. Those were 30,000 in number whose untrustworthiness and inclination to crime were feared, Patron had only 4000; if he should trust his safety to the latter, distrusting the loyalty of his countrymen, he saw that he was offering an excuse for treason. Therefore he preferred to be injured undeservedly rather than with justification. Nevertheless, he replied to Bessus, when he denied any treacherous design, that Alexander's justice was not less clear to him than his valour. That those deceived themselves who looked for a reward for treachery from him; that no one would be a severer chastiser and avenger of violated loyalty.

And now night was approaching, when the Persians after their usual custom laid aside their arms and hastened to bring supplies from the nearest village. But the Bactriani, as Bessus had commanded, remained under arms. Meanwhile Darius ordered Artabazus to be summoned, and when what Patron had reported had been revealed, Artabazus had no doubt that the king ought to cross over to the Greeks' camp; that the Persians also, when the danger was made known, would follow him. But Darius, unable to escape his destiny and no longer receptive of any wholesome advice, embraced Artabazus, his sole consolation in his present fortune, whom he was about to see for that last time, and, bathed in his own tears and those of his friend, when Artabazus clung to him, ordered that he be pulled away; then, veiling his head, in order not to see Artabazus going away amid lamentations, as if from his funeral pyre, he threw himself prone upon the ground. Then indeed the men accustomed to form his body-guard, who ought to have protected the king's safety even at the peril of

their lives, slipped away, thinking that they would be no match for those who had secretly armed themselves, and whom they believed to be already approaching. Hence there was a vast solitude in the tent except for a few eunuchs who stood around the king because they ^[10] had no place to which to withdraw. But Darius, dismissing all witnesses, for a long time turned over in his mind one plan after another.

And now, detesting the loneliness which shortly before he had sought as a solace, he ordered Bubaces to be called. Fixing his eyes upon him, the king said: "Go, and look out for your own safety, having shown to the end, as was your duty, fidelity to your king; I shall await here the decree of my destiny. You wonder perhaps that I do not put an end to my life; I prefer to die by another's crime rather than by my own." After these words the eunuch filled with his wailing not only the tent but even the whole camp. Then others burst in and, rending their clothes, began to lament the king with mournful and barbaric outcry. The Persians, when the clamour reached their ears, stunned with fear, did not dare either to arm themselves, for fear of falling in with the Bactriani, or to remain quiet, lest they should seem impiously to desert their king.

Varied and discordant shouting without a leader and at no one's order was heard throughout the whole camp. To Bessus and Nabarzanes their men reported that the king had killed himself — the wailing had misled them — and so they rode to the spot at full speed, followed by those whom they had chosen to perpetrate their crime; and when they entered the tent, because the eunuchs made known to them that the king still lived they ordered him to be seized and bound. That king who shortly before had ridden in a chariot and had been revered with divine authority as well as his royal honours, through the influence of no foreign power, but the prisoner of his own slaves, was placed in a sorry cart covered all over with hides. The king's money and equipment, as if by the laws of war, was rifled; and laden with booty, acquired by the worst of crimes, the traitors hastened to flee.

Artabazus with those under his command and with the Greek soldiers made for Parthienê, thinking anything safer than a retinue of traitors. The Persians, who had been loaded with promises by Bessus, joined themselves with the Bactriani, especially because there was no one else to follow, having overtaken their army two days later. Nevertheless, that some honour might be paid to the king, they bound Darius in fetters of gold, for Fortune constantly devised new mockeries for the luckless king. Also, lest haply he could be recognized by his regal apparel, they had covered the cart with dirty hides, and unknown persons drove the beasts; in order that he could not be pointed out to any who questioned them on the way, guards followed at a distance.

XIII. Alexander, when he heard that Darius had moved from Ecbatana, abandoning the journey he was seeking to make into Media, quickly proceeded to follow after the fleeing king. He came to Tabae — it is a town in the farthest part of Paraetacene — ; there deserters reported that Darius in

headlong flight was on his way to Bactra. Then he had more definite news from Bagistanes, a Babylonian, who declared that Darius was not yet a prisoner, but that he was in danger either of death or of fetters. Alexander, having called together his generals, said: "A very great task is left us, but the labour will be very short. Darius is not far away, deserted by his own troops or overwhelmed; on that body of his depends our victory, and so great a prize is the reward of speed." All alike shout that they are ready to follow; let him spare neither toil nor danger. Therefore Alexander hurriedly leads on his army, rather as if racing than as marching, not resting even by night to relax the day's toil. And in this way he advanced for 500 stadia, and had arrived at the village in which Bessus had seized Darius. There Melon, Darius' interpreter, was captured; being ailing in body, he had been unable to keep up with the army, and when caught by Alexander's swiftness he pretended to be a deserter. From him Alexander learned what had been done. But rest was necessary for his wearied men; therefore to 6000 elite horsemen he added 300 of the troops called *dimachae*. These carried heavier armour on their backs, but rode on horses; when the occasion and the situation demanded, they fought on foot.

While Alexander was thus occupied, Orsines and Mithracenes came to him; since they detested the treason of Bessus, they had deserted and now reported that the Persians were 500 stadia distant, that they ^[10] would show him a shorter route. The king was gratified by the coming of the deserters. Accordingly, at the beginning of evening under their guidance he set out with a light-armed troop of horsemen on the road which they had pointed out, having ordered the phalanx to follow with all possible speed. He himself, advancing in order of battle, so regulated his speed that the foremost should not become separated from the hindmost. He had gone on for 300 stadia, when Brochubelus, son of Mazaeus, formerly satrap of Syria, met him; he also was a deserter and reported that Bessus was not more than 200 stadia distant, and that his army, being greedy for plunder, was marching in confusion and disorder. That they seemed to be about to make for Hyrcania; if Alexander should hasten to follow them while straggling, he would surprise them. Darius, he said, was still alive. Alexander was a man of swift action at other times also, and now the deserter had inspired him with eagerness to overtake the king; and so, plying the spurs, they went on at top speed.

And already the noise of the enemy as they marched was plainly heard, but a cloud of dust had hidden them from sight. Therefore Alexander checked his advance for a while, waiting for the dust to settle. And now they had been seen by the barbarians and had caught sight of their retreating army, for which they would by no means have been a match if Bessus had had as much spirit for fighting as he had had for treason. For the barbarians were superior both in number and in strength; and besides their fresh soldiers would have entered battle with wearied men. But the name of Alexander and his fame, of especially great import in war, so terrified them that they turned to flight.

Bessus indeed and the other accomplices in his crime, coming up to the cart in which Darius was, began to urge the king to mount a horse and rescue himself from the enemy by flight. Darius declared that the avenging gods were at hand, and imploring Alexander's protection, said that he had no desire to accompany traitors. Then truly, inflamed also by wrath, they hurled javelins at the king and left him pierced through by many wounds. They also maimed the beasts, to prevent them from being able to go farther, and killed the two slaves who accompanied the king.

Having committed this crime, in order to spread in different directions the traces of their flight, Nabarzanes made for Hyrcania, Bessus for Bactra, accompanied by a few horsemen. The barbarians, bereft of their leaders, were scattered in whatever direction hope or fear led each man; only 500 horse were massed together, uncertain as yet whether it would be better to resist or to flee. Alexander, informed of the consternation of the enemy, sent Nicanor on with a part of the cavalry to prevent their flight and himself followed with the rest. Nearly 3000 who resisted were slain, the rest of the troop were driven along like so many cattle, uninjured, since the king gave orders that none should be killed. There was no one among the prisoners who could give information about the cart carrying Darius; each wagon, as they took it, was searched, but yet no trace of the king's flight appeared. Barely 3000 of the horsemen kept up with Alexander in his haste. But into the hands of those who were following more slowly whole companies of the fugitives fell. Almost incredible to relate, the prisoners were more numerous than men who captured them; to such a degree had Fortune deprived the panic-stricken barbarians of all sense, that they were unable to comprehend properly either the small number of their foes or their own great multitude.

Meanwhile the beasts which drew the cart in which Darius was, since no one guided them, had left the military road and after straying for four stadia had stopped in a valley, worn out by the heat and at the same time by their wounds. Not far off there was a spring; to this, pointed out by those who knew the country, Polystratus, a Macedonian, worn out by thirst, came and, while he was drinking water out of his helmet, he caught sight of the javelins planted in ^[25] the bodies of the dying beasts. And as he wondered that they had been stabbed, rather than carried off, he heard the groan of a man near death. Therefore, as is the way of human nature, being desirous of seeing what was hidden in that cart, he drew aside the hides with which it had been covered and found Darius, run through by many wounds. For his regal attire and ike golden fetters with which he had been bound by the traitors left no room for doubt. Darius, who was not unacquainted with the Greek language, gave thanks to the gods, who after so many misfortunes had yet vouchsafed him this much solace, that he should not pour out his last breath in complete solitude.

Therefore," said he, "whoever of mortals you are, by the common lot of mankind, from which you are reminded by the sight before your eyes that not even the greatest kings are exempt, I beg and beseech you to take this

message to Alexander; that none of those misfortunes, by far the most grievous, which I have suffered, not even this outcome of incredible disaster, has fallen upon me so much to my regret as this, that after your great services to me and mine I was forced to live in enmity with a most merciful victor, and now to die without thanking him. But — if with the gods the last wishes of the wretched have any power, and if any divinity listens to prayers poured out with the very breath of life — may Alexander, safe and unharmed, and raised far above the lot of my fortune and the envy of the gods, on the throne of Cyrus complete a glorious life, and mindful of his own virtue, may he allow my mother and my children to have that place in his regard which they have deserved because of their loyalty and their respect. But may a speedy death overtake the murderers, which Alexander will inflict upon them, if not from pity for an unhappy enemy, at least from hatred of their crimes, and for fear that, if these go unpunished, they may break out to the destruction also of other kings and even to his own.”

After these words, being tormented by thirst and being refreshed with water brought him by Polystratus, Darius said: “So, then, this final calamity was fated to be added also to such great misfortunes, that I cannot requite one who has well deserved it; but Alexander will requite you, the gods Alexander.” Then he stretched out his right hand and ordered it to be transferred to Alexander as a pledge of the king’s faith, and grasping the hand of Polystratus he gave up the ghost. Whether Alexander arrived while Darius was still breathing is uncertain; this much is sure, that on learning of the wretched end of a most powerful king, he shed many tears, and at once taking off his cloak, he covered the body, and ordered it to be taken with great honour to his family, in order to be embalmed after the fashion of the Persian kings, and placed among the tombs of his predecessors. The treachery of the men at whose hands Darius suffered a most cruel death in return for the greatest favours, although in its own nature horrifying and execrable, was marked with greater infamy for future generations by the wonderful faithfulness of a dog, which alone was with Darius when he was deserted by all his friends, and fawned upon him when he was dying as it had when he was alive.

Such was the end of life allotted to that king whom shortly before men thought to be insulted unless they addressed him as king of kings and kinsman of the gods; and once more it was proved by a striking example, that no one is more exposed to Fortune’s changes than one who, having been honoured by very many of her favours, has bowed his neck wholly under her yoke.

CONTENTS OF BOOK VI

While Alexander was winning victories in Asia there were disturbances in Greece and Macedonia. Agis, king of Lacedaemon, urges the Greeks to throw off the Macedonian yoke while the Persians still had power to resist. With money from Pharnabazus and Autophradates he hired mercenaries, and taking advantage of Antipater's absence in Thrace, won over to his side nearly the whole Peloponnesus and raised an army of 20,000 foot and 2000 horse. Antipater settled the war in Thrace on the best conditions he could and from the friendly and allied cities of Greece raised 40,000 troops, He sent messengers to Alexander informing him of the revolt and the king sent him money and ships. The beginning of the war was favourable to the Lacedaemonians. The final battle was hotly contested, but after Antipater constantly sent fresh troops to the aid of his hard-pressed men, the Lacedaemonians began to give ground. Thereupon Agis with the royal cohort, his bravest men, rushed into the thick of the fight.

A description of the battle. Agis fights valiantly, but is slain. The Greek army is defeated and the revolt collapses. Antipater, knowing Alexander's spirit, did not venture to act as arbiter, but left that to a council of the Greeks. The Lacedaemonians through envoys gain pardon from Alexander (i).

Alexander, invincible in war, is overcome by leisure and pleasure. His adoption of foreign habits gave offence to his own countrymen and led to conspiracies and mutinies. He favours those of his prisoners who are of high birth. A rumour arises that the king thinks of returning to Macedonia (ii).

Alexander reviews what he has accomplished, tells his men what remains to be done and urges them to bring the war to a triumphant conclusion (iii).

The soldiers are aroused by his eloquence and bid him lead them wherever he will. He takes advantage of their enthusiasm and marches through Parthienê to Hyrcania. A description of the Stiboetes river. Nabarzanes in a letter asks for pardon, which is granted. A description of the Caspian Sea (iv).

Alexander receives Artabazus with great courtesy, spares the Greeks who had aided Darius, defeats the Mardi, and entertains a queen of the Amazons (v).

The Macedonians are offended by Alexander's habits. To prevent a mutiny he plans to make war upon Bessus. He must first put down a revolt of Satibarzanes, whom he had made satrap of the Arii. He drives the barbarians from the mountains, takes Artacana, and marches against the Drangae (vi).

Dymnus reveals a conspiracy against Alexander to Nicomachus, who through his brother Cebalinus reports it to Alexander. Dymnus kills himself (vii).

Philotas, son of Parmenion, is charged by Alexander's friends with forming the conspiracy. He is arrested and taken to the king's quarters (viii).

Alexander addresses the soldiers about the conspiracy. Some of the leaders

make charges against Philotas. When the accused is asked whether he wishes to make his defence in the Macedonian language or in Greek, he prefers to reply in Greek (ix).

Philotas denies the charges (x).

Bolon rouses the soldiers against Philotas. A confession is forced from him by torture, and he is stoned to death with the other conspirators (xi).

BOOK VI

While this was happening in Asia, not in Greece either nor in Macedonia was there complete quiet. There was ruling among the Lacedaemonians Agis, son of Archidamus, who, while bearing aid to the Tarentines, was slain on the same day that Philip defeated the Athenians at Choeronea. Agis, a rival of Alexander in valour, was spurring on his citizens not to allow Greece to be longer oppressed by slavery to the Macedonians; unless they took precaution betimes, the same yoke would pass to them. They ought therefore to bestir themselves while the Persians still had some strength for resistance; when they were crushed, the Lacedaemonians, faced by an immense power, would in vain be mindful of their ancestral freedom. When their minds had been thus aroused, the Lacedaemonians sought for an opportunity of beginning war. Accordingly, encouraged by Memnon's successful result, they began to join in his plans, and after he was taken off in the beginning of a prosperous career by an untimely death, they did not act with any less vigour.

But Agis went to Pharnabazus and Autophradates, and obtained thirty talents of silver and ten triremes, which he lent to his brother Agesilaus, in order that he might sail to Crete, the inhabitants of which island were divided by confiding interests between the Lacedaemonians and the Macedonians. Envoys were sent also to Darius, to ask for a greater sum of money for carrying on the war and more ships. And these plans of theirs the defeat at Issus — for that had meanwhile happened — was so far from interrupting, that it even helped them. For Alexander, in his close pursuit of the fleeing king, was being hurried to more distant places, and from the battle itself a great number of mercenaries had fled to Greece; and of these Agis with his Persian money hired 8000, and by their help recovered numerous cities of the Cretans.

Next, after that, when Menon, sent by Alexander into Thrace, had stirred up the barbarians to revolt, and Antipater, to suppress it, had led an army from Macedonia into Thrace, promptly taking advantage of the opportune time, the Lacedaemonians brought over to their side the entire Peloponnesus with the exception of a few cities, and mustering an army of 20,000 infantry and 2000 cavalry, conferred the chief command upon Agis. Antipater, on learning of this action, settled the war in Thrace on the best terms he could make, and hastily returning to Greece, got together what troops he could from the friendly and allied cities. When these had assembled he counted a force of 40,000 soldiers. A strong band also had come from the Peloponnesus; but since he knew that their loyalty was doubtful, concealing his suspicion, he thanked them for having come to defend the prestige of Alexander against the Lacedaemonians; he said that he would write this to the king, who in due time would requite them. That at present there was no need of greater forces; therefore they might return to their homes, having fulfilled the obligation of

their treaty. Then he sent messengers to Alexander, to inform him of the uprising in Greece.

These at last overtook Alexander at Bactra, when in the meantime the revolt had been ended by Antipater's victory in Arcadia and the death of Agis.

The king, having learned long beforehand of the rebellion of the Lacedaemonians, had provided for it so far as he could when separated by the extent of so many lands; he had ordered Amphoterus with Cyprian and Phoenician ships to sail to the Peloponnesus, Menes to take 3000 talents to the sea-coast, in order that from near at hand he might supply Antipater with as much money as he should learn that he needed. For he had rightly perceived how greatly that move would tip the scales of Fortune's balance for all his plans; although later, after having received news of Antipater's victory, he jestingly remarked, comparing that battle with his own exploits, that it had been a fight with mice. However, the first stages of that war had not been without success for the Lacedaemonians. Near Corrhagum, a fortress of Macedonia, having encountered Antipater's soldiers, they had come off victors; and because of the fame of that success those also who had looked upon the fortune of the rebels with doubting minds had allied themselves with them. Pellenê alone of the cities of Elis and Achaia rejected the league, and in Arcadia Megalopolis, being faithful to the Macedonians because of the memory of Philip, from whom they had received favours. But that city was besieged and was on the point of surrender, had not Antipater at last come to their aid. He, after comparing camp with camp and seeing that he was superior in number of men and in other equipment, decided to fight a decisive battle as soon as possible; and the Lacedaemonians did not decline the contest.

Accordingly, a battle took place, which greatly damaged the Spartan cause. For when, trusting to the narrowness of the plain in which they fought, where they believed that the enemy would have no advantage from their superior numbers, they attacked most valiantly and the Macedonians resisted most vigorously, there was great bloodshed. But after Antipater from time to time sent a fresh force to aid his hard-pressed men, the army of the Lacedaemonians was forced to give way, and drew back for a while. Agis, on seeing this, with the royal cohort, which was made up of his bravest men, I plunged right into the danger-point of the fight, and cutting down those who resisted most bravely, drove a great part [2] of the enemy before him. The victors had begun to flee, and until they brought the enemy, who pursued them too eagerly, down into the level ground, they were falling unavenged; but no sooner was there standing-room, than they fought on equal terms.

[3] Among all the Lacedaemonians, however, their king was conspicuous, not only for the excellence of his arms and his person, but also for the greatness of his [4] courage, in which alone he was unsurpassed. On all sides, now hand to hand, now at long range, he was attacked, and for a long time, turning his arms now here, now there, he caught some of the weapons with his

shield and avoided others by his agility; but at last his thighs were run through by a lance and from great loss of blood failed him as he fought. Therefore his guards laid him upon his shield and quickly carried him back to his camp, hardly able to endure the effect of the jolting on his wounds.

Yet the Lacedaemonians did not give up the fight, but as soon as they could gain ground more favourable to themselves than to the enemy, they took close order and met their line of battle as it poured like a flood upon them. That no contest was ever more desperate is a matter of record. The armies of the two nations most famed in war were fighting [8] on even terms; the Lacedaemonians had an eye to their ancient, the Macedonians to their present glory, the one side was fighting for freedom, the other, for dominion, the Lacedaemonians lacked a [9] leader, the Macedonians room for fighting. Also, so many shifting changes in a single day increased now the hope, now the fear of both sides, as if Fortune were purposely balancing a struggle between the bravest of men. But the narrowness of the place in which the battle remained fixed did not allow them to engage with their full strength; therefore more looked on at the contest than took part in it, and those who were out of range of a weapon urged on their men in turn by their acclamations. At last the army of the Laonians, who were barely able to hold their weapons slippery with sweat, began to weaken, [12] then to retreat. Next, when they fled more openly, as the enemy pushed on, the victor followed them closely, scattered as they were, and passing at the double over all the space which the Laonians' army had held, was in pursuit of Agis himself.

[13] He, when he saw the flight of his men and the foremost of the enemy, gave orders to be put down, and having tried whether his limbs could follow the desire of his spirit, and feeling that they failed him he sank upon his knees, and quickly putting on his helmet, and protecting his body with his shield, he brandished a spear in his right hand, actually challenging anyone who would dare to despoil him as he lay [15] there. But there was no one who could endure to engage with him hand to hand. He was assailed from a distance with weapons, hurling the same ones back at the enemy, until at last a lance was implanted in his naked breast. When this had been pulled from the wound, he rested his bent and failing head upon his shield for a moment, then, as his breath and his blood left him together, he fell dying upon his [16] armour. There fell of the Lacedaemonians 5300; of the Macedonians, not more than a thousand; but hardly anyone returned to the camp without a wound.

This victory broke the spirit, not alone of Sparta and her allies, but of all those who had awaited the [17] fortune of the war. Antipater did not fail to notice that the expression of those who congratulated him did not correspond with their feelings, but since he desired to end the war, he was constrained to let himself be deceived, and although the success of the affair pleased him, yet he feared envy, for what he had done was more important than suited the limitations of a prefect. For Alexander had wished the enemy to be defeated, but that Antipater had conquered them was so displeasing to him, that he

could not even be silent, thinking that whatever had fallen to the glory of another had been taken from his own.

[19] Hence Antipater, who perfectly understood the king's disposition, did not himself venture to act as arbiter of his victory, but summoned a council of the Greeks and consulted it as to what was best to [20] be done. From the council the Lacedaemonians obtained nothing except permission to send envoys to the king, the people of Tegea, except the ringleaders, were granted pardon for their revolt, to those of Megalopolis, whose city had been besieged by the participants in the revolt, the Achaeans and the [21] Eleans were ordered to pay 120 talents. Such was the outcome of the war, which broke out suddenly, yet was ended before Alexander overcame Darius at Arbela.

II. But Alexander, as soon as a mind which was better qualified for coping with military toil than with quiet and ease was relieved of pressing cares, gave himself up to pleasures, and one whom the arms of the Persians had not overcome fell victim to their vices: [2] banquets begun early, the mad enjoyment of heavy drinking and being up all night, sport, and troops of harlots. There was a general slipping into foreign habits. By emulating these, as if they were preferable to those of his country, he so offended alike the eyes and the minds of his countrymen, that by many of [3] his former friends he was regarded as an enemy. For men who held fast to their native discipline, and were accustomed with frugal and easily obtained food to satisfy the demands of nature, he had driven to the evil habits of foreign and conquered nations. Hence the more frequent making of plots against his life, mutiny of the soldiers, and freer expression of resentment amid mutual complaints, then on his own part now anger, now suspicions aroused by groundless fear, and other similar evils, of which an account will [5] be given later. Alexander, therefore, when he was wasting days and nights alike in early and prolonged banquets, used to relieve the satiety of his feasts with entertainments, not content with a throng of artists whom he had summoned from Greece; for captive women were bidden to sing after their manner a song discordant and hateful to foreign ears.

[6] Among these women the king himself noticed one more sad than the others, who modestly resisted those who would lead her forward. She was of surpassing beauty, and her modesty enhanced her beauty; with downcast eyes and with her face covered so far as she was allowed, she aroused in the king a suspicion that she was of too high birth to be exhibited amid [7] entertainments at a banquet. On being accordingly asked who she was, she replied that she was the granddaughter of Ochus, who had lately been king of the Persians, being the daughter of his son, and that she had been the wife of Hystaspes. He had been a kinsman of Darius and himself the commander [8] of a great army. There still lingered in the king's mind slight remains of his former disposition; and so, respecting the ill-fortune of a lady born of royal stock, and so famous a name as that of Ochus, he not only gave orders that the captive should be set free, but also that her property should be returned to her; likewise that her

husband should be looked for, in order that when he had been found, he might restore [9] his wife to him. Moreover, on the following day he ordered Hephaestion to cause all the prisoners to be brought to the palace. There, having inquired into the rank of each one, he separated from the common herd those who were of high birth. There were a thousand of these; among them was Oxathres, brother of Darius, no more distinguished because of the rank of that king than for his own mental endowments.

[10] Twenty-six thousand talents were amassed from the recent booty, and of these 12,000 were spent in largess to the soldiers, and a sum equal to this was embezzled by the great dishonesty of those who [11] had charge of it. Oxydates was a Persian noble, who was being kept in bonds, because he had been destined by Darius for capital punishment. Alexander freed him and conferred upon him the satrapy of Media, and the brother of Darius he received into the band of his friends, with the maintenance of all the honour due to his ancient lineage.

[12] From there they came to Parthienê, then an obscure nation, but now the head of all those who dwell beyond the Euphrates and Tigris Rivers and extend [13] as far as the Red Sea. The Scythians had taken possession of the level and fertile part of the region, and are still dangerous neighbours. They have homes both in Europe and in Asia; those who dwell above the Bosphorus are assigned to Asia, but those who are in Europe extend from the left side of Thrace to the Borysthenes and from there in a direct [14] course to the Tanais. The Tanais flows between Europe and Asia. There is no doubt that the Scythians, from whom the Parthians are descended, made their way, not from the Bosphorus, but from the region of Europe.

[13] There was at that time a famous city called Hecatompylos, founded by the Greeks; there the king remained for several days, after having supplies brought there from every side. As a result, gossip, the vice of idle soldiery, spread without authority that the king, content with what he had accomplished, [16] had decided to return forthwith to Macedonia. They ran as though crazed to their tents and made ready their packs for the journey; you would believe that the signal to march had been given throughout the whole camp. Here the noise of those looking for their tent-mates, there of those loading the wagons, was [17] borne to the king's ears. The Greek soldiers who had been bidden to return to their homes had gained credence for the report which had been circulated without reason; since 6000 denarii had been given to each of their horsemen, and 1000 to every man of their infantry, the rest of the army believed that the end of military service was at hand for themselves [18] also. Alarmed, as was natural, the king, who had determined to traverse the lands of the Indi and the remotest parts of the Orient, summoned the leaders of his forces to his tent, and, with tears in his eyes, complained that he was being recalled from the midcourse of his glory, to take back to his native land the fortune of one who was vanquished rather than [19] that of a victor; that it was not cowardice on the part of his soldiers that stood in his way, but the

envy of the gods, who had inspired in the bravest of men a sudden longing for their native land, to which they would return a little later with greater glory and fame.

[20] Then indeed each general individually offered his service, demanded the most difficult tasks, promised also the obedience of the soldiers, if the king would consent to soothe their feelings by a mild and appropriate [21] address; that they had never held back spiritless and downcast, whenever they had been able to draw upon his enthusiasm and the inspiration of so great a mind. Alexander replied that he would do it; only let them in advance prepare the ears of the common soldiers for what he was to say. When everything that seemed to be to the purpose had been sufficiently arranged, he ordered the army to be called to an assembly, and delivered to it a speech in the following terms:

III. "When you look back, soldiers, upon the greatness of the deeds which we have done, it is not surprising that you feel a desire for repose and a [2] satiety of glory. To say nothing of the Illyrians, the Triballi, Boeotia, Thrace, Sparta, the Achaeans, the Peloponnesus in general, some of whom I have subdued under my own leadership, others under my [3] command and auspices, lo! beginning war at the Hellespont, we have freed the Ionians and Aeolis from slavery to a savage barbarian, we have made ourselves masters of Caria, Lydia, Cappadocia, Phrygia, Paphlagonia, Pamphylia, the Pisidians, Cilicia, Syria, Phoenicia, Armenia, Persia, the Medes, [4] and Parthienê. The provinces of which I have taken possession outnumber the cities which others have captured, and I verily believe that in enumerating our exploits their very number has caused me to [5] forget some of them. Therefore, if I believed that the possession of the lands which we have so quickly subdued were wholly secure, I myself, my soldiers, even if you wished to hold me back, would rush to my home, to my mother and sisters, and to the rest of our fellow countrymen, in order that there rather than elsewhere I might enjoy with you the praise and glory which we have won, where the richest rewards of victory await us, the happiness of our children, wives and parents, the repose of peace, the carefree possession of the fruits of our valour.

"But in a new and, if we wish to confess the truth, insecure "empire, to whose yoke the barbarians still submit with obdurate necks, there is need of time, my soldiers, until they are trained to milder dispositions, and until better habits appease their [7] savage temper. The fruits of the earth also look forward to ripeness at its appointed season, so true is it that even those things, devoid of sense as they are, nevertheless grow soft in accordance with a law [8] of their own. Well, then! Do you believe that so many nations accustomed to the rule and name of another, united with us neither by religion, nor customs, nor community of language, have been subdued in the same battle in which they were overcome? It is by your arms that they are restrained, not by their dispositions, and those who fear us when we are present, in our absence will be enemies. We are dealing with savage beasts, which lapse of time only can

tame when they are caught and caged, [9] because their own nature cannot tame them. And I am so far speaking as if our arms had subdued everything that was under the sway of Darius. Nabarzanes has taken possession of Hyrcania, the murderer Bessus not only holds Bactra, but he also threatens us; the Sogdiani, Dahae, Massagetae, Sacae, and Indi are independent. All these, as soon as they see our backs, will follow them; for they are of the same nation, we are of an alien race and foreigners. Moreover, everyone obeys his own rulers with better grace, even when he who dominates them can be more feared. Accordingly, we must either give up what we have taken, or we must seize what we do not yet hold.

Just as in ailing bodies, my soldiers, physicians leave nothing which will do harm, so let us cut away whatever stands in the way of our rule. Often to have ignored a tiny spark has roused a great conflagration. Nothing is safely despised in an enemy; one whom you have scorned you make stronger by [12] neglect. Not even Darius received the rule of the Persians by right of succession, but he was admitted to the throne of Cyrus by the favour of Bagoas, a eunuch; so do not suppose that it will be hard [13] labour for Bessus to seize a vacant kingdom. We certainly committed a sin, soldiers, if we conquered Darius for the purpose of turning over the sovereignty to his slave, who, having dared the worst of crimes, held his king in fetters, like a captive, even when he was in need of aid from without, and whom we, the victors, would surely have spared, and finally slew him in order that he might not be saved by us. Will you suffer such a man to rule? A man whom I, for my part, am in haste to see nailed to a cross, thus paying a well-deserved penalty to all kings and [15] nations, and to loyalty, which he desecrated. But, by Heaven! if presently it shall have been announced that the same wretch is laying waste the cities of the Greeks and the Hellespont, what grief will you feel that a Bessus has robbed you of the fruits of your victory! Then you will hurry to recover what is yours, then you will take up arms. But how much better it is to crush him while he is still in fear and almost beside himself.

[16] "A march of four days is left for us, who have trodden so many snows, have passed over so many rivers, crossed the heights of so many mountains. Not that sea, which with its rising tide covers the road with its waves, delays our march, not the passes and narrows of Cilicia shut us in, the whole country is level and easy. We stand on the very [17] threshold of victory. A few runaways and slayers of their master remain for us. A noble work, by Heaven! and one to be numbered among the chief of your glorious deeds you will hand down to posterity and to fame, namely, that you have avenged even Darius, your enemy, having ended your hatred of him after his death, by slaying his murderer, and [18] that no impious man has escaped your hands. When this has been accomplished, how much more submissive do you think that the Persians will be, when they know that you undertake pious wars, and that it is the crime of Bessus, not the Persian name, that inflames your wrath?"

IV. The address was received with the greatest enthusiasm of the soldiers,

who bade him lead them [2] whithersoever he wished. Nor did the king delay their ardour, but two days later he made his way through Parthienê to the borders of Hyrcania, having left Craterus with the forces under his command and the band which Amyntas was leading, besides 600 horsemen and the same number of archers, to protect Parthienê from any inroad of the [3] barbarians. He ordered Erigyius to conduct the baggage by the route through the plains, having given him a moderate escort. He himself with the phalanx and the cavalry, after traversing 150 stadia, fortified a camp in the valley through which one enters Hvrkania. There is a grove shaded by a dense growth of very tall trees, where the rich soil of the valley is watered by streams which flow from [4] the overhanging rocks. From the very roots of the mountains the Stiboetes River gushes forth, which flows as a single stream for a distance of nearly three stadia, then, dashed against a rock which obstructs its little channel, it forms two branches, as if by a distribution of its waters. From there a torrent, made more violent by the rough stones over which it runs, it plunges headlong under the earth. For 300 stadia it glides on in a hidden course, and again, as if reborn from another source, it comes to the surface and cuts a new channel, wider than its former [6] one — for it expands to a width of thirteen stadia — and once more contracts its course within narrower banks. At last it empties into another river; it is [7] called the Rhidagnus. The natives asserted that whatever articles had been thrown into the cavern which is nearer the river's source come out where the other mouth of the river opens; therefore Alexander gave orders that oxen be thrown in where the waters go under the earth, and those who were sent to intercept them saw their bodies thrown out where the river bursts forth again.

[8] Alexander had already given the soldiers a rest for the fourth day in the same place, when from Nabarzanes, who with Bessus had taken Darius prisoner, he received a letter, of which this was the purport: That he had not been an enemy of Darius, quite on the contrary, he had given him what he believed to be salutary advice, and because he had given the king faithful counsel, he had barely escaped [9] with his life. That Darius had meditated handing over the guardianship of his person to foreign soldiers, contrary to what was just and right, distrusting the loyalty of his own subjects, which for two hundred and thirty years they had preserved inviolate to their [10] kings. For his own part, standing as he was on dangerous and slippery ground, he had taken counsel from his immediate necessity. Darius also, when he had killed Bagoas, had satisfied his countrymen with this excuse, that he had killed the eunuch because he was plotting against him. That nothing was more precious to wretched mortals than life; that it was from love of this that he had been driven to extremities. But those acts he had yielded to, rather than desired. In a general calamity each man's fortune was his own.

[12] If Alexander should order Nabarzanes to come to him, he would come without fear. He had no apprehension that so great a king would violate a pledge which he had given; the gods were not wont [13] to be deceived by a

god. But if Nabarzanes should be thought unworthy of receiving a pledge, many places of exile were open to his flight; wherever a brave man has chosen his home, there is his native H land. Alexander did not hesitate to give a pledge, in the manner in which the Persians were wont to receive them, that if he should come, he would be unharmed.

Nevertheless Alexander went on with his army in square formation and in good order, sending scouts ahead from time to time, to reconnoitre the country.

[13] The light-armed troops led the march, the phalanx followed them, after the infantry was the baggage. Both the warlike race and the nature of their position, which was difficult of access, had put the king on his guard. For there is a continuous valley extending as far as the Caspian Sea, to which arms, so to speak, of that land jut forth; these, bending slightly in the middle, form a curve very like the moon with its horns standing out when that heavenly [17] body does not yet fill out its complete orb. The Cercetae and the Mossyni, and the Chalybes are on the left, and on the other side the fields of the Leucosyri and the Amazons; and it looks towards the latter where it slopes towards the north, to the [18] former when it is turned towards the west. The Caspian Sea, which is fresher than others, breeds serpents of huge size; the colours of the fish in it are very different from others. Some call it Caspian, others Hyrcanian; there are still others who think that the Maeotic pool empties into it, and they advance as evidence the water, because it is fresher than the other seas, since the water from the pool which has flowed into it tempers its saltness.

[19] Towards the north a great sea rushes upon the shore, drives its waves far, and like a rising tide forms a pool of great extent; but in another condition of the weather the sea retires into itself, and with the same force with which it poured in, it flows back and restores the land to its natural condition. And some have thought that this is not the Caspian Sea, but that the Ocean makes its way from India into Hyrcania, whose high land, as was said before, sinks into an uninterrupted valley.

[20] From here the king proceeded for twenty stadia by an almost impassable path, which a forest overhung, while torrents and floods delayed the march; yet since no enemy met them, they passed through, [21] and finally came to more cultivated places. Besides other supplies, of which the region then had an abundance, a huge amount of fruits is grown, and [22] the soil is very rich in producing grapes. A kind of tree winch is common there resembles an oak, the leaves of which are bedewed with a great deal of honey; but unless the natives gather it before sunrise, the sap is destroyed by even a moderate warmth.

[23] From there Alexander had advanced for thirty stadia, when Phrataphernes met him, surrendering himself and those who had fled after the death of Darius; having received them courteously, the king came to the town of Arvae. There Craterus and [24] Erigyius met him. They had brought

Phradates, governor of the tribe of the Tapuri; he also was received under protection, and was an example to many in entrusting themselves to the king's clemency.

[25] Then Alexander made Amminaspes satrap of Hyrcania; he had come to Philip as an exile during the reign of Ochus. Alexander also restored the tribe of the Tapuri to Phradates.

V. And already the king had entered the farthest part of Hyreania, when Artabazus, who, as we have said before, had been most faithful to Darius, met him with his own children and the relatives of Darius, [2] as well as with a small band of Greek soldiers. On his arrival the king offered him his right hand; for he had been a guest of Philip when he was in exile in the reign of Ochus, but the loyalty to his king, which he had maintained to the end, prevailed over the pledges [3] of guest-friendship. Being therefore affably greeted, he said: "May you for your part, king, I pray the gods, enjoy perpetual happiness; I, though in all other respects happy, am grieved by this alone, that because of hastening old age I cannot long enjoy [4] your kindness." He was in his ninety-fifth year. Nine young men, all born of the same mother, accompanied their father; these Artabazus caused to take the king's right hand, praying that they might live [5] so long as they might be helpful to Alexander. The king generally made a journey on foot; on that occasion he ordered horses to be brought for himself and Artabazus, in order that the aged man might not feel ashamed to ride a horse while the king himself went on foot.

[6] Then, after a camp had been pitched, the king ordered the Greeks whom Artabazus had brought to be called together; but they replied that unless a pledge of safety was given also to the Lacedaemonians and to the men of Sinopê, they would consider what step they ought to take. These had been sent as envoys of the Lacedaemonians to Darius, and after the defeat of that king had attached themselves to the Greeks who were serving as mercenaries with [8] the Persians. The king, having given them no pledges of protection nor promises, ordered them to come to him and to accept such fortune as he himself would give them. After long hesitation and many changes of mind, they finally promised that they [9] would come. But Démocrates, an Athenian, who had always been prominent in opposing the Macedonian power, despairing of pardon, fell upon his sword. All the rest, as they had decided, surrendered [10] at discretion to Alexander. They numbered 1500 soldiers, and besides these, ninety who had been sent as envoys to Darius. The soldiers were distributed as additions to the king's troops, the rest were sent home except the Lacedaemonians whom he ordered to be held under guard.

[11] The Mardi were a race bordering on Hyrcania, a people of rude habits of life and accustomed to brigandage; they alone had neither sent envoys, nor seemed likely to be obedient to orders. Hence the king, piqued by the thought that one race might prevent him from having been "invincible," having left the baggage with a guard, went on, accompanied [12] by a strong force. He had

made the march by night, and at daybreak the enemy was in sight; it was rather a tumult than a battle. Dislodged from the hills of which they had taken possession, the barbarians fled, and the nearest villages, deserted by their inhabitants, [13] were taken. The interior parts of that region, however, could not be approached without greatly fatiguing the army; ranges of mountains, lofty forests, and impassable rocks shut them in, and such parts as are level the barbarians had obstructed by a novel kind of fortification. Trees are purposely planted close together; while their branches are still tender, they bend them down with their hands, twist them together, and again insert them in the earth; then, as if from another root, more vigorous trunks spring.

[15] They do not allow these to grow in the direction which Nature carries them, but they join them together, as if interlacing them. When they are clad in abundant foliage, they hide the ground; and so the secret snares, so to speak, of the branches [16] shut in the road by a continuous hedge. The only expedient was to cut an opening into the woods, but this too was a task of great difficulty. For the many knots had hardened the trunks, and the interlaced branches of the trees, like so many suspended festoons, by their tough interwoven shoots would bring to naught the strokes of the axe. The natives, however, being accustomed to crawl under the thickets like wild beasts, then also had entered the woods and from concealment were assailing their enemy with weapons. Alexander, tracing them to their lairs as hunters do, slew many of them, and finally ordered the soldiers to encircle the forest, and to rush in if they could find an opening anywhere; but in the unknown country many of them strayed and lost their way, and some were captured, among them the king's horse — they called him Bucephalas — which Alexander valued more highly than all other animals. For he would not allow anyone else to sit upon his back, and when the king wished to mount him, he knelt down of its own accord to receive him, and seemed to know whom he was carrying. Therefore aroused with greater anger than was seemly and at the same time with grief, the king gave orders that the horse should be traced, and that proclamation should be made through an interpreter, that unless it should be returned, not a man would be left alive. Terrified by this threat, along with other gifts they brought the horse. But not even by this made milder, the king ordered the woods to be cut down and earth to be brought from the mountains and heaped upon the plain which was made impassable by the branches. And this work had already risen to a considerable height, when the barbarians, despairing of being able to hold the region which they had occupied, surrendered their nation. The king, after having received hostages, ordered them to submit to Phradates.

Then, four days later, the king returned to his permanent camp. From there he sent Artabazus home, after conferring on him double the honour which Darius had paid him. Now they had come to the city of Hyrcania in which the palace of Darius had been; there Nabarzanes, having received a safe [23] conduct, met him, bringing great gifts. Among these was Bagoas, a eunuch of

remarkable beauty and in the very flower of boyhood, who had been loved by Darius and was afterwards to be loved by Alexander; and it was especially because of the boy's entreaties that he was led to pardon Nabarzanes.

[24] There was, as was said before, neighbouring on Hyrcania, a race of Amazons, inhabiting the plains of [25] Themiscyra, about the river Thermodon. They had a queen, Thalestris, who ruled all who dwelt between the Caucasus mountains and the river Phasis. She, fired with a desire to visit the king, came forth from the boundaries of her kingdom, and when she was not far away sent messenger's to give notice that a queen had come who was eager to meet him and to become acquainted with him. She was at once given permission [26] to come. Having ordered the rest of her escort to halt, she came forward attended by three hundred women, and as soon as the king was in sight, she herself leaped down from her horse, carrying two [27] lances in her right hand. The clothing of the Amazons does not wholly cover the body; for the left side is nude as far as the breast, then the other parts of the body are veiled. However, the fold of the robe, which they gather in a knot, does not [28] reach below the knee. One nipple is left untouched, and with it they nourish their female children; the right is seared, in order that they may more easily stretch their bows and hurl their spears.

[29] With fearless expression Thalestris gazed at the king, carefully surveying his person, which did not by any means correspond to the fame of his exploits; for all the barbarians feel veneration for a majestic presence, and believe that only those are capable of great deeds whom nature has deigned to adorn with [30] extraordinary physical attractiveness. However, on being asked whether she wished to make any request, she did not hesitate to confess that she had come to share children with the king, being worthy that he should beget from her heirs to his kingdom; that she would retain any female offspring but would return [31] a male to his father. Alexander asked her whether she wished to serve in war with him; but she, giving as an excuse that she had left her realm without a guard, persisted in asking that he should not suffer [32] her to go away disappointed in her hope. The passion of the woman, being, as she was, more keen for love than the king, compelled him to remain there for a few days. Thirteen days were spent in satisfying her desire. Then she went to her kingdom, and the king to Parthienê.

VI. It was in fact at this time that Alexander gave loose rein to his passions, and changed continence and self-control, eminent virtues in every exalted fortune, to haughtiness and wantonness.

[2] Regarding his native customs and the discipline of the Macedonian kings, wholesomely restrained and democratic, as too low for his grandeur, he strove to rival the loftiness of the Persian court, equal to [3] the power of the gods; he demanded that the victors over so many nations in paying their respects to him should prostrate themselves upon the ground, and gradually sought to accustom them to servile [4] duties and to treat them like captives. Accordingly, he encircled his brow with a purple diadem, variegated with

white such as Darius had worn, and assumed the Persian garb, not even fearing the omen of changing from the insignia of a victor to the ^[5] dress of the conquered. In fact, he used to say that he was wearing the spoils of the Persians; but with them he had assumed also their customs, and insolence of spirit accompanied the magnificence of his ^[6] attire. The letters also which were to be sent to Europe he sealed with the device of his former ring; on those which he wrote to Asia, the ring of Darius was impressed, so that it appeared that one mind was not equal to the fortune of the two realms.

^[7] Moreover, he compelled his friends, the cavalry, and with them the leaders of the soldiers, to wear the Persian dress, which was indeed repugnant to them, ^[8] but which they did not dare to refuse. Three hundred and sixty-five concubines, the same number that Darius had had, filled his palace, attended by herds of eunuchs, also accustomed to prostitute themselves.

^[9] These practices, corrupted by luxury and foreign customs, were openly detested by the veteran soldiers of Philip, a people novices in voluptuousness, and in the whole camp the feeling and the talk of all was the same, namely, that more had been lost by victory ^[10] than had been gained by war; that it was then above all that they themselves were conquered men, when they had surrendered themselves to alien and foreign habits. With what face, pray, would they return to their homes, as if in the attire of prisoners? The king was already ashamed of them since, resembling the vanquished rather than the victors, he had changed from a ruler of Macedonia to a satrap of ^[11] Darius. The king, not unaware that the chief of his friends, and the army as well, were grievously offended, tried to win back their favour by liberality and by bounty. But, in my opinion, the price of ^[12] slavery is hateful to free men. Therefore, that the situation might not result in mutiny, it was necessary to put an end to their leisure by war, the material for which was opportunely increasing.

^[13] For Bessus, having assumed regal attire, had given orders that he should be called Artaxerxes, and was assembling the Scythians and the rest of the peoples dwelling by the Tanais.

This was announced by Satibarzanes, whom Alexander had received under his protection and had made satrap of the region which he had formerly governed.

^[14] And since the army, laden with spoils and the equipment of luxury, could with difficulty be moved, he ordered first his own baggage, then that of the whole army, to be gathered together in their midst, except 16 what was absolutely necessary. There was a spacious plain, into which they had driven the loaded wagons. When all were wondering what the king was going to order next, he commanded that the animals be led away, and, when he had first applied a torch to his ^[16] own pack, that the rest be burned. There were consumed, set on fire by their owners, the riches to save which unharmed from the cities of the enemy they had often extinguished flames, and no one dared to weep for the price of his blood, when the ^[17] same fire was consuming

the king's wealth. Then in a short time reason soothed their grief, and, prepared for military service and ready for everything, they rejoiced that jettison had been made of their packs, and not of their discipline. —

[18] Therefore they were making for the region of Bactra But the carrying off of Nicanor, son of Parminion by a sudden death had been a cause of great grief to all. The king, saddened more than the others, desired to halt in order to be present at his funeral, but scarcity of supplies caused him to hasten; therefore, leaving Philotas with 2600 men to perform the due rites for his brother, he hurried on to meet Bessus.

[20] As he was on his way, letters were brought to him from the neighbouring satraps, from which he learned that Bessus was in fact coming to meet him with hostile intent with his army, but also that Satibarzanes, whom he himself had given charge of the [21] satrapy of the Arii, had revolted from him. Therefore, although eager to meet Bessus, yet thinking it best to make it his first business to crush Satibarzanes, he led out his light-armed troops and his cavalry forces, and marching swiftly all night, came [22] unexpectedly upon the enemy. On learning of his arrival Satibarzanes with 2000 horsemen — or he had not been able in his haste to muster more — fled for refuge to Bactra, the rest took possession of the [23] neighbouring mountains. There is a rock, very steep on its western side, but towards the east sinking with a gentler slope; covered with many trees, it has a perennial fount, from which there is an abundant flow of water. Its circuit covers thirty-two stadia. On its summit is a grass-covered plain; on this they ordered those who were not fit for war to take their places. They themselves piled tree-trunks and stones against the slope of the rock. They [28] numbered 13,000 armed men. Leaving Craterus to blockade these, he hastened in pursuit of Satibarzanes. But because he had learned that the barbarian was a long distance away, he returned to storm those who had taken possession of the mountain [26] heights. And first he ordered to be cleared whatever road they would be able to traverse; then, when impassable crags and precipices presented themselves, the labour seemed hopeless against the [27] opposition of Nature. But Alexander, being always of a mind to wrestle with difficulties, since to advance was a hard task and to return dangerous, considered all kinds of expedients as his mind suggested one after another — as is usual when we reject every first thought.

As he was at a loss, chance offered a plan which calculation could not suggest. There was a strong west wind, and the soldiers had cut a great amount of wood when trying to make an approach over the stones. This, dried by the heat, had caught fire; [29] therefore he ordered other trees to be piled on, and fuel to be given to the flames, and soon, as the trunks were heaped up, they equalled the height of [30] the mountain. Then fire was thrown upon it from every side and kindled the whole mass. The wind drove the flames into the faces of the enemy, a great [31] smoke had hidden the sky as if by a cloud. The woods roared from the conflagration, and those parts also to which the

soldiers had not set fire, took fire themselves, and burned everything that was near them. The barbarians tried to escape the worst of torments, if the fire died down anywhere, but where the flames gave a passage the enemy awaited them.

[32] Hence they were destroyed by varied forms of death; some threw themselves into the midst of the flames, others down from the rocks, some offered themselves to the hands of the enemy, a few, half roasted, came into their power.

[33] From there he returned to Craterus, who was besieging Artacana. He, having prepared everything beforehand, was awaiting the coming of the king, leaving to him the honour of capturing the city, [34] as was right. Therefore Alexander ordered towers to be brought up; and at the mere sight the terrified barbarians on the walls, stretching out their hands, palms up, began to entreat him to reserve his anger for Satibarzanes, the ringleader of the revolt, and to spare the suppliants who surrendered themselves. The king pardoned them, and not only put an end to the siege, but returned all their property to the inhabitants.

[35] When he had left this city, a reserve of new soldiers met him; Zoilus had brought 500 soldiers from Greece, Antipater had sent 3000 from Illyrium, with Philip there were 130 Thessalian cavalry, from Lydia 2600 foreign troops had come, and 300 horsemen of the same race followed. With the addition of these forces he entered the land of the Drangae, a warlike tribe. Their satrap was Barzaentes, an accomplice with Bessus in the crime against his king; he, fearing the punishment which he had deserved, fled to India.

VII. Already Alexander had been encamped for nine days in the same place, when, being not only safe from force from without, but unconquered, he was attacked by a crime within his own household.

[2] Dymnus, a man of slight weight and favour with the king, burned with love for a catamite named Nicomachus, bound by the compliance of a body devoted [3] to him alone. He, as if in great alarm, as could clearly be seen also from his expression, without witnesses withdrew with the youth into a temple, first saying that he had something secret and confidential to communicate, and when the youth was on tiptoe [4] of expectation, he besought him by their affection for each other, and by the pledges which they had both exchanged, to declare under oath that he would keep silent about what Dymnus should reveal to him.

[5] Nicomachus, not supposing that he would tell him anything which it would be incumbent on him to disclose even at the cost of breaking his word, took oath by the gods in whose temple they were. Then Dymnus revealed that a plot against the king had been arranged for the third day thereafter, and that he shared in that design with some brave and distinguished men.

The youth, on hearing this, steadfastly denied that he had pledged his faith to take part in treason, and said that he could not be bound by any religious obligation to keep the crime secret. Dymnus, mad both with love and with

fear, seizing the youth's hand and weeping, begged first that he would take part in the design and its execution; if he could not bring himself to do that, at least he would not betray him, whose goodwill towards Nicomachus, besides all the rest, had this very evident proof, that he had trusted his life to his loyalty without previously testing it.

Finally, when the youth persisted in expressing abhorrence of the crime, Dymnus tried to terrify him by fear of death, saying that the conspirators would [11] begin their glorious deed by taking his life. Then calling him now effeminate and womanishly timid, and now the betrayer of his lover, now making vast promises, sometimes even royal power, he worked upon a mind to which such a deed was utterly abhorrent. Then applying a drawn sword, now to Nicomachus' throat and now to his own, at the same time a suppliant and an enemy, Dymnus at last forced him to promise, not only silence, but even support.

[13] Yet the lad, being of a most steadfast spirit — indeed he should have been chaste — had made no change in his former resolution, but pretended that, overcome with [14] love for Dymnus, he could refuse him nothing. Then he went on to inquire with whom he had entered upon an association of so great importance; it made a great deal of difference, he said, what sort of men were going to put their hands to so memorable an [15] enterprise. Dymnus, almost crazed by love and guilt, at the same time thanked him, and also congratulated him that he had not hesitated to join with the bravest of men, Demetrius, one of the body-guard, Peucolaus, Nicanor; to these he added Aphobetus, Iolaüs, Theoxenus, Archepolis, Amyntas.

[16] On being dismissed from this conference, Nicomachus reported to his brother — his name was Cebalinus — what he had heard. They agreed that Nicomachus should stay in his brother's tent, for fear that, if he, who was not accustomed to approach the king, should enter the royal apartment, the conspirators might learn that they had been betrayed.

[17] Cebalinus himself stood before the vestibule of the tent — for nearer access was not allowed him — waiting for someone of the first rank of the king's friends, [18] to admit him to Alexander's presence. It happened that when the rest had been dismissed, Philotas, son of Parmenion, alone — it is not known for what reason — had remained in the royal apartment; to him Cebalinus, in confused words and showing signs of great perturbation, disclosed what he had learned from his brother, and asked that it be reported to the [19] king without delay. Philotas, after strongly commending him, at once went in to Alexander, and having talked with him for some time about other matters, reported nothing of what he had learned [20] from Cebalinus. Towards evening the young man met Philotas in the vestibule of the royal apartment, as he was coming out, and asked him whether he had done what he requested. Philotas alleged that the king had had no time to talk with him, [21] and went away. On the following day Cebalinus was on hand when Philotas came to the royal apartment, and reminded him, as he entered, of the matter which he had

communicated to him the day before. Philotas replied that he was attending to it, but did not even then disclose to the king what he ^[22] had heard. Cebalinus began to suspect him, and so, thinking that there ought to be no further obstruction, he told a young nobleman — his name was Metron — who had charge of the armoury, of the ^[23] crime which was being planned. He, after having concealed Cebalinus in the armoury, at once revealed to the king, who chanced to be taking a bath, what ^[24] the informer had reported. The king sent his attend ants to arrest Dymnus, and entered the armoury. There Cebalinus, transported with joy, said: — I have you safe, snatched from the hands of impious men.” Then Alexander, after inquiring about all the particulars, learned the whole matter in detail. And again the king went on to inquire how long it was since Nicomachus had given him the information And when Cebalinus admitted that it was two days before, Alexander, thinking him of doubtful loyalty in reporting so long afterwards what he had ^[27] heard ordered that he be put in fetters. But Cebalinus began to cry out that at the very moment that he had heard of it he had run to Philotas; that it was by him that what he had learned was concealed.

^[28] When the king asked again and again whether he had gone to Philotas, and whether he had urged him that they should go to Alexander and Cebalinus persisted in affirming what he had said, the king, raising his hands to heaven, with flowing tears began to lament that such requital had been made him by one who had formerly been the dearest of his friends.

^[29] In the meantime Dymnus, well aware why he was summoned by the king, gave himself a severe wound with a sword which he chanced to be wearing, and being stopped by the guards who ran up, was ^[30] brought into the royal apartment. The king, looking him in the eye, said: “What great wrong have I planned against you, Dymnus, that you should think Philotas more worthy to rule the Macedonians, than I am myself?” But speech had already failed Dymnus; and so, uttering a groan and averting his face from the king’s gaze, he forthwith swooned and died.

^[31] The king, having ordered Philotas to come to the royal tent, said: “Cebalinus deserved the extreme penalty, if he concealed for two days a plot aimed at my life; but he has substituted Philotas as the one guilty of that offence, since he declares that he immediately reported the information to him.

The closer the degree of friendship which you have with me, the greater is the crime of your secrecy, and I at any rate admit that such action becomes Cebalinus rather than Philotas. You have a favourable judge, if what ought not to have been done can at least be excused.”

^[33] To these words Philotas, in no wise disturbed, if his feelings were judged from his expression, replied that Cebalinus had, it was true, reported to him the talk of a wanton, but that he himself put no trust in an authority of so little weight, fearing besides lest he should be laughed at by the rest if he reported ^[34] a quarrel between a lover and his favourite; but since Dymnus had

made away with himself, it ought not to have been passed over in silence, whatever its nature was. Then, throwing his arms about the king, he began to entreat him to have regard to his past life rather than to a fault which, after all, was only ^[35] one of silence, and not of any action I could not readily say whether the king believed him, or suppressed his anger deep in his heart; he offered him his right hand as a pledge of renewed favour, saying that it appeared to him that the information was scorned rather than concealed.

VIII. Then, having called a council of his friends, to which however Philotas was not invited, he ordered ^[2] Nicomachus to be brought before it. The youth set forth in order the same information that his brother had given to the king. Craterus was dearer to Alexander than most of his friends, and for that reason less friendly to Philotas, as his rival in importance, he was well aware too that Philotas had often wearied the ears of Alexander by excessive vaunting of his valour and his services, and hence was suspected, not indeed of crime, but of arrogance. Thinking that there would be no more advantageous opportunity of ruining his enemy, disguising his hatred under a pretence of loyalty, he said: — I only wish that at the very beginning of this matter you ^[5] had deliberated with us! We should have persuaded you if you wished to pardon Philotas, to suffer him to be ignorant how much he was indebted to you, rather than, after he had been brought even to the very fear of death, to think more often of his own danger than of your kindness. For he will always be able to plot against you, you will not always be able to pardon ^[6] Philotas. There is no reason for you to think that one who has dared so much can be changed by a pardon. He knows that those who have exhausted ^[7] mercy can no longer hope for it. But even if he himself, either through change of heart or overcome by your kindness, shall wish to remain quiet, I at any rate know that his father Parmenion, the leader of so great an army, and because of his long-continued influence with his soldiers holding a position not much below the height of your greatness, will not with equanimity ^[8] owe his son's life to you. There are some favours which we hate. One is ashamed to admit that one has deserved death; therefore, Philotas would prefer to seem to have suffered an injury rather than to have been granted his life. Therefore be sure that you will have to fight with those men for your life. There are enemies enough left, in pursuit of whom we are about to go; guard yourself against domestic foes. If you get rid of these, I fear nothing from without.

^[10] Thus spoke Craterus. And the rest did not doubt that Philotas would not have suppressed the evidence of the conspiracy, unless he had been its ringleader or a participant in it. For who, if a loyal man, and of good intention, not to say a friend, but even one of the lowest condition, on hearing what had been revealed to Philotas, would not at once have hastened ^[11] to the king? To think that the son of Parmenion, as commander of the cavalry a confidant of all the king's secrets, was not moved even by the example of Cebalinus, who had announced to him what he had learned from his brother! That he also pretended that the king had no time to talk with him, for fear that the informer

might seek another intermediary!

[12] Nicomachus, even though bound by an oath to the gods, had hastened to unburden his conscience; Philotas, after spending the whole day in amusement and merriment, had found it difficult to find room, in so long and perhaps superfluous a talk, for a few words [13] relating to the life of his king! But, he says, he did not believe mere boys who brought such information. Why then did he prolong the time for two days, as if he had faith in their testimony? Cebalinus ought to have been dismissed, if Philotas rejected his information. In the time of his own danger everyone ought to have great courage; when fears were felt for the safety of their king, they ought to be credulous and to listen even to those who bring false information.

[15] All therefore decided that Philotas should be put to the torture, in order that he might be forced to name the participants in the crime. The king dismissed them, after admonishing them to keep silent about his plans. Then he ordered a march to be announced for the following day, lest any indication of the decisions entered on should be given to [16] the guilty parties. Philotas was even invited to a banquet, which was his last, and the king had the heart, not only to dine with him, but even to talk familiarly with the man whom he had condemned.

[17] Then in the second watch, when the lights had been put out, there came to the king's tent, with a few others, Hephaestion, Craterus, Coenus, and Erigyius, these from the number of his friends, and from the body-guard Perdicas and Leonnatus. By these it was ordered that those who were on guard at the king's [18] tent should remain on watch and under arms. Already cavalry had been stationed at all the entrances, and they had been ordered also to beset the roads, in order that no one might secretly go out to Parmenion, who was then governing Media and was in command [19] of great forces. Atarrhias, moreover, with 300 armed men had entered the royal tent; to him were given besides ten attendants, each followed by ten men-at-arms. These were sent in different directions to arrest the other conspirators. Atarrhias was sent with 300 men to Philotas and set about breaking open the closed entrance to his house, attended by fifty of the bravest of his soldiers; for he had ordered the rest to surround the house on all sides, for fear that Philotas might be able to slip out by a secret [21] door. But he, either through absence of anxiety or worn out by fatigue, had been overcome by sleep: Atarrhias seized him while he was still drowsy.

[22] When at last he was fully awake and chains were put upon him, he said: "O Sire, the bitterness of my enemies has prevailed over your kindness." And without further words on his part they led him with veiled head into the king's quarters.

[23] On the following day the king made proclamation that all should assemble under arms. About 6000 soldiers had come, besides these a crowd of camp-servants and batmen had filled the royal quarters.

[24] The men-at-arms covered Philotas with their troop, in order that he

might not be seen by the general ^[25] throng until the king had addressed the soldiers. In accordance with the ancient custom of the Macedonians, the king conducted the inquiry into criminal cases, and the army passed judgement — in time of peace it was a duty of the common people — and the power of the king availed nothing, unless his influence ^[26] had earlier had weight with them. Accordingly, the corpse of Dymnus was first brought in, the greater number being ignorant what he had attempted or by what chance he had been killed. IX. After this the king entered the assembly, manifesting his sorrow by his expression. The sadness of his friends also caused ^[2] no slight expectation of what was to take place. For a long time the king stood with his eyes fixed upon the ground, like one amazed and at a loss. At last, having recovered his spirits, he said:

“Almost, my soldiers, have I been wrested from you by the wickedness of certain men; for it is by the providence and mercy of the gods that I still live. And the sight of your revered assembly has forced me to be more violently angry with the traitors, since the first, nay, the sole enjoyment of my life is to be able still to requite so many valiant men who have the ^[3] highest claim upon my gratitude.” His speech was interrupted by the soldiers’ lamentations, and tears sprang to the eyes of all. Then the king continued:

“How much greater emotion shall I rouse in your minds, when I reveal the authors of so great a crime!

From the mention of these I still shrink, and I refrain from calling their names, as if they could be saved.

^[4] But I must overcome the memory of my former affection, and the conspiracy of impious citizens must be brought to light. For how can I be silent about such an abomination? Parmenion, old as he is, bound by so many favours of mine, so many of my father’s, the eldest of all our friends, offered himself as the leader ^[6] in so great a crime. His tool, Philotas, has suborned against my life Peucolaus, and Demetrius, and this Dymnus, whose body you see before you, and the ^[6] others infected by the same madness.” On all sides cries of indignation and lament broke out in the whole assembly, such as are wont to be uttered by a multitude, and especially one of soldiers, when they ^[7] are moved by devotion or by anger. Then Nicomachus and Metron and Cebalinus were brought forward, and set forth what each of them had reported. By the testimony of none of these was Philotas designated as a participant in the crime. Therefore after forceful expression of indignation the rest of the speech was heard in silence.

^[8] The king continued: “What, then, seems to you to be the spirit of a man who suppressed the information which was brought to him about this matter — information which the death of Dymnus shows not ^[9] to have been unfounded? Cebalinus, when reporting an uncertain matter did not fear torture, and Metron was so far from putting off even for a single moment the freeing of his mind, that he even forced his way ^[10] into the place where I was bathing. Philotas alone had no fear, believed nothing. O the great courage of

the man! Would such a man be moved by the danger to his king, would he change countenance, would he listen anxiously to the informer of so great ^[11] a matter? No doubt this silence conceals a purpose, and the eager hope for royal power drove his mind headlong to the worst of abominations. His father governs Media; he himself, because of the great power which through my influence he has with many leaders of our forces, aspires to greater things than ^[12] are within his capabilities. He scorns even my bereavement, in that I have no children. But Philotas is mistaken. In you I have children, relatives, kinsmen; while you live, I cannot be without off-

^[13] spring.” Then he read an intercepted letter which Parmenion had written to his sons Nicanor and Philotas, which did not, it is true, furnish evidence of ^[14] any serious design. For this was its substance: “First, look out for yourselves, then for yours; for thus we shall accomplish what we have planned.”

^[15] And the king added that the letter was written in such terms, in order that, if it should reach his sons, it could be understood by their accomplices, or if it should have been intercepted, it would deceive those who knew nothing of the plot. Then the king continued: ^[16] “But, it may be said, Dymnus, when he revealed the other participants in the crime, did not name Philotas. This, in fact, is a sign, not of his innocence, but of his authority, because he was so feared even by those by whom he could be betrayed, that when they confessed their own guilt, they nevertheless did not name him. Furthermore, his own life shows the ^[17] character of Philotas. He it was who, when Amyntas, my own cousin, in Macedonia made an impious plot against my life, joined with him as an ally and an ^[18] accomplice. He gave his sister in marriage to Attalus, than whom I had no more dangerous enemy. He, when I had written to him, by right of so close a familiarity and friendship, the nature of the reply which had been given by the oracle of Jupiter Ammon, had the impudence to reply that he for his part congratulated me that I had been received into the number of the gods, but that he pitied those who would have to live under one who rose above the limitations of a man. These are tokens of a mind which is both long since alienated from me and is also envious of my glory. These things, soldiers, so long as it was possible, I buried in my own thoughts. For it seemed to me that I was tearing away a part of my own flesh, if I should make those upon whom I had conferred such great favours more worthless in my ^[20] sight. But it is no longer mere words that must be punished; rashness of language has passed on to swords. These, if you believe me, Philotas has whetted against me, if you believe him, he has allowed it.

“Whither shall I turn, soldiers? to whom shall I ^[21] trust my life? I have put him in command of the cavalry, the best part of my army, the elite of our noblest young men, I have entrusted to his loyalty and protection my life, my hope, my victory. His father I have raised to the same high rank as that in which you have placed me. I have put under his command and sway Media, than which no region is richer, and so many thousands of citizens and allies.

Where I had looked for protection danger has arisen. How happily would I have fallen in battle, the prey of an enemy rather than the victim of a fellow-citizen! Now, saved from the only dangers which I feared, I have met with those which I ought not ^[24] to have feared. You are wont, soldiers, ever and anon to ask me to be careful of my life. You yourselves can furnish me with the means of doing what you advise. To your hands, to your weapons I flee for refuge; I do not wish to be safe, if you do not wish it, if you do wish it, I cannot be unless I am avenged."

^[25] Then he ordered Philotas to be brought in with his hands bound behind his back and his head veiled in a worn-out cloak. It was readily apparent that men were touched by the wretched plight of one who shortly before had been looked upon with envy.

^[26] The day before they had seen him the commander of the cavalry, they knew that he had been present at a banquet with the king; suddenly they beheld him on trial, it is true, but already condemned, nay, ^[27] even in bonds. There entered their minds also the ill-fortune of Parmenion, so great a general, so distinguished a citizen, who, recently bereft of two sons, Hector and Nicanor, would, though absent, make his plea along with the only son whom ^[28] calamity had left him. Accordingly Amyntas, one of the king's generals, again aroused the assembly, which was inclined towards pity, by a harsh speech against Philotas, saying that they had been betrayed to the barbarians, that no one would return to his wife, to his native land, to his parents, but that like a body bereft of its head, without life, without name, in a foreign land they would be the sport of their ^[29] enemies. The speech of Amyntas was by no means so pleasing to the king as the author of it had hoped, since by having reminded them of their wives and of their native land he had made them less alert for performing the tasks which remained.

Then Coenus, although he had joined Philotas sister to himself in marriage, inveighed against him more savagely than anyone else, shouting that he ^[31] was a traitor to king, to country, to the army, and catching up a stone which chanced to be lying at his feet, he was on the point of hurling it at him, as many thought because he desired to save him from torture. But the king stayed his hand, declaring that the accused ought to be given the opportunity of first pleading his cause, and that otherwise he would not allow him to be judged. Then Philotas, when ordered to speak, either through consciousness of guilt or beside himself and thunderstruck by the greatness of his peril, did not venture to lift his eyes ^[33] or to open his mouth. Then, with a flood of tears, he swooned and fell into the arms of the man who was holding him; and when his eyes had been dried with the cloak which he was wearing, he gradually recovered his breath and his voice and seemed about to ^[34] speak. And now the king, looking intently at him, said: "The Macedonians are about to pass judgement upon you; I wish to know whether you will use their native tongue in addressing them." ^[35] Thereupon Philotas replied: "Besides the Macedonians there are many present who, I think, will more easily understand

what I shall say if I use the same language which you have employed, for no other reason, I suppose, than in order that your speech might be ^[36] understood by the greater number.” Then said the king: “Do you not see how Philotas loathes even the language of his fatherland? For he alone disdains to learn it. But let him by all means speak in whatever way he desires, provided that you remember that he holds our customs in as much abhorrence as our language.” And with these words he left the assembly.

Then Philotas said: “It is easy for an innocent man to find words, it is difficult for a wretched man to ^[2] keep his words within bounds. Therefore, abandoned between the best of consciences and the most unfavourable of fortunes, I do not know how to suit what I shall say both to my feelings and to the situation. In fact, the best judge of my cause is not present; why he should not wish to hear me himself, I cannot, by Heaven! imagine, since after having heard both sides of the case, he can as readily condemn me as acquit me, but if he has not heard both sides, I cannot be acquitted in his absence since I ^[4] was condemned by him when he was present. But although the defence of a man in fetters is not only superfluous but also odious, since he seems not to inform the judge but to accuse him, nevertheless, in whatever manner I am allowed to speak, I shall not myself fail, nor let myself seem to have been condemned ^[6] by my own voice as well. For my part, I do not see with what crime I am charged; no one among the conspirators names me, Nicomachus said nothing about me, Cebalinus could not know more than he ^[6] had heard. And yet the king believes me to have been the head of the conspiracy! Could Dymnus then fail to mention the one whose follower he was, especially when I ought to have been named, even falsely, to Nicomachus, who asked who were his associates, in order that the man who was being ^[7] tempted might be more easily persuaded? For when the crime was disclosed, he did not leave out my name in order that he might seem to have spared an associate; for when he confessed to Nicomachus, who he believed would keep in silence the secrets about himself, having named others, me alone he left out. Pray, fellow-soldiers, if Cebalinus had not come to me, if he had wished me to know nothing about the conspirators, would I to-day be pleading my cause, when ^[9] no one named me? Suppose that Dymnus were still alive and wished to spare me, what of the rest? Those who will confess their own guilt will of course be silent about me! Calamity is malign, and as a rule a guilty person, when suffering his own torture, ^[10] assents to that of another. Will so many accomplices not confess the truth even when placed upon the rack? And yet no one spares one who is about to die, and in my opinion one who is about to die spares no one.

^[11] “I must return to the real and only accusation against me: ‘Why did you keep silence about the matter which was reported to you? why did you hear it with so little concern?’ This, such as it is, you, Alexander, wherever you are, pardoned when I confessed it; grasping your right hand, as a pledge of restored friendship, I even was present at your ^[12] banquet. If you believed me,

I was acquitted, if you spared me, I was dismissed; pray abide by your decision. What have I done during this last night, when I left your table? what new crime has been reported ^[13] to you and changed your mind? I was resting in heavy sleep, when, as I had fallen asleep over my misfortunes, my enemies awakened me by binding me. Whence did such deep sleep come to a traitor and ^[14] one who had been betrayed? The wicked cannot sleep soundly because of the clamours of conscience; the Furies torment them when their treason is merely planned, much more when it has been accomplished. But to me, first my blamelessness, then your right hand, had brought freedom from care; I had no fear that more would be allowed on your part ^[15] to the cruelty of others than to your clemency. But to prevent you from regretting your belief in me, let me say that the matter was reported to me by a mere boy, who could show me no witness nor proof of his information, and who would fill all with fear if he should begin to be heard. Unhappily I believed that my ears had ^[16] been exposed to a quarrel of a wanton and his boy, and besides I suspected his truthfulness because he did not himself bring the report, but employed his ^[17] brother instead. I feared lest he should deny having given instructions to Cebalinus, and I should seem to have been the cause of danger to many of the king's ^[18] friends. Even as it is, although I have injured no one, I have found one who preferred that I should perish rather than be unharmed; what enmities do you think I should have incurred, if I had attacked blameless ^[19] persons? But, you will say, Dymnus killed himself! Could I have divined that he would do so? Certainly not. Hence the only thing which has given assurance to this information could not influence me when I was ^[20] accosted by Cebalinus. But, by Heaven, if I had been an accomplice with Dymnus in so great a crime, I ought not to have concealed for those two days my knowledge that we had been betrayed; Cebalinus himself could have been put out of the ^[21] way, and with no trouble. Finally, after the information which I was going to conceal had been made known, I entered the king's bedroom alone, and wearing a sword. Why did I put off the deed? Was ^[22] it that I did not dare to do it without Dymnus? He then was the leader of the conspiracy and I, Philotas, who aspire to the throne of Macedonia was lurking-under his shadow! Has anyone of you been bribed by gifts? To what general, to what prefect did I show too marked attention?

^[23] "It is even charged against me that I scorn association with my native language, that I disdain the customs of the Macedonians. So then I aspire to the rule of something which I hold in contempt. It is long ago that that native tongue has gone out of use through intercourse with other nations; a foreign language has to be learned as well by the victors as by the vanquished. Those charges, by Heaven! are no more injurious to me than it is that Amyntas, son of Perdiccas, plotted against the king. The charge that I was on friendly terms with him I do not refuse to meet, provided it was our duty not to love the king's ^[25] brother." But if it was necessary even to venerate one in that lofty position, am I, pray, guilty because I did not have the power of divination, or

must the innocent friends of guilty men also die? But if that is just, why have I lived so long? if unjust, why am ^[26] I nevertheless to die now? But, it may be said, I also wrote that I pitied those who had to live under a man who believed himself the son of Jupiter. O loyalty to friendship, O dangerous freedom in giving true counsel, it is you that played me false! It was you that impelled me not to keep silent about ^[27] what I thought. I confess that I wrote this to the king, but not about the king. For I did not seek to rouse ill-will against him, but I feared for him. It seemed to me more worthy of Alexander to recognize in silence the parentage of Jupiter, than ^[28] to boast of it publicly. But since the truth of the oracle is sure, let the god bear witness in my case; keep me in fetters while Hammon is asked whether I planned a secret and hidden crime. He who has recognized our king as son will not suffer those who have plotted against his stock to be concealed.

^[29] If you believe tortures to be more trustworthy than oracles, I do not refuse even that testimony for bringing the truth to light.

^[30] “Those who are charged with a capital offence are accustomed to bring their relatives before you. I have recently lost two brothers, my father I cannot bring before you, nor do I dare to appeal to him, since ^[31] he himself is accused of this great crime. For it is not enough that he who was lately the father of so many sons, and now takes comfort in but one, should be bereft of him too, unless he himself is placed upon ^[32] my funeral pyre. Therefore, dearest father, you will die both because of me and with me; it is I who am taking your life from you, I who am extinguishing you in your old age. Why, pray, did you beget unhappy me under adverse gods? Was it that you might reap ^[33] from me these fruits which await you? I know not whether my youth or your old age is the more wretched. I am taken off in the very flower of my strength, from you the executioner will take the life which, if Fortune had been willing to wait, Nature was demanding. The mention of my father has reminded me how timidly and hesitatingly I ought to have revealed what Cebalinus had reported to me. For Parmenion, when he had heard that poison was being prepared for the king by his physician Philip, wrote him a letter and tried to prevent him from drinking the potion which the physician had decided ^[35] to give him. Was my father believed? His letter had no weight, had it? As for myself, how often have I reported what I had heard and been repulsed with mockery of my credulity! If we are both disliked when we report anything, and suspected when ^[36] we keep silence, what are we to do?” And when one of the throng of bystanders had exclaimed “not plot against your benefactors!”, Philotas replied: ^[37] “You speak rightly, whoever you are. Hence, if I have so plotted, I do not beg for immunity from punishment, and I make an end of speaking, since my last words have seemed to displease your ears.” Philotas was then led away by the men who were guarding him.

XI. There was among the generals one Bolon, valiant in deeds of arms, but unacquainted with the arts of peace and with civil manners, an old soldier, who had risen from a humble rank to the position ^[2] which he then held; he,

when the rest were silent, rudely and with coarse audacity began to remind them how often they had been put out of the quarters which they had occupied in order that the offscourings of Philotas' slaves might be received in the places from which they had driven out his ^[3] fellowsoldiers. That his wagons laden with gold and silver had stood in whole sections of the city, and that not one of his fellow-soldiers was admitted even to the neighbourhood of his lodging, but they were all removed to a distance by those whom he had placed in their positions to watch over his sleep, lest that she-man might be disturbed by what is more truly described as the silence than the sound of those who ^[4] whispered together. That the rustic men had always been objects of his mockery, and were called Phrygians and Paphlagonians by one who, though born a Macedonian, did not blush that men of his own language heard his words through an interpreter.

^[5] Now he wished Hammon to be consulted; but that same man accused Jupiter of lying when he acknowledged Alexander as his son, fearing, forsooth, lest what the gods offered should be an object of envy!

^[6] When he was plotting against the life of his king and his friend, he did not consult Jupiter; now he would send to the oracle, in order that in the meantime his father may arouse those whom he governs in Media, and with the money entrusted to his charge may ^[7] induce abandoned men to share in his crime. They themselves would send to the oracle, not to ask Jupiter what they had learned from the king, but to thank him, and pay the vows which they had made for the safety of the best of kings.

^[8] Then truly the whole assembly was inflamed, and a beginning was made by the body-guards, who shouted that the traitor ought to be torn to pieces by their own hands. This indeed Philotas, who feared severer tortures, heard by no means reluctantly; ^[9] but the king, having returned to the assembly, either that he might also "torture him in prison, or that he might investigate the whole matter more carefully, adjourned the council to the following day, and although the time was approaching evening, he nevertheless ordered his friends to be called together.

^[10] And the rest for their part recommended that Philotas be stoned to death, according to the ancient custom of the Macedonians, but Hephaestion and Craterus and Coenus said that the truth ought to be forced from him by torments; and those also who had recommended the other course went over to their ^[11] opinion. Therefore the council was dismissed, and Hephaestion with Craterus and Coenus arose to put ^[12] Philotas to the question. The king, having summoned Craterus and had a talk with him, the subject of which has not been made public, withdrew into the inner part of his quarters, and dismissing all witnesses awaited until late at night the result of the inquisition.

^[13] The torturers laid out all their instruments of ^[14] cruelty before the eyes of Philotas. And he, of his own accord, said: "Why do you delay to kill the king's enemy, the murderer who confesses that he wished to kill him? What is the need of an inquisition? I planned it, I wished it." Craterus demanded that

what he confessed he should also say under torture.

[15] Then he was seized, and while his eyes were being bound, while his clothing was being taken off, he called upon his country's gods and on the law of nations, but vainly to deaf ears. Then he was torn by the utmost torments, inasmuch as he had been condemned and his personal enemies were torturing [16] him to gratify the king. And at first, although now fire, and now the lash was used upon him, no longer for the purpose of seeking the truth, but as a punishment, he kept not only words but even groans under [17] control; but when his body, swollen with wounds, could no longer endure the blows of the scourges upon his bare bones, he promised that if they would moderate his tortures, he would tell them what they [18] wished to know. But he wished them to swear by Alexander's life that there would be an end to the torments, and the torturers removed. And when both things were granted, he said: "Tell me, Craterus, what you wish me to say." And when Craterus was indignant that Philotas was mocking him, and was calling the torturers back again, Philotas began to ask for time until he could recover his breath, after which he would tell everything which he knew.

[20] Meanwhile the cavalry, all those of the noblest birth and especially such as were nearly related to Parmenion, after the report had spread abroad that Philotas was being tortured, fearing the law of the Macedonians by which it was provided that the relatives of those who had plotted against the king should be put to death with the guilty parties, some killed themselves, others fled to out-of-the-way mountains and to lonely desert places, while great terror spread through the entire camp, until the king, learning of the tumult, made proclamation that he remitted the law providing for the punishment of those related to the guilty parties.

[21] Whether Philotas wished to free himself from further torture by telling the truth or by a falsehood, it is difficult to divine, since the same end to suffering is offered to those who have confessed the truth and [22] to those who say what is false. At any rate, Philotas said: "How intimate my father was with Hegelochus you know well; I mean the Hegelochus who fell in battle; he was the cause of all our misfortunes.

[23] For as soon as the king gave orders that he should be saluted as the son of Jupiter, Hegelochus, indignant at that, said: 'Are we then to recognize this king, who disdains Philip as his father? It is all over with [24] us if we can endure that. He scorns, not only men, but even the gods, who demands to be believed a god. We have lost Alexander, we have lost our king; we have fallen under a tyranny endurable neither to the gods, to whom he makes himself equal, nor to men, [26] from whom he separates himself. Have we at the price of our blood created a god who disdains us, who is reluctant to enter into council with mortals? Believe me, we too, if we are men, shall be adopted by [26] the gods. Who avenged the death of Alexander, the ancestor of this one, who afterwards that of Archelaus, who of Perdikkas? He himself pardoned the murderers of his father.

[27] “These were the words of Hegelochus at dinner; and on the dawn of the following day I was summoned by my father. He was troubled and saw that I was sad; for we had heard what struck anxiety [28] into our hearts. Therefore, in order to learn whether Hegelochus had blurted out those words when heavy with wine, or whether they were inspired by some deeper design, we decided to have him summoned. He came, and after repeating the same sentiments of his own accord, he added that if we dared to take the lead, he would claim from us the honour of seconding our plan, or if we lacked the courage, he would bury [29] the plan in silence. To Parmenion the plan seemed premature while Darius still lived: for they would be killing Alexander, not for themselves, but for the enemy; but if Darius were out of the way, as a reward for killing the king Asia and the entire Orient would fall to his slayers. This advice was approved, and a pledge to that end was given and received.

[30] So far as Dymnus is concerned, I know nothing, but I know that after this confession it does not avail me that I have no part in the present crime.”

[31] They again applied tortures, and striking at his face and eyes with their own spears as well, they forced him to plead guilty to that crime also.

[32] Then, when they required him to set forth the order of the proposed deed, he replied that since it seemed that Bactra would detain the king for a long time, they feared that his father,” being seventy years old, the leader of so great an army and custodian of so great a treasure, might meanwhile die, and that he himself, robbed of so great strength, would have [33] no reason for killing the king. That therefore he had hastened to carry out promptly the design while he had the prize in his hands; unless they believed that his father had no part in the present design, although he could no longer endure tortures, yet he did not [34] refuse them. They, after talking together, thinking that sufficient question had been made, returned to the king, who gave orders that on the following day what Philotas had confessed should be read, and that he himself should be carried in, since he could not walk.

[35] When he had acknowledged everything, Demetrius, who was accused of sharing in the latest conspiracy, was led in. He stoutly denied, with equal assurance of mind and of countenance, that he had formed any design against the king, and even demanded that he [36] himself should be put to the question; when Philotas, turning his eyes on all sides, as they fell upon a certain Calas, standing near by, bade him approach nearer. When he was troubled and refused to cross over to him, Philotas said: “Will you allow Demetrius [37] to lie, and me to be tortured again?” Calas turned pale and lost the power of speech, and the Macedonians suspected that Philotas wished to besmirch the innocent with guilt, since the youth had not been named by Nicomachus nor by Philotas when he was being tortured; but when he saw himself surrounded by the king’s prefects, he confessed that Demetrius [38] and he himself had planned that crime. Therefore all who had been named by Nicomachus were stoned to death on a given signal, after the usage of their country.

[39] Alexander had been freed from great danger, not indeed of death, but of

hatred; for Parmenion and Philotas, the chief men among his friends, unless clearly shown to be guilty, could not have been condemned without exciting the indignation of the ^[40] whole army. Thus the issue of the case was doubtful as long as he denied the crime; that his torture was continued after the confession was considered an act of cruelty; and now Philotas merited the compassion of his friends.

CONTENTS OF BOOK VII

The recent conspiracy leads Alexander to take up the case of Alexander Lyncestes, who had been in prison for three years. He is called upon to make a defence, and, failing to do so successfully, is put to death. The brothers Amyntas and Simias, friends of Philotas, are accused, but are defended by Amyntas (i).

Amyntas and his brother are restored to favour. Their younger brother, Polemon, who had fled when Philotas was tortured, is pardoned by Alexander. Polydamas is summoned and sent in haste to Media, where he brings about the death of Parmenion. Alexander separates from the rest of the army those soldiers who complained for various reasons (ii).

Alexander after subduing the Arimaspi and the Arachosii crosses Mount Parapanisus with his army and founds at its foot a city of Alexandria (iii).

Bessus at a banquet consults about war against Alexander. Gobares advises against it, but without effect. Bessus is deserted and flees to the Sogdiani. The single combat of Satibarzanes and Erigyius. Alexander arrives at Bactra and hears of the death of Satibarzanes (iv).

Alexander crosses the Oxus. Bessus is betrayed by Spitamenes and brought to Alexander; the king delivers him to Oxathres, brother of Darius, to be crucified (v).

Sogdiana is subdued but revolts again; Cyropolis and other cities are taken. A city of Alexandria is founded on the Iaxartes (vi).

Alexander, suffering from a wound, holds a consultation about war with the Scythians. Aristander interprets theomens in accordance with the wishes of Alexandander. Menedemus is defeated and slain with a loss of 2500 horsemen. Alexander conceals the disaster (VII).

While Alexander is preparing forward, envoys arrive from the Scythians and deliver an address proposing peace (VIII).

Alexander, having dismissed the envoys, crosses the Iaxartes and attacks the Scythians. Having defeated them, he treats them generously. He receives the Sacae in surrender and then pursues Spitammens, who had defeated Menedmus (IX). then pursues Spitamenes, who had defeated Menedemusa — Sogdiana is recovered; the high spirit of its nobles. Alexander returns to Bactra. Bessus is sent to Ecbatana to suffer punishment. Six cities are founded near Margiana (x).

The crag of Arimaza, almost impregnable from its situation and from the nature of the country, is captured by Alexander. Because of his obstinate defense its commander, Ariamazes, along with his relatives and other nobles, is scourged and crucified (XI).

BOOK VII

I. ALTHOUGH while the traces of his crime were fresh, the soldiers believed that Philotas had been justly punished, yet after the man whom they hated had ^[2] ceased to live, hatred changed to pity. The distinction of the young Philotas affected them, and the old bereavement of his father. Parmenion had been the first to open Asia to the king and as his partner in all dangers had had charge of one wing of the army in battle; he had also been first of Philip's friends, and was so faithful to Alexander himself that Alexander preferred to use no other emissary in killing Attalus. The thought of these things occurred to the army and mutinous words were reported to the king. He, being not greatly disturbed by these, and well aware that the faults idleness are dispelled by activity, made proclamation for all to appear at the entrance of his head ^[5] quarters. When he learned that they were present there in great numbers, he entered the assembly.

Atarrhias, undoubtedly by previous arrangement, began by asking that Lyncestes Alexander, long before Philotas had wished to kill the king, should be brought before them. He had been — , with this by two informers, as we have said above, and was now spending the third year of his imprisonment in fetters. It was regarded as certain that he had also with Pausanias, conspired to kill Philip, but because he had been the first to hail Alexander as king, he was exempted from punishment rather than ^[7] from guilt; then too the prayers of his father-in-law Antipater were delaying the king's just anger. However, the resentment which had been coming to a head broke out anew, since anxiety from the present danger revived the memory of the one of long standing. Therefore Alexander (Lyncestes) was brought out of prison and when ordered to speak, although for three whole years he had practised a defence, yet hesitating and trembling he presented only a few words of what he had composed, and finally, not ^[9] only his memory, but his thoughts failed him. No one doubted that his alarm was an indication of a guilty conscience and not of a failure of memory. Accordingly, some of those who stood nearest to him ran him through with their lances as he was still struggling with forgetfulness. —

^[10] When his body had been taken away, the king ordered Amyntas and Simias to be brought in, for Polemon, the youngest of the brothers, had fled when he heard that Philotas was being tortured.

^[11] These had been the dearest of all Philotas friends, and had been advanced to important and honourable positions mainly through his influence, and the king remembered that Philotas had recommended them to him with the greatest urgency, and did not doubt that they had been participants also in this last design ^[12] of his. Therefore he complained that they had long since been objects of his suspicion because of letters of his mother, in which he had been warned to protect his life against them; but that although he had been unwilling to believe unfavourable reports, now forced by clear proofs, he had

ordered them to be imprisoned. For it could not be doubted that the day before the crime of Philotas was revealed they had been with him in secret. Moreover, their brother who had run away during the inquisition of Philotas [14] had made clear the reason for his flight. Lately, under the pretence of rendering service, they had removed all other persons to a distance, and contrary to custom had attached themselves to his side without any plausible reason, and because he was surprised that they performed such service out of their turn, and alarmed by their very confusion, he had quickly taken refuge with his guards who were following close after him.

[15] It was added to this, that when Antiphanes, commissary of the cavalry, had given orders to Amyntas, the day before the crime of Philotas had been discovered, that, as was usual, he should turn over some of his horses to those who had lost theirs, Amyntas had replied insolently, that unless Antiphanes gave up his attempt, he would soon know who Amyntas was. That now his violent tongue and the rash words that were hurled at the king himself were nothing other than an indication of, and testimony to, an evil design. If these charges were true, those men deserved the same treatment as Philotas, if false, he himself demanded that they should refute them.

[17] Then Antiphanes, being brought forward, gave testimony about the failure to deliver the horses and also [18] that Amyntas had arrogantly added threats. Then Amyntas, on being given permission to speak, said: "If it makes no difference to the king, I ask that, while I am speaking I may be freed from fetters." The king ordered both to be released, and when Amyntas desired that the apparel of a guard also be restored to him, he ordered that a lance be given him.

[19] When he took this in his left hand, shunning the place in which the body of Alexander Lyncestes had lain a short time before, Amyntas said: "Whatever outcome awaits us, Sire, we confess that if it is favourable, we shall owe it to you; that if it is less so, we [20] shall attribute it to ill-fortune. We plead our cause without prejudice, bodies and minds both free; you have also even restored the apparel in which we are accustomed to attend you. We cannot distrust our cause, we shall cease to fear ill-fortune.

[21] "And, I pray you, allow me to meet first the charge which you last made against me. We, Sire, are conscious of no language directed against your majesty. I would say that you have long since risen superior to ill-will, if there were not danger lest you might believe that other more malicious words were [22] being purged away by flattering language. But even if some harsher speech had been heard from a soldier of yours, either when wearied and worn out on the march or encountering danger in battle, or in his tent when ailing and attending to his wounds, we have deserved by brave deeds that you should prefer to impute it to our exigency rather than to ill-will.

[23] Whenever anything especially sad happens, we are all criminals; we turn hostile hands against our own bodies, which we in no way hate; parents, if they oppose their children, become disliked and hated. On the other hand,

when we are honoured by gifts, when we return loaded with prizes, who can endure us? who can master that enthusiasm of spirit? With soldiers neither their indignation nor their joy is restrained; we are carried away with violence to all emotions. We blame, we praise; we pity, we show anger, just as the present emotion affects us; now it pleases us to go to India and the Ocean, now the memory of wives and children and of fatherland causes opposition.

[25] “But to these thoughts, these words of those who talk together, the signal given by the trumpet puts an end; we hasten each to his own place in the ranks, and whatever anger had been conceived in the tent is discharged upon the heads of the enemy. Would that Philotas also had confined his wrongdoing to [26] words! Therefore let me return to the matter about which we are being accused. The friendship that we had with Philotas I am so far from denying, that I admit that we both sought from it and gained from it [27] great fruitage. Or indeed do you wonder that the son of Parnnenion, whom you have been pleased to have next in rank to yourself, surpassing almost all [28] your friends in distinction, was courted by us? You, by Heaven!, if you are willing to listen to the truth, Sire, are the cause of our present jeopardy. For who else brought it about that those who wished to please you should run to Philotas? It is because we were recommended by him that we have mounted to our present rank in your friendship; he held such a place in your estimation, that we might seek his [29] favour and fear his anger. Have we not, all of us soldiers, sworn, if not almost in your own words, at least in the form dictated by you, that we would regard the same men as enemies and friends as yourself? Bound as we were by this oath of loyalty, we were, forsooth, to be unfriendly to one [30] whom you preferred to all others! Therefore, if this is a crime, you have few who are blameless, nay, by Heaven, not one. For all wished to be friends of Philotas, but not all those who wished to be could be. So, if you do not distinguish his friends from the guilty, you will not separate, either, from his friends those who have wished to be such.

[31] “What evidence of guilty knowledge, then, is brought against us? I suppose it is because the day before he talked with us familiarly and without witnesses. But I could not excuse myself, if on that, day I had made any change in my former life and custom. So, now that on that day also which is the object of suspicion we did what we did every day, adherence to custom will free us from guilt.

[32] “But we did not hand over the horses to Antiphanes, and that too on the day before Philotas was unmasked. This will be a matter between me and Antiphanes. If he wished to expose us to suspicion because on that day we did not give him the horses, he will not be able to justify himself because he asked [33] for them then. For the guilt is in doubt as between him who retained them and him who demanded them, except that the cause of one who did not give up what was his own is better than that of one who [31] demanded what belonged to another. As a matter of fact, Sire, I had ten horses, of which Antiphanes had already distributed eight to those who had lost their own and I

myself had left but two in all; when that most insolent man, at any rate the most unfair, wished to lead away these, I was forced to retain ^[35] them unless I wished to fight on foot. And I do not deny that I spoke to him in the spirit of a free man, addressing one of the basest and one who enjoyed only this privilege of military service, of distributing the horses of others to those who were going to fight. For it has come to this condition of evils, that I must excuse my words at the same time both to Alexander and to Antiphanes!

^[36] “But, by Heaven! your mother has written that we are your enemies. Would that her solicitude for her son had been accompanied by more prudence, and that she had not through anxiety of mind pictured vain phantoms! For why does she not add the reason for her fear? finally, why does she not reveal the authority for it? By what deed or word of ours was ^[37] she moved to write you so agitated a letter? O wretched fortune of mine, since perhaps it is not more dangerous to be silent than to speak! But whatever the result may be, I prefer that it should be my manner of defence rather than my cause that displeases you. But you will admit what I am about to say; for you remember that when you sent me to bring soldiers from Macedonia, you said that there were many young men fit for service who were hidden ^[38] away in your mother’s palace. Therefore you instructed me that I should regard no one except you, but should bring to you those who declined military service. This I did, and I executed your order with more zeal than was expedient for me. I brought from there Gorgias, Hecataeus, and Gorgidas, who ^[39] are rendering you good service. What, then, is more unjust than that I, who, if I had not obeyed you, would justly have suffered punishment, should now die because I did obey? For your mother has no other reason for persecuting us than that we preferred ^[40] your advantage to a woman’s favour. I brought 6000 Macedonian infantry and 600 horsemen; a part of these would not have followed me, if I had been willing to show indulgence to those who shrank from military service. Therefore it follows that, because it is for that reason that she is angry with us, you should soothe your mother, since it is you who have exposed us to her anger.”

II. While Amyntas was making this plea, those chanced to arrive who had pursued his brother Polemon, of whom mention has been made before, and whom, being in flight, they were bringing back in bonds. The incensed assembly could hardly be restrained from at once stoning him to death, according to their custom. But he, quite unterrified, said: ^[2] “I ask no mercy for myself, provided my flight be not prejudicial to the innocence of my brothers. If this cannot be defended, let the guilt be mine. Their cause is the better for the very reason that I was ^[3] suspected because I took flight.” But when he had said this, the whole assembly sympathized; now they all began to shed tears, and were suddenly so changed to the opposite opinion that what had especially damaged his cause was the only thing that was ^[4] in his favour. He was a young man just come to maturity and in the first bloom of his youth, one of the horsemen who had been terrified by the torture of Philotas and

whom the alarm of others had led to flee; deserted by his companions, and wavering between the purpose of returning and of fleeing, he was overtaken by those who had followed him.

[5] He then began to weep and to beat his face, not grieving on his own account, but on that of his brothers, who were endangered through him.

[6] And now he had affected the king also, and not only the assembly, but his brother alone was inexorable, and gazing at him with a terrifying expression, exclaimed: "Then, madman, is when you ought to have wept, when you were applying spurs to your horse, a deserter of your brothers and a companion of deserters. Wretch, whither were you fleeing and from whom? You have forced me, on trial for my [7] life, to use the words of an accuser." Polemon confessed that he had sinned more grievously against his brothers than against himself. Then truly the soldiers did not moderate their tears and the acclamations by which a crowd expresses its favour. One cry was uttered by common consent, that the king should pardon these brave and blameless men. His friends also, when opportunity for mercy had been [8] given, arose and with tears appealed to the king. He, having silenced them, said: "I myself by my vote acquit Amyntas and his brothers. But as for you, young men, I prefer that you should forget my kindness rather than remember your danger. Return to favour with me with the same confidence with which [9] I myself return to favour with you. If I had not examined what had been reported to me, you might have been able to feel some suspicion of my silence; it is better to be justified than to be suspected. Remember that no one can be acquitted unless he has [10] pleaded his cause. Do you, Amyntas, pardon your brother. This will be a pledge that your feelings are sincerely reconciled with me also."

[11] Then he dismissed the assembly and ordered Polydamas to be called. He was by far the dearest of Parmenion's friends, accustomed to stand by his side [12] in battle. And although, relying on a clear conscience, he had come into headquarters, yet when he was ordered to produce his brothers, who were very young and unknown to the king because of their youth, his confidence changed to anxiety and he began to be afraid, considering more frequently what could harm them than by what means he could parry [13] such attacks." And now the guards who had been ordered to do so had brought them in, when the king ordered Polydamas, deathly pale with fear, to draw nearer, and, removing all witnesses, said: — We have all alike been attacked by the crime of Parmenion, especially you and I, whom he has deceived by the [14] guise of friendship. To pursue and punish him — see how much I trust to your loyalty — I have decided to use you as my instrument. While you are doing [16] this, your brothers will be hostages. Set out for Media and take letters, written in my own handwriting, to my prefects. There is need of great speed, in order to outstrip the swiftness of rumour. I wish you to arrive there by night, and on the following [16] day to carry out what has been written. You will also take letters to Parmenion, one from me, the other written in the name of Philotas. The seal of his ring is in my possession. If his father believes that this was

impressed by his son, he will fear nothing when he sees you.” —

[17] Polydamas, relieved from so great fear, promised his help even more earnestly than was demanded of him and after being highly commended and loaded with promises, he put off the dress which he was wearing and put on an Arab costume. Two Arabs, whose wives and children were meanwhile as a pledge of loyalty held as hostages with the king, were given him as companions. They arrived at the designated place on the eleventh day, traversing on camels places which were even made desert by [19] dryness. And before his arrival could be reported, Polydamas again assumed Macedonian dress and went to the tent of Cleander — he was one of the [20] king’s generals — in the fourth watch. Then, having delivered the letter, they decided to go together to Parmenion at daybreak. And now Polydamas had delivered the king’s letters to the others as well, and already they were on the point of going to Parmenion, when it was announced to him that Polydamas [21] had come. He, rejoicing in the arrival of his friend, and at the same time being eager to have news of what the king was doing — for he had received no letter from him for a long time — ordered that Polydamas be looked for.

[22] The residences in that region have extensive, charming, and secluded parks with groves artificially planted; these were the special delight of both kings [23] and satraps. Parmenion was walking about in a grove, surrounded by his officers, who had been ordered by the king’s letters to kill him. And they had arranged to do the deed at the time when Parmenion had begun to read the letters delivered by Polydamas.

[24] As Polydamas came near and was seen by Parmenion to have an expression presenting the appearance of joy, he ran to embrace him, and after they had exchanged greetings, Polydamas handed him the letter [25] written to him by the king. Parmenion, as he loosed the fastening “of the letter, asked what the king was doing. Polydamas replied that he would learn from [26] the letter itself. Parmenion, after reading the letter, said: “The king is preparing an expedition against the Arachosii. An active man, who never rests! But it is time for him to show consideration for his own welfare, after having already gained so much glory.”

[27] Afterwards he was reading the second letter, written in the name of Philotas, with pleasure, as could be seen from his expression; then Cleander plunged his sword into his side and struck him again in the throat, and the others stabbed him even after he was lifeless.

[29] And the guards, who were posted at the entrance of the grove, on learning of the murder, the cause of which was unknown to them, came into the camp and aroused the soldiers with the alarming message.

[29] They armed themselves and went in a body to the grove in which the murder had been committed, threatening that unless Polydamas and the rest who had shared in the same outrage were delivered to them, they would throw down the wall surrounding the grove and offer expiation for the death of their [30] leader with the blood of all. Cleander ordered their leaders to be admitted,

and read to the soldiers the letters which the king had written, in which were contained an account of the plots of Parmenion against the king and Alexander's prayers that they ^[31] should avenge him. Accordingly, when the wish of the king was known, the mutiny of the troops was checked, but nevertheless not their indignation.

When many of them had slipped away, a few remained, who prayed that at least they might be ^[32] permitted by them to bury the body. This was for a long time refused through Cleander's fear that he might thus offend the king. Then, when they besought more persistently, thinking that occasion for disturbance ought to be removed, Cleander cut off the head and allowed them to bury the body; the head was sent to the king.

^[33] Such was the end of Parmenion, a man illustrious in war and in peace. He had achieved many successes without the king, the king had done no great deed without him. He satisfied a king who was most fortunate and who required that all things should match the greatness of his good fortune. At the age of seventy he fulfilled the duties of a leader in the prime of life and often even those of a common soldier; keen in counsel, vigorous in action, he was dear to the leading men and still more so to the common soldiers.

^[34] Whether these qualities drove him to a desire for royal power, or merely made him suspected of such a design, may be doubted; for it was uncertain, even when the affair was recent and could more easily be made clear, whether Philotas, overcome by the violence of his tortures, told the truth about matters which could not be proved, or by a false confession sought an end to his torments.

^[35] Alexander, thinking that those who, as he had learned, had freely deplored the death of Parmenion ought to be separated from the rest of the army, put them apart in one cohort and gave them as their leader Leonidas, who had himself formerly ^[36] been an intimate friend of Parmenion. These were about the same as those whom he had for other reasons disliked. For once, when he wished to sound the feelings of the soldiers, he told any who had written letters to their people in Macedonia to hand them to the messengers whom he himself was sending, who would faithfully deliver them. Each man had written frankly to his relatives what he had thought; to some military service was burdensome, to most it was not disagreeable. In this way Alexander got hold of the letters of those who had written favourably and of those who complained.

^[37] And he ordered a cohort of those who chanced in their letters to have complained of the irksome military service to encamp apart from the rest by way of disgrace, saying that he would use their bravery in war, but would remove loose talking from credulous ears. This plan, perhaps rash — for the bravest of men had been irritated by the insult — like everything else, the ^[38] good fortune of the king made successful. Nothing was more enthusiastic for war than those men; their valour was enhanced both from the desire of wiping out disgrace, and because brave deeds could not be concealed among a few.

III. When these matters had been thus arranged, Alexander, having made Arsames satrap of the Drangae, ordered a march to be proclaimed against the Arimaspi, whom even at that time they called the Euergetae, having changed their name from the time when they had aided with shelter and supplies the army of Cyrus, when it was almost worn out by ^[2] cold and lack of food. It was the fifth day since he had come into that region. He learned that Satibarzanes, who had revolted and gone over to Bessus, with a force of cavalry had again invaded Aria. Therefore he sent against him Caranus and Erigyus with Artabazus and Andronicus; they were followed ^[3] by 6000 Greek infantry and 600 cavalry. He himself set in order the race of the Euergetae within sixty days, and gave them a great sum of money because of their splendid loyalty to Cyrus. Then, after having left Amedines to govern them — he had been Darius' secretary — he subdued the Arachosii, whose territory extends to the Pontic Sea. There he met the army which had been commanded by Parmenion. It consisted of 6000 Macedonians, 200 nobles, 5000 Greeks, with 600 cavalry, beyond ^[5] doubt the flower of all the king's forces. Menon was made governor of the Arachosii, and 4000 infantry and 600 cavalry were left as a garrison.

The king himself with his army entered a nation not very well known even to their neighbours, since, having no commerce with them, they practised no borrowed customs. They are called the Parapanisadae, a rude race of men and especially uncultivated even among barbarians. The harshness of their climate had hardened the nature also of the inhabitants. They look in great part toward the very cold northern pole, on the west they are adjacent to the Bactriani, on the south their territory slopes toward ^[8] the Indian sea. They build huts of unbaked brick, and because the land is destitute of timber, since even the ridge of the mountain is bare, they use the same ^[9] brick up to the very top of their buildings. But their structure is broader at the base and gradually becomes narrower as the work grows, and finally it comes together very much like the keel of a ship. There they leave an opening and let in light from ^[10] above. Vines and trees, if any have been able to live in such a frozen soil, they bury deep in the ground; in winter these remain dug in, and when the end of winter begins to open the earth, they are ^[11] restored to the sky and to the sun. But such deep snows cover the ground and are bound so fast by ice and almost perpetual cold, that no trace is to be found even of birds or of any wild beast. What may be called a dim shadow of the sky rather than light, and resembling night, broods over the earth, so that objects which are near at hand can hardly be made ^[12] out. The army, then, abandoned in this absence of all human civilization, endured all the evils that could ^[13] be suffered, want, cold, fatigue, despair. The unusual cold of the snow caused the death of many, to many it brought frost-bite of the feet, to very many blindness of the eyes. It was especially harmful to those who were fatigued; for when their strength gave out, they stretched themselves on the very ice, and when they ceased to move, the force of the cold so bound them fast, that when they struggled to

rise again, they could ^[14] not do so. But they were roused from their torpor by their fellow-soldiers, for there was no other cure than to be forced to go on; then only, when their natural warmth was aroused, did any strength return to their limbs.

^[16] If any could reach the huts of the barbarians, they were quickly restored. But such was the darkness that the only thing which revealed the buildings was ^[16] their smoke. When the natives, who had never before seen a stranger in their country, suddenly caught sight of armed men, they were paralysed with fear and brought them whatever they had in their ^[17] huts, begging them to spare their lives. The king went about on foot among his troops, lifting up some who were lying prostrate, and, by the aid of his body, supporting those who were following with difficulty. Now in the van, now in the centre, now at the rear of the army he was everywhere present with manifold ^[18] toil. At length they came to more cultivated places and the army was revived by an abundance of supplies; at the same time also those who had not been able to keep up came into the camp which they had pitched.

^[19] From there the army proceeded to the Caucasus mountains, whose range divides Asia by a continuous ridge. It looks on one side to the sea which washes Cilicia, on the other to the Caspian Sea, the river Araxes, and the well-known deserts of the Scythian ^[20] region. Taurus, a mountain of second rank in height, joins the Caucasus; rising from Cappadocia, it passes by Cilicia, and unites itself with the Armenian mountains. Thus the ranges, as if connected in a series, form a continuous chain, from which almost all the rivers of Asia flow, some into the Red Sea, others into the Caspian, and still others into the Hyrcanian and Pontic. The army passed over Caucasus ^[22] in a space of seventeen days. There is a crag in the mountain, embracing ten stadia in circumference and rising to four stadia in height, on which ancient ^[23] fable reports that Prometheus was chained. A site for founding a city was chosen at the foot of the mountain and seven thousand from the subdued nations were permitted to settle in the new city, as well as those soldiers whose services the king had ceased to make use of. This city also its inhabitants called Alexandria.

IV. But Bessus, greatly terrified by Alexander's speed, after having duly performed a sacrifice to the gods of the country, as is the custom with those nations, was feasting and holding council with his friends and with the leaders of his forces about the ^[2] war. Heavy with wine, they began to boast of their strength, and to express scorn, now of the rashness ^[3] of the enemy, now of their small numbers. In particular Bessus, in insolent language and so proud of a sovereignty gained by murder as hardly to be in his right mind, began by saying that the reputation of the enemy had increased through the incapacity *i* of Darius. For he had encountered them in the narrowest part of the passes of Cilicia, when by drawing back he might have taken them off their guard and led them into places which the nature of the country made safe, since so many rivers lay in the way and there were so many hiding-places in the mountains

that if surprised among these the enemy would have had not even an opportunity for flight, [5] much less for resisting. That it was his intention to withdraw into the land of the Sogdiani; he would oppose the Oxus River like a wall to the enemy, until powerful auxiliaries should assemble from the [6] neighbouring nations; the Chorasmii would come to him and the Dahae and Sacae, and the Indians and the Scythians dwelling beyond the river Tanais, not one of whom was so short of stature that he was not a head taller than a Macedonian soldier.

[7] His drunken companions shouted in chorus that this plan alone was sound; and Bessus ordered wine to be served more abundantly, as if intending to [8] vanquish Alexander at the table. There was present at that banquet Gobares, a Mede by nationality, but a dabbler in the art of magic — if only that is an art, and not the illusion of all the greatest liars — more celebrated in his pretension than in his actual knowledge, but in other respects modest and upright.

[9] He, by way of preface, said that he knew that it was more expedient for a slave to obey orders than to offer counsel, since the same fate awaits those who obey which awaits the rest, but those who advise undergo a particular peril of their own. Bessus bade him speak fearlessly and even handed him the cup which he had [10] been holding in his hand. Having taken the cup, Gobares said: “The nature of mortal men may be called perverse and vicious under this head also, that each one is less keen-sighted in his own business than [11] in that of another. The counsels of those who advise themselves are confused. Fear opposes them, at another time their desire, sometimes the natural love of their own plans; for presumption does not apply to you. You have, in truth, learned by experience to consider as the only or the best plan [12] whatever you yourself have devised. You sustain a great burden on your head, a kingly crown; this must either be borne with moderation or, which I pray the gods to avert, it will fall in ruins upon you. There is need of prudence, not of impetuosity.”

[13] Then he added a proverb in common use among the Bactriani, that a timid dog barks more violently than it bites, and that the deepest rivers flow with the least sound. This I have quoted, in order that whatever wisdom could exist among barbarians” might be recorded.

[14] By these words Gobares had left in suspense the expectation of his hearers; then he disclosed his advice, which was more expedient for Bessus than pleasing to him. “At the entrance” of your kingdom,” said he, “stands the swiftest of kings; he will advance his army before you put away that table of yours.

Now you will summon an army from the Tanais, and you will oppose rivers to his arms. Of course the enemy cannot follow to whatever place you shall flee! The route is common to both, safer for the victor. Although you may think that fear is swift, yet hope is more rapid. Why do you not hasten to gain the favour of the stronger and give yourself up, since however it may

turn out, you will have better fortune in having surrendered than you will have as his ^[17] enemy? You are holding the kingdom of another, hence it will be easier to do without it. You would perhaps begin to be a legitimate king when he himself has made you one who can give you royal power, or ^[18] wrest it from you. You have faithful advice, which it would be superfluous to set forth at greater length. A noble horse is guided by the mere shadow of the whip, a worthless one cannot be aroused even by ^[19] the spur.” Bessus, headstrong by nature, and made still more so by much wine, so burned with anger that he was with difficulty restrained by his friends from killing the speaker — for he had even drawn his scimitar. At any rate, he leaped up from the banquet-table, quite beside himself. Gobares escaped amid the confusion and deserted to Alexander.

^[20] Bessus had 8000 Bactriani under arms. These, so long as they believed that the Macedonians because of the rigour of the climate would be more likely to go to India, carried out his orders obediently; after they learned that Alexander was coming against them, they slipped away each to his own village and ^[21] deserted Bessus. He with a band of his clients who had not changed their allegiance passed over the river Oxus, and after burning the boats in which he had crossed, in order that the enemy might not use them, was levying fresh forces among the Sogdiani.

^[22] Alexander had crossed the Caucasus, as was said above, but had almost been reduced to starvation ^[23] through lack of grain. With the juice pressed from sesame they anointed their bodies in lieu of oil, but each amphora of this juice was valued at 240 denarii, an amphora of honey at 390, and of wine at 300; of ^[24] wheat very little or nothing was found. For the barbarians had pits which they call *siri*, which they conceal so skilfully, that only those who dug them can find them; in these their crops were stored away. In lack of these supplies the soldiers lived on fish from ^[25] the river and on herbs. And now even these foods had failed them, whereupon they were ordered to kill the pack-animals which carried their baggage; on the flesh of these they managed to exist until they reached the Bactriani.

The land of the Bactriani is of a manifold and varied nature. In one part many trees and vines produce plentiful and mellow fruits, frequent brooks irrigate the rich soil, the milder parts of this they sow with grain, the rest they leave for pasture for the flocks, farther on a great part of the same land is occupied by sterile sands; because of its frightful dryness the region is uninhabited and produces no fruit. Indeed, when the winds blow from the Pontic sea, they sweep together whatever sand lies on the plains; when this is piled up, it looks from a distance like great hills, and all traces of the former road disappear. Accordingly, those who cross the plains watch the stars and direct their course by them, as do those who sail the sea; and the shade of night is almost brighter than daylight. Therefore the region is impassable in the daytime, because they find no traces to follow, and the light of the stars is hidden in darkness. Moreover, if the wind which arises from the sea overtakes

any, it buries them in the sand. But where the land is milder it breeds a great multitude of men and horses. Therefore the cavalry of the Bactriani had amounted to 30,000. Bactra itself, the capital of the region, is situated at the foot of Mount Parapanisus. The Bactrus River flows at the foot of its walls. The river gave its name to the city and to the region.

While the king was holding a stationary camp there, news came from Greece of the revolt of the Peloponnesians and the Laconians — for they had not yet been vanquished when those who were to report the beginnings of that uprising set forth — and another cause of alarm near at hand was reported, namely, that the Scythians who dwell beyond the river Tanais were coming and bringing aid to Bessus. At the same time news was brought of what Caranus and Erigyus ^[33] had accomplished in the land of the Arii. A battle had been fought between the Macedonians and the Arii. The traitor Satibarzanes commanded the barbarians; when he saw that the battle was almost at a standstill with the forces equal on both sides, he rode into the foremost ranks, and taking off his helmet and checking those who were hurling weapons, he challenged to battle anyone who wished to fight in single combat; he said that he would fight ^[34] bareheaded. Erigyus, advanced in years, it is true, but in vigour of both mind and body not to be deemed inferior to any of the young men, could not endure the bravado of the barbarian. He, having taken off his helmet and displaying his white hair, said: “The time has come for me to show either by victory or by a glorious death what sort of friends and soldiers ^[35] Alexander has.” Without more words he drove his horse against the foe.

You would believe that the order had been given for both armies to cease fighting; certain it is that they at once drew back and left a free space, intent upon the fate, not only of the leaders, but their own also, since they were bound to share the outcome of ^[36] another’s fight. The barbarian was the first to hurl his spear. Erigyus avoided it by a slight movement of his head, and putting spurs to his horse, drove his lance straight into the middle of the barbarian’s throat, so that it came out at the back of his neck.

^[37] The barbarian, though thrown from his horse, yet still continued to fight. But Erigyus, drawing the spear from the wound, directed it again at his face. Satibarzanes seized it with his hand, in order to die more ^[38] quickly, and aided the enemy’s stroke. The barbarians, having lost their leader, whom they had followed rather on compulsion than voluntarily, and then not unmindful of the merits of Alexander, ^[30] surrendered to Erigyus. The king, rejoicing in this success, although by no means free from anxiety about the Spartans, yet bore their revolt with great courage, saying that they had not dared to reveal their design until they knew that he had come to 40 the confines of India. He himself moved his forces in pursuit of Bessus; Erigyus met him, displaying the head of the barbarian, as a glorious spoil of war.

V. Therefore having entrusted the region of the Bactriani to Artabazus, he left there the packs and baggage with a garrison, and himself with a

lightarmed force entered the desert places of the Sogdiani [2] leading his army by night. The scarcity of water, mentioned above, sets up a burning thirst through despair of finding it, before it does so by desire for drinking. For 400 stadia not even a drop of water [3] is to be found. The heat of the summer sun makes the sands hot, and when they began to glow, everything is burned as if by a continuous conflagration.

Then too a mist, aroused by the excessive warmth of the ground, obscures the light, and the aspect of the plain is not unlike that of a vast and deep sea.”

By night the march seemed endurable, since their bodies were relieved by the dew and by the early morning coolness. But with the very daylight the heat returns, and dryness consumes all their natural moisture; mouths and innermost vitals are [6] parched. As a result, first their courage and then their strength began to give out, they were [7] reluctant either to stand still or to go on. A few, advised by those who knew the region, had provided themselves with water beforehand; this for a time appeased their thirst, then, as the heat increased, the desire for water was kindled again. Therefore what wine and oil there was lavished upon all, and so great was the pleasure of drinking, that they [8] did not fear thirst for the future. Later, heavy from drinking greedily, they could not carry their arms nor march, and those seemed more fortunate who had had nothing to drink, since those who had were forced to get rid of by vomiting up what they had poured down without moderation.

[9] The king, worried by such troubles, was surrounded by his friends, who begged him to remember that the greatness of his own courage was the sole remedy for [10] the weakness of the army; when two of those who had gone ahead to choose a place for a camp met them, bringing water in skins, in order to aid their sons who were in that same army and whom they [11] knew to be suffering severely from thirst. When they met Alexander, one of them opened one of the skins, filled a cup which he was carrying with him, and offered it to the king. He took it; then, having asked for whom he was bringing the water, he learned [12] that he was bringing it for his sons. Thereupon, returning the full cup, just as it had been offered to him, the king said: “I cannot endure to drink alone, and I cannot distribute so little among all; do you hasten and give to your children what you have brought for them.” [13] At length Alexander came to the river Oxus at about sunset. But the great part of the army had been unable to keep up with him; hence he ordered fires to be lighted on a high hill, in order that those who were following with difficulty might know that [14] they were not far from the camp, but that of those who were in the front of the army, after speedily refreshing themselves with food and drink, some should fill skins, others whatever other vessels could [15] hold water, and bring aid to his men. But those who had drunk too intemperately, had a choking fit and died, and the number of these was much greater [16] than the king had lost in any battle. But he, still wearing his cuirass and refreshed neither with food nor drink, stood on the road by which the army was coming, nor did he retire to refresh himself until the whole army had passed by, and he

spent that whole ^[17] night without sleep in great trouble of mind. Nor was he more cheerful on the following day, because he had no boats, nor could a bridge be set up, since all the land around the river was bare and especially lacking in timber. Therefore he adopted the only ^[18] expedient that necessity had suggested; he distributed as many skins stuffed with straw as possible; lying upon these, they swam across the river, and those who had crossed first remained on guard until the rest had passed over. In this way he brought his whole army on the farther bank after five days.

^[19] And now he had decided to go on in pursuit of Bessus, when he learned what had happened in the country of the Sogdiani. Spitamenes was most ^[20] highly honoured by Bessus among all his friends, but treachery cannot be tamed by any services, a thing which nevertheless might have been less odious in his case, since it seemed that no wrong could be done by anyone to Bessus, the murderer of his king. A specious pretext for his crime was offered, namely, the avenging of Darius, but it was the fortune, not the evil ^[21] deed, of Bessus that he hated. For when he learned that Alexander had crossed the river Oxus, he enrolled Dataphernes and Catanes, in whom Bessus had the greatest confidence, as accomplices in the conspiracy which he had planned. They consented more promptly than they were asked, and taking with them eight very strong young men, they laid the ^[22] following snare. Spitamenes went to Bessus and in a private conference said that he had learned that Dataphernes and Catanes were plotting against him, in order to deliver him alive to Alexander; that he had anticipated their conspiracy and was holding them in fetters.

^[23] Bessus, under obligation for this great service, as he thought it, both thanked them and, eager to inflict punishment, ordered the two men to be brought ^[24] to him. They, with their arms voluntarily bound, were dragged in by the accomplices in the plot; Bessus, gazing fiercely at them, arose, evidently unable to refrain from laying hands upon them. Then they, laying aside pretence, surrounded him, and in spite of his vain attempts at resistance bound him, tearing from his head the royal tiara and rending the clothes which he had put on from the spoils of the murdered ^[25] king. Bessus, confessing that the gods had come as avengers of his crime, added that they had not been unfavourable to Darius, whom they thus avenged, but propitious to Alexander, since even his enemies ^[26] always aided his victory. Whether the populace would have rescued Bessus is uncertain, had not those who had bound him, by falsely saying that they had done so by order of Alexander," terrified them while their minds were still wavering. The conspirators placed him on a horse and took him to be delivered to Alexander.

^[27] Meanwhile the king, having selected about 900 of those whose discharge was due, gave two talents to each of the cavalry and to each of the infantry 3000 denarii, and sent them home after exhorting them to beget children. To the rest he gave thanks, because they promised to render good service for the remainder of the war.

[28] While the king was pursuing Bessus, they arrived at a little town. It was inhabited by the Branchidae; they had in former days migrated from Miletus by order of Xerxes, when he was returning from Greece, and had settled in that place, because to gratify Xerxes they had violated the temple which is [29] called the Didymion. They had not ceased to follow the customs of their native land, but they were already bilingual, having gradually degenerated from their original language through the influence of a foreign tongue. Therefore they received Alexander with great joy and surrendered their city and themselves. He ordered the Milesians who were serving [30] with him to be called together. They cherished a hatred of long standing against the race of the Branchidae. Therefore the king allowed to those who had been betrayed free discretion as to the Branchidae, whether they preferred to remember [31] the injury or their common origin. Then, since their opinions varied, he made known to them that he himself would consider what was best to be done.

On the following day when the Branchidae met him, he ordered them to come along with him, and when they had reached the city, he himself entered [32] the gate with a light-armed company; the phalanx he ordered to surround the walls of the town and at a given signal to pillage the city, which was a haunt of traitors, and to kill the inhabitants to a man.

[33] The unarmed wretches were butchered everywhere, and the cruelty could not be checked either by community of language or by the draped olive branches and prayers of the suppliants. At last, in order that the walls might be thrown down, their foundations were undermined, so that no vestige of the city might [34] survive. As for their woods also and their sacred groves, they not only cut them down, but even pulled out the stumps, to the end that, since even the roots were burned out, nothing but a desert waste [35] and sterile ground might be left. If this had been designed against the actual authors of the treason, it would seem to have been a just vengeance and not cruelty; as it was, their descendants expiated the guilt of their forefathers, although they themselves had never seen Miletus, and so could not have betrayed it to Xerxes. — [36] Then Alexander advanced to the river Tanais. Thither Bessus was brought, not only bound, but stripped of all his clothing. Spitamenes held him with a chain placed about his neck, a sight as pleasing to the barbarians as to the Macedonians. Then Spitamenes said: “Avenging both you and Darius, my kings, I have brought you the slayer of his lord, captured in the manner of which he himself set the example. Would that Darius might open his eyes to behold the spectacle. Would that he might rise from the lower world, since he did not deserve such a [38] fate and merits this consolation.” Alexander, after having highly praised Spitamenes, turned to Bessus and said: “Of what wild beast did the frenzy enter your mind when you had the heart, first to bind, and then to kill the king who was your greatest benefactor? But the reward for this parricide you have [39] paid yourself by the false name of king.” Bessus, not daring to deny his crime, said that he had used the title of king in order that he might be able to hand over his nation to him; for if he had delayed, another

would have seized the rule.

[40] But Alexander ordered Oxathres, the brother of Darius, whom he had among his body-guard, to come nearer, and that Bessus be delivered to him, in order that, bound to a cross after his ears and his nose had been cut off, the barbarians might pierce him with arrows and so guard his body that not even the birds [41] could touch it. Oxathres answered that he would take care of the rest; he added that the birds could not be kept off by anyone else than Catanes, desiring to show the man's remarkable skill; for he struck his mark with so sure an aim that he even brought down birds. Nowadays perhaps, when the use of arrows is frequent, such skill may seem less wonderful, but at that time it was a great wonder to those who saw it [43] and gained Catanes great repute. Gifts were given to all who had brought in Bessus. But Alexander postponed his execution, in order that he might be slain in that very place where he had killed Darius.

VI. Meanwhile some of the Macedonians, who had gone forth in a disorderly band to forage, were fallen upon by the barbarians, who rushed down from the mountains near by, and more were captured than [2] were killed; but the barbarians, driving their prisoners before them, withdrew again to the mountains. The brigands numbered 20,000, and they [3] entered battle with slings and arrows. While the king was besieging them, as he fought among the foremost he was struck by an arrow, which had left its [4] point fixed in the middle of his leg. The sorrowing and amazed Macedonians carried him back into the camp, but it did not escape the barbarians that the king had been carried from the field — for from their lofty mountain they had seen everything [5] — and so on the following day they sent envoys to the king. He at once ordered them to be admitted, and taking off the bandages, but concealing the severity of the wound, showed his leg to the barbarians.

[8] The envoys, when bidden to be seated, declared that the Macedonians had not been more sorrowful than they themselves on hearing of the wound; that if they could have discovered who had inflicted it, they would have given him up; for that only the impious [7] warred with the gods. Furthermore, they said, that overcome by his wound, they surrendered their race into his protection. The king, having pledged his faith and recovered his men who had been take [8] prisoner, received the race in surrender. Then camp was broken and he was carried in a soldier's litter. All the cavalry and the infantry vied with one another as to who should carry it; the cavalry, with whom the king had been wont to enter battle, thought that it was a part of their privilege, the infantry on the other hand, since they themselves had been accustomed to carry their injured comrades, complained that their proper duty was being taken from them just at the very time when the king had to be carried. Alexander, in so great a contention between the two parts of the army thinking that a choice would be difficult for him and displeasing to those who were passed over, ordered them to carry him by turns.

From there on the fourth day they came to the city of Maracanda; this city

is begirt by a wall of seventy stadia, and the citadel is enclosed by another wall. Having left 1000 men as a guard of the city, he ravaged and burned the neighbouring villages.

Then envoys of the Abii, who are Scythians, arrived, who had been free since the death of Cyprus and were then ready to submit to Alexander. They were commonly regarded as the most just of the barbarians; they abstained from warfare except in self-defence, and because of their moderate and impartial practice of freedom they had made the ^[12] humblest equal to the chief men. Having addressed them courteously, Alexander sent one of his friends, Derdas, to those Scythians who dwell in Europe; he was to command them not to cross the Tanais river without the king's order. He charged the same messengers to reconnoitre the country and to visit those Scythians also who dwell above the Bosphorus.

^[13] He had chosen a site for founding a city on the bank of the Tanais, as a barrier both to those who had already been subdued and to those whom he had decided to attack later; but his design was put off by the reported revolt of the Sogdiani, which also ^[14] involved the Bactriani. These consisted of 7000 cavalry, whose authority the rest followed.

Alexander ordered Spitamenes and Catanes to be summoned, by whom Bessus had been delivered to him, not doubting that by their aid they could be reduced into his power by the suppression of those ^[16] who had stirred up a revolt. But they, being the ringleaders of the revolt to the suppression of which they were summoned, had spread abroad the report that all the Bactrian cavalry were being sent for by the king, in order that they might be slain, but that they however could not bring themselves to execute this order which had been given them, for fear of committing an inextinguishable crime against their countrymen. That they had been no more able to endure the savage cruelty of Alexander than the parricide of Bessus. Therefore they aroused to arms without difficulty those who were already of their own accord alarmed by fear of punishment.

^[16] Alexander, on learning of the rebellion of the deserters, ordered Craterus to besiege Cyropolis; he himself took another city of the same region by circumvallation, and when the order had been given that all the men fit for service should be killed, the rest became booty for the victor. The city was razed, in order that the rest might be held to their allegiance ^[17] by the example of its destruction. The Memaceni, a powerful race, had decided to stand a siege, as not only more honourable, but also as safer; to tame their obstinacy, the king sent ahead fifty horsemen, to make known to them his clemency towards those who surrendered and his inexorable spirit towards ^[18] the vanquished. They replied that they did not doubt the good faith and clemency of the king and ordered the horsemen to encamp outside the fortifications of the city; then, having entertained them hospitably, they attacked them in the dead of night, when they were heavy with feasting and sleep, ^[19] and slew them. Alexander, incensed as was quite natural, surrounded the city with a

line of troops, since it was too well fortified to be taken at the first assault. Therefore he united Meleager and Perdiccas in its siege, and he himself rejoined Craterus, who was besieging Cyropolis, as was said before.

[20] However, he had decided to spare this city, since it was founded by Cyrus; for there were no other of those nations whom he admired more than that king and Semiramis, who he believed had far excelled all others in the greatness of their courage and the glory [21] of their deeds. But the obstinacy of the inhabitants so inflamed his anger, that, after taking the city, he ordered it to be ravaged. Having destroyed it, not unreasonably filled with indignation against the Memaceni, he returned to Meleager and Perdiccas.

[22] But no other city withstood siege more stoutly; for the bravest of his soldiers fell and the king himself was exposed to extreme danger. For his neck was struck with a stone with such force that darkness veiled his eyes and he fell and even lost consciousness; the army in fact lamented as if he had already [23] been taken from them. But unconquered in the face of what terrifies other men, he pressed on the siege before the wound had yet been wholly healed, anger spurring on his natural speed. Therefore, his men having undermined the walls and opened a great breach, he burst through it into the city, and when victor ordered it to be razed.

[24] Next he sent Menedemus with 3000 infantry and 800 cavalry to the city of Maracanda. Within the walls of this city the deserter Spitamenes, after driving out the Macedonian garrison, had shut himself, although the inhabitants did not fully approve of his design of revolt; yet they were thought to consent to [25] it, since they could not prevent it. Meanwhile Alexander returned to the Tanais and surrounded with a wall all the space which he had occupied with his camp; the wall of the city measured sixty stadia. This city also he ordered to be called Alexandria.

[26] The work was completed with such speed, that seventeen days after the fortifications were raised the buildings of the city also were finished. There had been great rivalry of the soldiers with one another, that each band — for the work was divided — might be [27] the first to show the completion of his task. As inhabitants for the new city prisoners were chosen, whom he freed by paying the masters their price; even now their posterity after so long a time have not ceased to enjoy consideration among those peoples because of the memory of Alexander.

VII. But the king of the Scythians, whose rule at that time extended beyond the Tanais, thinking that this city which the Macedonians had founded on the bank of the river was a yoke upon their necks, sent his brother, Carthasis by name, with a large force of cavalry to demolish it and drive off the Macedonian [2] forces away from the river. The Tanais separates the Bactriani from the so-called European Scythians, and [3] is also the boundary between Asia and Europe. But the Scythian race which is situated not far from Thrace extends from the east towards the north, and is not a neighbour of the Sarmatians, as some have [4] believed, but a part of them. Then keeping

straight on, it inhabits the forest lying beyond the Danube, and borders the extremity of Asia at Bactra. They inhabit the parts which are nearer to the north, then dense forests and desert wastes meet them. Again, the parts which look towards the Tanais and Bactra in human cultivation are not unlike the first.

[5] Alexander, about to wage an unforeseen war with this race, when the enemy rode up in sight of him, although still ailing from his wound, and especially feeble of voice, which both moderation in food and the pain in his neck had weakened, ordered his friends to [6] be called to a conference. It was not the enemy that alarmed him, but the unfavourable condition of the times; the Bactriani had revolted, the Scythians also were provoking him to battle, he himself could not stand on his feet, could not ride a horse, could not [7] instruct nor encourage his men. Involved as he was in a double danger, accusing even the gods, he complained that he, whose swiftness no one had before been able to escape, was lying idle; even his own men hardly believed that he was not feigning illness.

[8] Therefore he, who after vanquishing Darius had ceased to consult soothsayers and seers, lapsing again into superstition, that mocker of men's minds, ordered Aristander, to whom he had consigned his faith, to examine by sacrifices into the outcome of his affairs. It was the custom of the diviners to examine the entrails without the presence of the king, and to report what these portended.

[9] Meanwhile the king, while they were trying by inspection of the entrails of the victims to learn the result of hidden events, purposely bade his friends to sit very near him, in order that he might not, by exerting his voice, break the scab of his wound, which was still tender. Hephaestion, Craterus, and Erigyius, with his body-guard, had been admitted to his [10] tent. To them he said: "Danger has surprised me at a time better for the enemy than for myself; but necessity outstrips calculation, especially in war, where a man is seldom allowed to choose his own times.

[11] The Bactriani have revolted, on whose necks we are standing, and are trying through a war waged by others to learn how much spirit we have. Our fortune is not doubtful; if we disregard the Scythians, who are attacking us without provocation, we shall return [12] an object of contempt to those who have revolted; if however we cross the Tanais and show by the defeat and slaughter of the Scythians that we are everywhere invincible, who will hesitate to obey those who [13] are victors even over Europe also? He is deceived who measures our glory by the space which we are about to cross. A single river flows between us; if we cross that, we carry our arms into Europe. And how highly must it be regarded, while we are subjugating Asia, to set up trophies in what might be called another world, and suddenly to join in one victory places which Nature seems to have separated by so [15] great a space? But, by Heaven! if we delay even a short time, the Scythians will be close at our backs. Are we the only ones that can swim across rivers? Many inventions

will recoil upon us by which we have so far been victorious. The fortune of war teaches its art even to the vanquished. We have lately set them the example of crossing a river on skins; even if the Scythians do not know how to imitate this, the Bactriani will teach them. Besides, only one army of this nation has yet arrived, the rest are expected. Hence by avoiding war, we shall give it strength, and in a war in which we can take the offensive we shall be reduced to defence.

[18] “The reasonableness of my plan is clear; but I doubt whether the Macedonians will allow me to use my judgement, because, as the result of this wound which I have suffered, I have neither ridden nor gone on foot. But if you are willing to follow me, I am strong, my friends. I have sufficient strength to endure the dangers which I have suggested; or, if the end of my life is already at hand, in what exploit, [20] pray, shall I die more nobly?” So much had he spoken in a voice faltering, broken all the time and with difficulty to be heard by those who were beside him, when all began to deter the king from so rash a [21] plan, Erigyus especially, who, unable by his influence to check his obstinate purpose, tried to arouse his superstition, which was the king’s weak point, by saying that even the gods opposed his plan, and that great danger menaced him, if he should cross the [22] river. Erigyus, as he entered the king’s tent, had been met by Aristander, who told him that the signs of the victims had turned out unfavourable; this, which he had learned from the seer, Erigyus reported.

[23] Having silenced him, Alexander, confused, not by anger alone, but also by shame because the superstition which he had concealed was revealed, ordered [24] Aristander to be summoned. When he came, the king, gazing sternly at him, said: “Not as king, but secretly as a private person, I ordered you to offer a sacrifice. Why did you announce what was portended by it to another rather than to me? Through your indiscretion Erigyus knew my private and secret affairs, and, by Heaven! I feel sure that he uses his own fear as an interpreter of the victim’s vitals. But I give you, who know, a solemn warning to indicate to me personally what you have learned from those sacrifices, so that you may not be able to deny having [26] said what you shall tell me.” Aristander stood pale and as if thunderstruck, and although through fear he lost his voice, at length, driven also by fear, lest he should keep the king waiting, he said: “I predicted that a contest of great, but not fruitless labour threatened; and it is not so much my art as affection for you that disturbs me. I see the weakness of your health, and I know how much depends on you alone. I fear that you cannot be equal to the present fortune.” The king bade him have confidence in his good fortune; saving that, just as at other times, the gods granted him glory. Then as he was consulting with the same men as to what method they should use for crossing the river, Aristander appeared, declaring that at no other time had he seen more favourable entrails; especially were they very different from the former ones, that then causes for anxiety had appeared but that now the sacrifice had turned out exceptionally

favourable.

[30] But what was presently announced to the king had inflicted a stain on the continual good fortune of his enterprises. He had sent Menedemus, as was said before, to besiege Spitamenes, the author of the defection of the Bactriani; Spitamenes, having learned of the coming of the enemy, in order not to be shut within the walls of the city, and at the same time trusting that Menedemus could be taken unawares had secretly laid an ambuscade where he knew that [32] Menedemus would come. The road was covered with woods and adapted to conceal the ambush; there he hid the Dahae. Each of their horses carries two riders, of whom in turn one suddenly dismounts [33] and confuses the order of a cavalry battle. The speed of the men is equal to the swiftness of their horses. These, which had been ordered to surround the woods, Spitamenes showed at the same time on the flanks, [34] in front, and in the rear of the enemy. Menedemus hemmed in on all sides, although not even equal in numbers, yet resisted for a long time, crying that since they had been deceived by an ambuscade, no solace was left for them except that of an honourable death, a solace arising from the slaughter of the enemy. He himself rode a very powerful horse, by which often carried at full speed into solid blocks of barbarian [36] troops, he routed them with great carnage. But when they all attacked him alone, and he was drained of blood by many wounds, he urged Hypsicles, one of his friends, to mount his horse and save himself by flight. As he was saying this, life left him, and his body slipped down from his horse to the ground.

[37] Hypsicles could in fact have escaped, but after losing his friend he resolved to die. His only care was, not to fall unavenged; therefore, spurring on his horse, he plunged into the midst of the enemy, and having fought a memorable fight, was overwhelmed by their — weapons. When those who had survived the carnage saw that, they took position on an eminence a little higher than the rest of the field; there Spitamenes besieged them, hoping by starvation to drive [39] them to surrender. There fell in that battle 2000 foot and 300 horsemen. Alexander with crafty prudence concealed this disaster, threatening with death those who had returned from the battle, if they made public what had happened.

VIII. But when he could no longer bear an expression which belied his feelings, he withdrew to his tent, which he had purposely placed on the bank of the [2] river. There without witnesses, weighing his plans one by one, he spent the night sleepless, often raising the skins of the tent to look at the enemies' fires, from which he could calculate how great their number of [3] men was. And already daylight was at hand, when, putting on his cuirass, he went out to the soldiers, for the first time since the recent wound which he had suffered. So great was their veneration for the king that his presence readily dispelled all thought [5] of the danger which they dreaded. Happy therefore and shedding tears of joy, they saluted him, and confidently demanded the battle which they had before [6] refused. He announced that he was going to transport

the cavalry and the phalanx on rafts, and he ordered the lighter-armed troops to swim, [7] supported by inflated skins. The situation did not call for more words, nor could the king say more because of his illness. But the rafts were put together with such enthusiasm on the part of the soldiers, that within three days about 12,000 were finished.

[8] And already they had prepared everything for crossing, when twenty envoys of the Scythians, according to the custom of their race riding through the camp on horseback, ordered announcement to be made to the king that they desired to deliver a [9] message to him. Being admitted to the tent and invited to be seated, they had fixed their eyes on the king's face, because, I suppose, to those who estimated spirit by bodily stature his moderate size [10] seemed by no means equal to his reputation. However, the comprehension of the Scythians is not so rude and untrained as that of the rest of the barbarians; in fact, some of them are even said to be capable of philosophy, so far as a race that is always [11] in arms is capable of such knowledge. Hence what they are reported to have said to the king is perhaps foreign to our customs and our orators, who have been allotted more cultivated times and intellects. But although their speech may be scorned, yet our fidelity ought not to be; and so we shall report their words without change, just as they have been handed down to us.

Well then, we have learned that one of them, the eldest said: "If the gods had willed that your bodily stature should be equal to your greed, the world not contain you, with one hand you would touch the rising, with the other the setting sun, and having reached the latter, you would wish to know where the brilliance of so great a god hides itself. So also you desire what you cannot attain. From Europe you pass to Asia, from Asia you cross into Europe; then, when you have subdued the whole human race, you will wage war with the woods and the snows, with rivers and wild beasts. Why, do you not know that great trees are long in growing, but are uprooted in a single hour? He is a fool who looks at their fruits, but does not scan their height. Beware lest, while you strive to reach the top, you fall with the very branches which you have grasped. Even the lion has sometimes been the food of the smallest of birds, and rust consumes iron. Nothing is so strong that it may not be in danger even from the weak. What have we to do with you? We have never set foot in your lands. Are not those who live in the solitary woods allowed to be ignorant who you are, whence come? We cannot obey any man, nor do we desire to rule any.

[17] That you may know the Scythian nation we have received as gifts a yoke of oxen and a plow, an arrow, a spear, and a bowl. These we use both with [18] our friends and against our foes. We give grain to our friends, acquired by the labour of our oxen, with them from the bowl we offer libation to the gods, we attack our foes from a distance with the arrow, with the spear hand to hand. —

"it is thus that we have conquered the king of Syria and later those of the

Persians and the Medes, and that a way was opened for us even into Egypt.

But you, who boast that you are coming to attack robbers, are the robber of all the nations to which you have come. You have taken Lydia, you have seized Syria, you hold Persia you have the Bactriani in your power, you have aimed at India; already you are stretching your greedy and insatiable hands [20] for our flocks. What need have you for riches, which compel you to hunger for them? First of all men, you by a surfeit have produced a hunger wherein the more you have, the keener is your desire for [21] what you have not. Does it not occur to you how long you are delaying around Bactra? While you are subduing the Bactriani the Sogdiani have begun to make war. For you victory is a source of war. For although you may be the greatest and bravest of all men, yet no one is willing to endure a foreign lord. —

[22] “Only cross the Tanais; you will learn how far the Scythians extend, yet you will never overtake them. Our poverty will be swifter than your army, which carries the pillage of so many nations. Again, when you believe us afar off, you will see us in your camp. For we both pursue and flee with the same [23] swiftness. I hear that the solitudes of the Scythians are made fun of even in Greek proverbs, but we seek after places that are desert and free from human cultivation rather than cities and rich fields.

[24] Therefore hold your fortune with tight hands; she is slippery and cannot be held against her will. Wholesome advice will be better shown by the future than by the present. Put curbs upon your good fortune; [25] you will manage it the more easily. Our people say that Fortune is without feet, she has only hands and wings; when she stretches out her hands, grasp her wings also. —

[26] “Finally, if you are a god, you ought to confer benefits on mankind, not strip them of those they have; but if you are a mortal man, always remember that you are what you are. It is folly to remember [27] those things which make you forget yourself. Those on whom you have not made war you will be able to use as friends. For friendship is strongest among equals, and those are regarded as equals who have [28] not made trial of one another’s strength. Do not believe that those whom you have conquered are your friends. There is no friendship between master and slave; even in peace the laws of war are kept.

[29] Believe not that the Scythians ratify a friendship by taking oath; they take oath by keeping faith. The oath is a caution of the Greeks, who jointly seal agreements and call upon the gods; our religion consists in good faith itself. Those who do not respect men [30] deceive the gods. And you have no need of a friend whose goodwill you may doubt. Moreover in us you will have guardians of both Asia and Europe; we touch upon Bactra, except that the river Tanais is between us. Beyond the Tanais we inhabit lands extending to Thrace, and report says that the Macedonians border upon Thrace. Consider whether you wish enemies or friends to be neighbours to your wish empire.” So spoke the barbarian.

IX. In reply the king responded that he would make use of his own fortune and of their advice; for he would follow his fortune, in which he had

confidence, and the advice of those who had persuaded him not to do anything rash and reckless. Having dismissed the envoys, he embarked his army on the rafts which he had prepared beforehand. On the prows he had stationed those who carried bucklers, with orders to sink upon their knees, in order that they might be safer against the shots of arrows. Behind these stood those who worked the hurling engines, surrounded both on each side and in front by armed men. The rest who were placed behind the artillery, were armed with shields in testudo-formation, defended the rowers, who were not protected by corselets. The same order was observed also on those rafts which carried the cavalry. The greater part of these let their horses swim astern, held by the reins. But the men who were carried on skins stuffed with straw were protected by the rafts that came between them and the foe.

The king himself with a select band of troops was the first to cast off a raft and to order it to be against the opposite bank. To him the Scythians opposed ranks of horsemen moved up to the very margin of the bank, that the rafts might not be able even to reach the land. Moreover, besides the sight of the army guarding the banks, great terror had seized those who were managing the rafts; for the steersmen could not direct their course, since they were driven in a aslanting direction, and the soldiers, who kept their feet with difficulty and were worried by fear of being shaken overboard, threw into confusion the work of the boatmen. Although making every effort the soldiers could not even hurl their javelins, since they thought rather of keeping their footing without danger than of attacking the enemy. Their safety was the hurling-engines, from which bolts were hurled with effect against the enemy who were crowded together and recklessly exposed [8] themselves. The barbarians also poured such a great amount of arrows upon the rafts, that there was hardly a single shield that was not pierced by many of their [9] points at the same time. And now the rafts were being brought to land, when those who were armed with bucklers rose in a body and with sure aim, since they had firm footing, hurled their spears from the rafts. And as soon as they saw that the horses were terrified and drawing back, inspired by mutual encouragement, they began to leap to land and [10] vigorously to charge the disordered barbarians. Then the troops of horsemen, who had their horses bridled, broke through the enemies' line. In the meantime the rest, being covered by those who were fighting, [11] prepared themselves for battle. The king himself by the vigour of his courage made up for what he still lacked in bodily strength because of his illness. His words of encouragement could not be heard, since the old wound on his neck was not yet wholly healed, but [12] all saw him fighting. And so they themselves played the part of leaders, and urging one another against the enemy, they began to rush upon them, regardless of their lives. —

[13] Then truly the barbarians could not endure the faces, the arms, nor the shouts of the enemy, but all with loose rein -for it was an army of cavalry — took flight The king, although he was unable to endure the tossing of his

ailing body, yet persisted in pursuing ^[14] them for eighty stadia. And when finally his strength gave out, he ordered his men, so long as any light remained, to follow at the backs of the fugitives, he himself, having exhausted even his strength of mind, returned to the camp and remained there.

^[15] Already they had passed the bounds of Father Bacchus, which were marked by stones set up at frequent intervals and by tall trees whose trunks ^[16] were covered with ivy. But the wrath of the Macedonians carried them still farther; for it was nearly midnight when they returned to camp, after having slain many and taken still more prisoners, and they drove off 1800 horses. But of the Macedonians there fell sixty horsemen and about one hundred foot-soldiers; 1000 were wounded.

^[17] This campaign by the fame of so opportune a victory completely subdued Asia, which in great part was revolting. They had believed that the Scythians were invincible; after their defeat they confessed that no nation would be a match for the Macedonians. Accordingly the Sacae sent envoys ^[18] to promise that they would submit; the valour of the king had not influenced them more than his clemency towards the conquered Scythians. For he had sent back all the prisoners without a ransom, in order to make it appear that his rivalry with the most warlike nations was in bravery and not in blind rage. Therefore he received the envoys of the Sacae courteously and gave them Euxenippus to accompany them; he was still very young and a favourite of the king because of his youthful beauty, but although in handsome appearance he was equal to Hephaestion, he was not his match in a charm which was indeed not manly.

^[20] The king himself, having ordered Craterus with the greater part of the army to follow by moderate marches, went on to the city of Maracanda. From there Spitamenes, on learning of his coming, had ^[21] fled to Bactra. Accordingly the king, having in four days traversed a great extent of country, had reached the place where, under the lead of Menedemus, he had lost 2000 foot-soldiers and 300 cavalry. He ordered the bones of these to be covered with a mound and offered sacrifice to the spirits of the dead in the Macedonian fashion. Now Craterus, who had been ordered to follow with the phalanx, had rejoined the king; accordingly, in order that all who had revolted might alike be visited with the disasters of war, he divided his forces and gave orders that the fields should be set on fire and that all who were of military age should be killed.

X. The region of Sogdiana is for the greater part deserted; desert wastes occupy a width of 800 ^[2] stadia. It extends straight on for a vast distance, through which flows a river which the natives call the Polytimetus. This is at first a torrent, since its banks force it into a narrow channel, then a cavern ^[3] receives it, and hurries it off under the ground. Its hidden course is revealed only by the noise of the flowing waters, since the soil itself under which so great a river flows does not exude even a slight moisture. Of the prisoners of the Sogdiani thirty of the noblest born, men of extraordinary strength of body,

had been brought in to the king; when these learned through an interpreter that they were being led to execution by order of the king, they began to sing a song as if rejoicing, and to show a kind of pleasure by dances and by wanton movements of their ^[5] bodies. The king, surprised at their facing death with such greatness of spirit, ordered them to be recalled, and inquired the reason for such transports of joy when they had execution before their eyes.

They replied that if they were to be killed by anyone else they would have died sorrowful; as it was, being restored to their ancestors by so great a king, conqueror of all nations, they were celebrating by their usual songs and with rejoicing a glorious death, which brave men might even pray for.

^[7] Admiring such great courage, Alexander said:

“I ask you whether you would wish to live on condition of not being unfriendly to me to whose favour ^[8] you will owe your lives.” They replied that they had never been unfriendly to him, but that when provoked to war they were enemies of their foe. If one had preferred to try them with kindness rather than with injury, they would have striven not to be outdone in courtesy. And when asked by what pledge they would bind their loyalty, they said that the life which was granted them would be their pledge; that they would pay it when he demanded it. And they kept their promise. For those who were then sent to their homes have by their good faith held their fellow-citizens together; four, who were retained as a part of his body-guard, yielded to none of the Macedonians in affection for the king.

^[10] Having left Peucolaus among the Sogdiani with 3000 infantry — for he needed no larger force — Alexander came to Bactra. From there he ordered Bessus to be taken to Ecbatana, to expiate with ^[11] his life his murder of Darius. At about the same time Ptolemy and Melanidas brought the king 4000 infantry and 1000 horsemen, to serve as mercenaries. Asander also came from Lycia with an equal number of foot-soldiers and 500 horsemen. The same number followed Asclepiodorus from Syria. Antipater had sent 8000 Greeks, among whom were ^[13] 600 cavalry. With his army thus increased the king marched forth to set in order the provinces which had been disordered by the revolt; and after putting to death the ringleaders of the disturbance, he returned on the fourth day to the river Oxus. This river, because it carries silt, is always turbid and unwholesome ^[14] to drink. Therefore the soldiers had begun to dig wells; yet, although they excavated the soil to a great depth, they found no water. At length a spring was found right in the king’s tent, and because they had been late in perceiving it, they spread the report that it had suddenly appeared, and the king himself wished it to be believed that it was a ^[15] gift of the gods. Then he crossed the rivers Ochus and Oxus and came to the city of Margiana. Round about it six sites were chosen for founding towns, two facing south and four east; they were distant from one another only a moderate space, so that they might be able to aid one another without seeking help from a distance. All these were situated on ^[16] high hills. At that time they served as curbs upon the conquered nations; to-day, forgetful of their

origin, they serve those over whom they once ruled.

XI. And everything else the king had subdued.

There was one rock, which Ariamazes, a native of Sogdiana, was holding with 30,000 armed men, having previously stored there provisions sufficient [2] to support so great a force for fully two years. The rock rises to a height of 30 stadia, and embraces a circuit of 150; it is scarped on every side and [3] approached by a very steep and narrow path. In the middle of its ascent it has a cavern, the entrance of which is narrow and obscure; then farther in it gradually widens, and finally even contains deep recesses. Springs flow almost everywhere in the cavern, and the waters which gather in these send forth a river down the steep sides of the mountain.

[4] The king, having seen the difficulty of the place, had decided to leave it; then a desire entered his mind to wear out even Nature's strength. Nevertheless, before trying the fortune of a siege, he sent Cophes — he was a son of Artabazus — to the barbarians, to persuade them to surrender the rock. Ariamazes, trusting to his position, made several arrogant replies, and finally asked whether Alexander could even fly.

[8] When this was reported to the king, it so inflamed his mind, that summoning those with whom he was wont to consult, he told them of the insolence of the barbarian, who mocked at them because they did not have wings; but that he on the following night would make him believe that the Macedonians [7] could even fly. "Let each of you," said he, "bring me 300 of the most active young men from your forces, who at home were accustomed to drive their flocks over mountain pastures and almost [8] impassable rocks." They quickly brought that number, who excelled in bodily agility and in ardour of courage. The king, looking them over, said: "It is with you, O youths, my comrades, that I have overcome the fortifications of cities that before now were unconquered, that I have traversed the heights of mountains buried in perpetual snow, that I entered the passes of Cilicia, and have endured the intense cold of India without fatigue. I have given you [9] proofs of myself, and I have had proofs of you. The rock which you see has only one approach, which the barbarians beset, they neglect the rest; they have no sentinels except those that are watching our [10] camp. You will find a way, if you seek carefully for paths leading to the top. Nature has placed nothing so high, that valour cannot overcome it. It is by trying what others have despaired of that we have [11] Asia in our power. Go up to the summit; when you have attained it, you will give me a signal with white cloths. I will bring up forces and divert the enemy [12] from you to us. The reward for him who first reaches the top will be ten talents; he who comes next will receive one less, and the same proportion will be maintained up to the number of ten men. But I am sure that you will have an eye, not so much to the reward, as to my desire."

[13] They heard the king with such alacrity, that it seemed that they had already attained the summit; and when dismissed they prepared iron wedges

to insert between the stones and strong ropes. The king rode around the rock, and where the approach seemed least rough and steep he ordered them to set out in the second watch, uttering a prayer to the gods for success. They, taking food sufficient for two days, and armed only with swords and lances, began to climb up. And at first they advanced on foot; then, when they came to very steep places, some grasped projecting stones with their hands and pulled themselves up, others made their way by using nooses of rope, still others drove wedges between the stones and made steps on which to stand.

[16] They spent a day amid fear and toil. After having struggled over rough places, still harder ones awaited them, and the height of the rock seemed to grow. That indeed was a pitiful sight, when those whom their unsteady step had betrayed were hurled down a sheer drop; and the example of others' disaster showed that they must soon suffer the same fate.

[17] Nevertheless, through all these difficulties they mounted to the top of the mountain, all worn out by the fatigue of constant toil, some maimed in a part of their limbs, and night and sleep came upon them [18] together. With their bodies stretched here and there on the pathless and rough rocks, they forgot their dangerous situation and slept until daybreak; and when at last they awakened as from a deep slumber, examining the hidden valleys that lay below them, and not knowing in what part of the rock so great a force of the enemy was hidden, they saw smoke rolling out from a cavern below them.

[19] From this they knew that it was the hiding place of the enemy. Therefore they raised on their spears the signal which had been agreed upon; and they found that out of their whole number thirty-two had perished during the ascent.

[20] The king, harassed not more from desire of taking the place than for the possible fate of those whom he had sent into such evident danger, stood during the looking at the summit of the mountain; not until night, when darkness prevented him from seeing did he repose for withdraw on the following day., he was the first to see the clothes that showed that the top was taken, But the changing sky where now a gleam of light shown through, which again was hidden, compelled him to doubt whether his eyes did not deceive him. But as a clearer light appeared in the heaven she was *the* first to see the cloths that showed that the top was taken. But the changing sky, where now a gleam of light shown through, which again was hidden, compelled him to doubt whether his eyes did not deceive him. But as a clearer light appeared in the heavens, his doubt was dispelled; and having summoned Cophes, through whom he had tested the feelings of the barbarians, he sent him to them, to warn them now at least to adopt a better purpose; but if they persisted through confidence in their situation, he ordered that those who had taken possession of the summit should be pointed out to them.

[23] Cophes, being admitted, began to urge Ariamazes to surrender the rock, saying that he would gain the king's favour if, while he was engaged in such great-enterprises, he should not delay him in the siege o a single rock. He,

speaking more proudly and arrogantly than before, ordered Cophes to depart; but he took the barbarian by the hand and asked him to go with him outside the cave. When he had complied, Cophes showed him the young men on the summit, and with good reason mocking his arrogance, said that the soldiers of Alexander had wings.

[26] And now from the camp of the Macedonians the notes of the trumpets and the shouts of the whole army were heard. This, like many other things in war, although vain and empty, moved the barbarians to surrender; for seized with fear, they were unable to estimate rightly the small number of those who were 26 in their rear. Therefore they quickly recalled Cophes, who had left them in their confusion, and sent with him thirty of their leading men, to surrender the rock and to stipulate that they should be allowed to retire [27] unharmed. The king, although he feared that, seeing the fewness of the young men, the barbarians might dislodge them, yet trusting to his fortune and incensed by the arrogance of Ariamazes, replied that he would accept only an unconditional surrender.

[28] Ariamazes, believing that his situation was desperate, whereas it was in fact not hopeless, came down to the king's camp with his relatives and the principal nobles of his race; Alexander ordered all these to be scourged and crucified at the very foot of the rock.

[29] A multitude of those who had surrendered, together with the booty in money, was given to the settlers in the new cities. Artabazus was left to govern the rock and the region adjacent to it.

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BOOK VIII

I. ALEXANDER, having brought the rock under his sway with more fame than glory, divided the army into three parts, since the roving nature of the enemy made it necessary for him to spread his forces about. He gave the lead of one part to Hephaestion, of a second to Coenus, and he himself commanded the ^[2] third. But the barbarians were not all of the same mind; some were subdued by his arms, still more submitted without a contest. To the latter he ordered to be assigned the cities and lands of those ^[3] who had persisted in rebellion. But the Bactriani who had been dispossessed devastated, in company with 900 horsemen of the Massagetae, the neighbouring villages. To check them, Attinas, the governor of that region, led out 300 horsemen, being unaware of the ambushade that was being laid.

^[4] For in the woods — and it chanced that they were close to a plain — the enemy hid an armed force, while a few drove flocks before them, in order that the hope of booty might lead Attinas unawares into the ^[6] snare. Accordingly he, marching in disorder and in loose formation, was following them, thinking only of plunder; but when he had passed by the woods those who had taken post there suddenly attacked him and slew him with all his men.

^[6] The report of this disaster was quickly brought to Craterus, who came to the spot with all his cavalry. The Massagetae, for their part, had already fled, but 1000 of the Dahae were slain, and by their slaughter ^[7] the rebellion of the whole region was ended. Alexander also, having again subdued the Sogdiani, returned to Maracanda. There Derdas whom he had sent to the Scythians dwelling east of the Bosphorus, met him with envoys of that people.

^[8] Phrataphernes also, satrap of the Chorasmi, a neighbour to the Massagetae and the Dahae, had sent ^[9] messengers to promise his obedience. The Scythians asked that he should marry the daughter of their king; if he considered her unworthy of the alliance, that he should suffer the leading men of the Macedonians to contract marriages with the great ladies of his race; they promised that the king himself ^[10] also would come to him. Both deputations were courteously heard and Alexander remained in camp for a few days, waiting for Hephaestion and Artabazus; when they joined him, he passed into the district called Bazaira.

^[11] There are no greater indications of the wealth of the barbarians in those regions than their herds of noble wild beasts, confined in great woods and parks.

^[12] For this purpose they choose extensive forests made attractive by perennial springs; they surround the woods with walls and have towers as stands for ^[13] the hunters. The forest was known to have been undisturbed for four successive generations, when Alexander, entering it with his whole army, ordered ^[14] an attack on the wild beasts from every side. Among these when a lion of extraordinary size rushed to attack the king himself, it happened that

Lysimachus, who was afterwards a king, being beside Alexander, began to oppose his hunting-spear to the animal; but the king pushed him aside and ordered him to retire, adding that a lion could be killed by ^[15] himself alone as well as by Lysimachus. And in fact Lysimachus, once when they were hunting in Syria, had indeed alone killed a lion of remarkable size, but had had his left shoulder torn to the bone ^[16] and thus had come into great peril of his life. The king, taunting him with this very experience, acted more vigorously than he spoke; for he not only met the wild beast, but killed him with a single wound.

^[17] I am inclined to believe that the story which without evidence spread the report that Lysimachus was exposed by the king to the attack of a lion arose from the incident which we have just mentioned.

^[18] But the Macedonians, although Alexander had been successful in his attempt, nevertheless voted in the manner of their nation that he should neither hunt on foot nor without being accompanied by selected ^[19] officers or friends. He, after having laid low 4000 wild beasts, banqueted in that same park with his entire army.

From there the king returned to Maracanda; and having accepted Artabazus' excuse of old age, he ^[20] made over his province to Clitus. It was he, an old soldier of Philip and distinguished by many exploits in war, who at the river Granicus covered the king with his shield when he was fighting bareheaded, and with his sword cut off the hand of Rhosaces, when ^[21] it threatened the king's life. And Hellanice, his sister, who had reared Alexander, was loved by the king as dearly as if she were his own mother. It was for these reasons that he entrusted to Clitus' faith and protection the strongest part of his empire."

^[22] And now, after being bidden to prepare for a march on the following day, Clitus was invited to one of the king's usual prolonged banquets. There, when the king had been heated by an abundance of wine, having an immoderate opinion of himself, he began to boast of his exploits, to the displeasure even of the ears of those who knew that what he said was true.

^[23] But the older men remained silent until he began to belittle the deeds of Philip and to boast that the famous victory at Chaeronea had been his work, but that the glory of so great a battle had been taken from him by the grudgingness and jealousy of his father.

^[24] That Philip, when a quarrel had arisen between the Macedonian soldiers and the Greek mercenaries, being disabled by a wound which he had suffered during that disturbance, had fallen to the ground and could find no other expedient to protect himself better than feigning death; but that he had protected his father's body with his shield, and with his own hand ²⁶ had slain those who were rushing upon him. This Philip could never bring himself to admit, being unwilling to be indebted for his life to his son. Also, that after the campaign which he himself had made without Philip against the Illyrians, when victorious he had written to his father that the enemy had been routed

and put to flight; and that Philip had 26 nowhere been present. He said that praise was due, not to those who had witnessed the initiatory rites of Samothrace at a time when Asia should have been laid waste by fire, but to those who by the greatness of their deeds had surpassed belief.

[27] These and similar things the young soldiers heard with pleasure, but they were odious to the older men, especially because of Philip, under whom they [28] had lived longer, when Clitus, who was himself by no means wholly sober, turned to those who were reclining below him, and quoted a line of Euripides in such a tone that the sound could be heard by the king [29] rather than the words made out, to the effect that it was a bad custom of the Greeks to inscribe on their trophies only the names of kings; for the kings stole the glory won by the blood of others. Therefore Alexander, for he suspected that the words had been somewhat malicious, began to ask those next to him [30] what they had heard Clitus say. And when they maintained an obstinate silence, Clitus, gradually raising his voice, spoke of the deeds of Philip and the wars which he had waged in Greece, rating them [31] all higher than the present victories. From this there arose a dispute between the younger and the older soldiers. And the king, although he appeared to hear with patience the words in which Clitus [32] belittled his glory, had become exceedingly angry. But when it seemed that he would control himself if Clitus would put an end to the talk which he had wantonly begun, as he did not in any way moderate it, the king became more exasperated.

[33] And now Clitus even ventured to defend Parmenion and extolled the victory of Philip over the Athenians above the destruction of Thebes, being carried away, not only by wine, but by a perverse spirit of contention. Finally he said: "If someone must die for you, Clitus is the first choice; but when you award the prizes of a victory, those bear off the palm who most wantonly mock the memory of your father.

[35] You assign to me the province of Sogdiana, so often rebellious, and not only untamed but not even capable of being subdued. I am sent to wild beasts, to which [36] Nature has given incorrigible recklessness. But of what concerns me I have nothing to say. You scorn the soldiers of Philip, forgetting that if old Atarrhias here had not called back the younger men when they shrank from battle, we should still be lingering around [37] Halicarnassus. How then would you have subdued all Asia with those young men of yours? That is true, in my opinion, which your uncle is known to have said in Italy, that he had encountered men, you women." [38] Nothing among all the taunts which Clitus had ill advisedly and rashly uttered had more aroused the king than the honourable mention made of Parmenion. Yet he restrained his resentment, content [39] with ordering Clitus to leave the banquet. And he added nothing else than that perhaps if Clitus had spoken at greater length, he would have taunted him with having saved his life; for of this he had often [40] arrogantly boasted. And when Clitus still delayed to rise, those who had reclined next to him laid hands upon him and with remonstrances and warning were [41] trying

to lead him from the room. As he was being taken away, anger also was added to his former drunkenness, and he shouted that the king's back had been protected by his own breast, but that now, after the time of so great a service had passed, even [42] the memory of it was odious. Then he also reproached the king with the murder of Attalus, and finally, mocking the oracle of Jupiter, whom Alexander claimed as his father, he said that he himself, had spoken to the king more truly than his father [43] By now Alexander was filled with such great wrath as he could hardly have mastered when sober. In fact, his senses having long since been overcome by [44] wine, he suddenly leaped from his couch. His friends, in a panic, having not even put down their cups but thrown them aside, arose in a body, their thoughts centred upon the result of the act which he was about [45] to commit with such impetuosity. Alexander, wresting a lance from the hands of one of his guards, and attempting to kill Clitus, who was still raging with the same unbridled language, was prevented by Ptolemy [40] and Perdiccas. Throwing their arms about his waist, they kept holding him back while he continued to struggle; Lysimachus and Leonnatus had even taken [47] away the lance; the king, invoking the loyalty of his soldiers, cried that he was being seized by his closest friends, as had lately happened to Darius, and ordered the signal to be given with the trumpet for the soldiers to take arms and come to the royal quarters.

[48] Then truly Ptolemy and Perdiccas threw themselves at his knees and besought him not to persist in such unrestrained anger, but rather to take time for reflection; that to-morrow he would manage the [49] whole matter with more justice. But his ears were closed, deafened by wrath; and so, beside himself, he rushed into the vestibule of the royal quarters, and snatching a lance from the sentinel on guard, stood at the entrance where those who had dined with [50] him must pass out. The rest had gone, and Clitus was coming out last without a light, when the king asked who it was. Even his voice clearly indicated [51] the ferocity of the crime which he meditated. And Clitus, no longer mindful of his own anger, but remembering that of the king, replied that it was Clitus [52] and that he was leaving the banquet. As he was saying this the king ran the lance into his side, and bespattered with the blood of the dying man, cried: "Go now to Philip and Parmenion and Attalus!"

II. Nature has dealt ill with men's minds, in that we generally weigh acts, not beforehand, but after they are done. For the king, after anger had left his mind and even his intoxication had been dispelled, clearly perceived, but too late, the enormity [2] of his crime. He saw then that he had killed a man who had indeed immoderately abused freedom of speech, but who in any case was eminent in warfare, and if he was not ashamed to admit it, the saviour of his life. A king had usurped the detestable function of an executioner, and had punished licence in language, which might have been imputed to wine, [3] by an abominable murder. The whole vestibule swam with the blood of one who but now had been his guest, the sentinels stood aloof from him, amazed and as if stupefied, and solitude gave freer opportunity [4] for repentance. Therefore,

tearing the lance from the body of the prostrate man, he turned it upon himself. And he had already brought it against his breast, when the sentinels flew to him, and in spite of his resistance wrested it from his hand, lifted him up, [6] and carried him into his tent. He had thrown himself on the ground, while all the whole royal quarters rang with his groans and piteous wailing. Then he tore his face with his nails, begging those who stood around him not to suffer him to survive such a disgrace.

[6] Amid prayers like these the whole night was spent. And while he was considering whether he had been driven to commit such a great crime by the anger of the gods, it occurred to him that he had not paid the annual sacrifice to Father Liber at the appointed time. Hence it was evident that the murder committed amid wine and feasting was a manifestation [7] of the anger of that god. But the king was still more disturbed because he saw that the minds of all his friends were terror-stricken, that no one would dare hereafter to converse with him, but he must live in solitude like a savage beast which now inspires terror in other beasts and at other times is itself in fear [8] of them. Later, at dawn, he ordered the body to be taken into his tent, all bloody as it still was. When it was placed before him, he said with eyes filled with tears: "This is my requital to my nurse, whose two sons met death at Miletus for my glory, this her brother, the sole comfort of her [9] bereavement, I have slain at a banquet. Where will the poor woman turn now? Of all her kindred I alone am living, and I am the only one whom she will not be able to look upon with kindly eyes. And I, the assassin of my preservers, shall return to my native land without being able even to offer my hand to my nurse without reminding her of her bereavement!

[10] And since he did not put an end to his tears and laments, by order of his friends the body was removed.

[11] The king lay in seclusion for three days. When his attendants and bodyguards knew that he was resolved upon dying, they all burst into the tent, and although for a long time he resisted their entreaties, they with difficulty prevailed upon him to take food.

[12] And in order that he might feel less shame for the murder, the Macedonians decreed that Clitus had been justly put to death, and that they would even have deprived him of funeral rites, if the king had not ordered that he be buried.

[13] Then, after having spent ten days near Maracanda, chiefly that he might recover from his shame, he sent Hephaestion with a part of the army into the region [14] of Bactriana to prepare supplies for the winter. The province which he previously had intended for Clitus he gave to Amyntas. He himself came to Xenippa; this is a place bordering on Scythia, and it is occupied by many populous villages, since the fertility of the soil not only holds the natives but also attracts [15] newcomers. It had been the refuge of the Bactrian exiles who had revolted from Alexander; but after it was learned that the king was coming, these were driven out by the natives and were gathered together [16] to

the number of about 2500. They were all horsemen, accustomed to brigandage even in time of peace; at that time too their proud natures had been made more reckless, not only by the war, but also by despair of pardon. Hence they made an unlooked-for attack upon Amyntas, a general of Alexander, and for a long time had held the contest in balance; [17] finally, after having lost 700 of their number, of whom the enemy took 300 prisoners, they turned their backs to the victors, but by no means unavenged: for they killed eighty of the Macedonians, and 350 [18] besides those suffered wounds. Yet they received pardon even after a second revolt.

[19] After these had been received in surrender, the king with his whole army came into the region which they call Nautaca. The satrap was Sisimithres, who had two sons born of his own mother; for among those people it is lawful for parents to cohabit with [20] their children. He, having armed his subjects, had blocked the narrowest part of the entrance to the region with a strong fortification. Near by flowed a torrential river, which a crag in its rear protected; [21] through this the natives had made artificially a road; but whereas at either entrance a cave receives light, the inner parts are dark unless a light has been carried in. A continuous passage, known only [22] to the natives, gives access to the plains. Although the barbarians with a strong force were guarding the pass, which was protected by its natural situation, nevertheless Alexander, bringing up his battering-rams, shattered the fortifications which had been artificially added, and laid low many of the defenders with slings and arrows.

When he had scattered these and put them to flight, passing over the ruins of the fortifications, he [23] brought his army to the crag. But the river intervened, where the waters from the summit came together and flowed into the valley, and it seemed a task of great labour to fill up so vast an abyss; nevertheless he ordered trees to be felled and rocks to be brought together. And great panic had struck the barbarians, who were unfamiliar with such works, [25] when they saw a dam quickly raised. As a result the king, thinking that they could be forced by fear to surrender, sent Oxartes, of that same nation but under his sway, to persuade their leader to deliver [26] over the crag. Meanwhile, to increase the dread, at the same time towers were brought up and bolts hurled from artillery leapt about. Accordingly, the enemy made for the top of the crag, disapproving all [27] other defence. But Oxartes began to urge Sisimithres, who was fearful and distrustful of his affairs, to try the faith rather than the strength of the Macedonians, and not to delay the haste of a victorious army which was on its way to India; for anyone who opposed it would bring upon his own head the disaster aimed at others.

[28] And Sisimithres for his part was not disinclined to surrender, but his mother, who was also his wife, declaring that she would die rather than come into the power of any other, turned the mind of the barbarian to what was more honourable than safe, and he felt ashamed that freedom was more highly valued among the women than among the [29] men. Accordingly, dismissing

the intermediary for peace, he had decided to stand a siege. But when he had repeatedly measured the strength of the enemy against his own, he began to regret having followed the advice of the woman, which seemed to [30] be rash rather than necessary, and quickly recalling Oxartes, he replied that he would surrender to the king, begging only this one thing, that he would not betray the advice and wish of his mother, in order that he might more easily obtain pardon for her also.

[31] Therefore, sending Oxartes ahead, he followed with his mother and children and with a band of all his kindred not even waiting for the pledge of parole which [32] Oxartes had promised. The king, after sending on a horseman to order them to return and await his presence, came up, and having sacrificed victims to Minerva Victoria, restored his rule to Sisimithres, giving him hope of a still greater province if he cultivated his friendship with loyalty. He ordered Sisimithres' two sons, whom their father had delivered to him, to follow, in order to serve as soldiers with him.

Then, having left the phalanx to subdue those [34] who had revolted, he went on with the cavalry. The road, which was steep and impeded by rocks, they endured at first as well as they could; presently, when not only were the hooves of the horses worn down, but their bodies also were wearied, many were unable to follow and the line became thinner from time to time, the excessive toil overcoming 36 their shame, as usually happens. Yet the king, from time to time changing horses, pursued the fugitives without interruption. The young nobles who were accustomed to attend him had given out except Philipp us; he was a brother of Lysimachus, and had just arrived at manhood, and, as was readily apparent, [36] a youth of a rare character. He, incredible to relate, on foot for 500 stadia accompanied the mounted king, and although Lysimachus often offered him his horse, yet he could not be induced to leave Alexander's side, although he wore a cuirass and was carrying his arms.

[37] This same youth, when they had come to the wood in which the barbarians had hidden, made a splendid fight and protected the king as he fought hand to [38] hand with the enemy. But after the barbarians left the wood in scattered flight, the spirit which had the wood in scattered flight, the spirit which had sustained the youngman's body in the ardour of battle left him, and suddenly a sweat broke out on all his body and he leaned against the nearest tree trunk. Then, when he was not sustained even by that support, he was taken in the king's arm's, and there swooned and died. In the midst of his sorrow another severe grief came to the king. Erigyus had been one of his illustrious generals; and he learned, a little before his return to the camp, that he had died. The funeral of each was performed with every splendour and honour.

III. Next he had decided to attack the Dahae; for he had learned that Spitamenes was there. But this affair, like many others, Fortune, never wearied in indulging him, finished for him in his absence.

Spitamenes burned with immoderate love for his wife whom he dragged

with him as his companion into every danger, although she could hardly endure the toil of flight and constant changes of exile. She, worn out by hardships, from time to time made use of a woman's blandishments to persuade her husband at last to cease his flight, and having experienced Alexander's clemency, to placate one whom he could not escape. She had borne him three children, who were now grown to manhood; having put these in their father's arms, she begged him to consent at least to pity them: and it gave greater effect to her ^[4] prayers that Alexander was not far off. Spitamenes, thinking that he was being betrayed, not advised, and that undoubtedly through confidence in her beauty his wife desired as soon as possible to be surrendered to Alexander, drew his scimitar and would have slain her if he had not been prevented by the hurried invention of her brothers. However he ordered her to quit his sight, adding a threat of death if she should show herself before his eyes, and to satisfy his longing he began to pass his nights with concubines. But his deep seated love was flamed through disgust with his present associates. Therefore, again devoted to his wife alone, he did not cease to beg her to refrain from giving such advice; and to endure whatever lot Fortune should offer them saying that to him death was a lighter thing than surrender. But she excused herself for having advised what she thought expedient, perhaps with feminine weakness, but yet in a loyal spirit, saying that for the future she would submit to her husband's authority. Spitamenes, won by this feigned compliance, ordered a prolonged banquet to be prepared, from which he was carried to his chamber heavy with wine and half asleep. As soon as his wife saw that he was sunk in a deep and heavy slumber, she drew a sword which she had hidden under her robe, cut off his head, and, bespattered with blood, handed it to a slave who had been her accomplice in the crime. Attended by the slave, with her robe all blood stained as it was, she came into the camp of the Macedonians and ordered it to be announced to Alexander that there was something that he ought to hear from her own lips. He at once ordered the barbarian woman to be admitted. When he saw her bespattered with blood, thinking that she had come to complain or some outrage, he bade her tell him what she wished. But she desired that the slave whom she had ordered to stand in the vestibule should be bought in.

Because the slave had the head of Spitamenes hidden under his robe, he was suspected, and when some men searched him, he showed them what he was hiding. A pallor had made the features of the blood-less face ^[13] unrecognizable, and it could not be known who it was; therefore the king, being informed that the slave was bringing a man's head, came out of his tent and upon inquiring what had happened, learned ^[14] the truth from the slave's confession. Thereupon, as he considered the varied aspects of the case, his mind was moved by conflicting thoughts. He believed that it was a great service to him that a deserter and a traitor, who, if he had lived, would have caused delay to his important affairs, had been killed; on the other hand, he

was repelled by the great crime, in that the woman had treacherously killed a husband who deserved well of her, the father of their common ^[15] children. Yet the atrocity of the deed prevailed over gratitude for the service, and he ordered notice to be given her to leave the camp, lest by this example o barbarian lawlessness she might affect the character and mild dispositions of the Greeks.

^[16] The Dahae, learning of the murder of Spitamenes, bound Dataphernes, his partner in the revolt, and surrendered him and themselves to Alexander. He, thus freed from the greatest part of his present cares, turned his attention to avenging the wrongs of those who were being ruled greedily and tyrannically by his ^[17] governors. As a result, he made over to Phrataphernes Hyrcania and the Mardi with the Tapuri, and commanded him to send him under a guar Phradates, whose successor he was. For Arsames, governor of the Drangae, Stasanor was substituted, while Arsaces was sent to Media, in order that Oxy dates might be recalled from there. In place of Mazaeus, who had died, Stamenes was made governor of Babylonia.

After these matters had been arranged, he withdrew the army from winter quarters after two months' stay, intending to go to the region which is ^[2] called Gazaca. The first day allowed a quiet march, the following day was, it is true, not yet stormy and gloomy, yet it was darker than the preceding one, and did not pass without threat of growing trouble, ^[3] on the third, lightning flickered from every quarter of the heavens, and the light which now shone through and now was hidden, began, not only to dazzle the eyes of the advancing army, but even to ^[4] terrify them. There were almost continual peals of thunder, and bolts of lightning striking everywhere were seen, so that the army, stunned and deafened, ^[5] dared neither to halt nor to advance; then suddenly a rain-storm bombarding them with hail poured upon them like a torrent. At first indeed they had received the hail successfully on the cover afforded by their shields, but finally their stiffened hands could no longer hold their slippery weapons,' nor could they themselves determine in what direction to turn their bodies, since on every side greater violence of the storm met them than that which they were trying to ^[6] avoid. Hence, having broken ranks, the army went wandering all through the woods, and many, worn out by fear (not yet by toil), had thrown themselves upon the ground, although the extreme cold had ^[7] hardened the rain and hail into solid ice. Others had leaned against the trunks of trees; this served as a ^[8] support and refuge for very many. But it did not escape them that they were choosing a place to die, since when they ceased to move, the vital heat left them; but inactivity of body was welcome to them in their weariness, nor did they shrink from dying as the price of resting. As a matter of fact, the force of the disastrous storm was not only violent but also persistent, and the light, that natural solace, in addition to the tempest, which was like night, was obscured also by the shade of the woods.

^[9] The king, who alone was able to endure such a disaster, went about among the soldiers, brought together those that were scattered, lifted up those

who had fallen, and pointing out the distant smoke that rolled up from some huts, urged each man to resort to ^[10] the nearest places of refuge. And nothing contributed more to their safety than that they were ashamed to fail the king, who in spite of redoubled toil was able to endure the hardships to which they themselves ^[11] had succumbed. Moreover, necessity, which in adversity is more effective than reason, found a remedy for the cold; for they began to cut down the woods everywhere with adzes and set fire to the heaps ^[12] and piles of wood. You would have thought that the forest was ablaze with a continuous conflagration and that amid the flames hardly room was left for the troops. This heat aroused their benumbed bodies, and gradually their breath, which the cold had ^[13] checked, began to pass freely. Some took refuge in the huts of the barbarians, which necessity had tracked out though they were hidden in the inmost part of the woods, others in the camp which they pitched on ground that was indeed wet, but already the severity of the weather was moderating. That plague destroyed 2000 soldiers, not counting sutlers and batmen. It is reported that some were seen stuck to the trunks of trees, looking as if they were not only alive but even talking together, still keeping the posture in which death had overtaken them.

^[15] It chanced that a Macedonian common soldier, hardly able to stand up and hold his weapons, had nevertheless reached the camp. On seeing him the king, although he himself was just then warming himself beside a fire, leaped up from his chair, and taking his armour from the exhausted and hardly ^[16] conscious soldier, bade him sit in his own seat. For a long time the man did not realize where he was resting nor by whom he had been rescued. At last, when he had recovered his vital heat and saw the ^[17] royal seat and the king, he arose in terror. Alexander, looking kindly at him, said: "Do you understand, soldier, how much better a life you all have under a king than the Persians have? For with the Persians, to have sat in the king's seat would have been a capital crime, with you it has saved your life."

^[18] On the next day, having called together his friends and the leaders of his forces, he ordered it to be proclaimed that he himself would make good all that ^[19] had been lost. And he kept his promise. For Sisimithres had brought in many pack-animals and 2000 camels, besides flocks and herds; these were distributed equally and saved the soldiers both from ^[20] loss and from hunger. The king, greatly pleased by the requital made him by Sisimithres, on his way to the Sacae ordered the soldiers to carry with them cooked food enough for six days. Having devastated all that region, he gave Sisimithres a gift of 30,000 cattle from the booty.

^[21] From there he came into the province governed by Oxyartes, an illustrious satrap, who submitted himself to the power and good faith of the king. Alexander restored his dominion to him, and made no further requirement than that two of the satrap's ^[22] three sons should serve as his soldiers. Oxyartes delivered to him also the son who was left with him, and prepared a banquet of oriental magnificence, at ^[23] which he entertained

Alexander; while this was being celebrated with great friendliness, the satrap ordered thirty high-born maidens to be brought in. Among these was his own daughter, Roxanê by name, a maiden of remarkable beauty of person, and of a dignity of bearing uncommon among barbarians.

[24] She, although she had entered among an elite group, yet drew the eyes of all to her, especially of the king, who by now had less mastery over his passions amid the constant indulgence of Fortune, against whom [25] mortal man is not sufficiently on his guard. And so he, who had looked upon the wife of Darius and his two maiden daughters, to whom none save Roxanê could be compared in beauty, with no other feeling than that of a father, was then so transported with love for this little maiden, of obscure birth in comparison with royal stock, that he said that it was important for establishing his empire that Persians and Macedonians be joined in wedlock; that only in that way could shame be taken from the conquered and [26] haughtiness from the victors. Achilles also, he said, from whom he traced his ancestry, had united with a captive maiden; lest the vanquished should think that a wrong was being done to them, he wished to be joined with Roxanê in lawful wedlock.

The father was elated with unexpected joy on hearing the king's words and Alexander, in the full tide of his ardent passion, ordered a loaf of bread to be brought in according to his country's custom — this among the Macedonians was the most sacred pledge of those contracting marriage — which was cut in two [28] with a sword and tasted by each. I suppose that those who established the customs of the race wished by a frugal and common food to show to those who were about to unite their resources with how little [29] they ought to be contented. In this way the king of Asia and of Europe took to himself in wedlock a woman who had been brought in among the entertainments of a banquet, intending to beget from a captive [30] a son who should rule over victors. His friends were ashamed that a father-in-law had been chosen from among the surrendered amid wine and feasting, but since after the murder of Clitus freedom of speech had been banned, they pretended assent by expression of their faces, which most readily play the slave.

V. But the king, intending to go on to India and from there to the Ocean, lest there should be any disturbance in his rear which could interfere with his plans, ordered 30,000 of the younger men to be selected from all the provinces and brought to him under arms, intending to have them at once as host-

[2] ages and as soldiers. Furthermore, he sent Craterus in pursuit of Haustanes and Catanes, who had revolted from him, of whom Haustanes was taken prisoner, Catanes killed in battle. Polypercon also reduced to submission the region which is called [3] Bubacênê. Accordingly, when everything was in order, he turned his thoughts towards an Indian war. That region was considered rich, not only in gold, but also in gems and pearls, and was highly developed [4] rather for luxury than for magnificence. Those who knew said that the equipment of the soldiers gleamed with gold and ivory;

consequently Alexander, not to be outdone in anything, since he surpassed all other men, added silver plates to the shields and put golden bits on his horses, and adorned the cuirasses also, some with gold, others with silver. There were 120,000 armed men who followed the king to that war. —

[5] And now, when all was ready in advance, thinking that the time was then ripe for what he had long perversely planned, he began to consider how he might usurp divine honours. He wished, not only to be called, but to be believed to be the son of Jupiter, as if he could rule men's minds as well as their [6] tongues, and he ordered the Macedonians to pay their respects to him in the Persian fashion and to salute him by prostrating themselves on the ground. In his desire for such things he did not lack pernicious adulation, the constant evil of kings, whose power is more frequently overthrown by flattery than by foes.

[7] And this was not the fault of the Macedonians for none of them could endure to impair any jot of his native customs — but of the Greeks, who had debased their profession of the liberal arts by evil habits: [8] Agis, an Argive, the composer of the worst of poems next after Choerilus, and Cleo, from Sicily, the latter indeed a flatterer, from a defect not only in his own nature, but also in his nation, and other sweepings of their own cities; these were mingled by the king even with his nearest friends and the leaders of his greatest armies. These at that time were opening Heaven to him, boasting that Hercules and Father Liber and Castor with Pollux would give place to the new deity.

[9] Therefore on a festal day he ordered a banquet to be prepared with all magnificence, to which not only Macedonians and Greeks, the chief of his friends, but also nobles of the enemy were invited. When the king had taken his place at table with these, after [10] feasting for a little while he left the banquet. Cleo, as had been prearranged, began the conversation by expressing admiration for the king's glorious deeds. Then he enumerated their obligations to him; these, he said, could be requited in only one way, namely, since they knew that he was a god, by admitting it and paying for such great favours by the slight [11] expense of incense. The Persians indeed were not only loyal but also wise in worshipping their kings among the gods; for the majesty of the empire was the protector of its safety. Not even Hercules and Father Liber had been acknowledged as gods until they had overcome the jealousy of those who lived with them: — future generations believed only so much about each man as his own time had vouched [12] for. But if the rest of the company were in doubt, he himself would prostrate himself on the ground when the king entered the banquet. The rest ought to do the same, and especially those endowed with wisdom; for it was by those that a precedent in worshipping the king ought to be shown.

[13] Quite clearly this speech was directed against Callisthenes. The austerity of the man and his ready freedom of speech were odious to the king, as if he alone were delaying the Macedonians, who were prepared for such

obsequiousness. He then, when silence ensued and the rest were looking at him alone, said: "If the king had been present at your talk, surely the words of no one would be needed to reply to you; for he himself would beg that you should not force him to descend to foreign and alien rites, nor would you expose his highly successful exploits to ^[15] odium by such flattery. But since he is not present, I am replying to you in his behalf that no fruit is at the same time both durable and prematurely ripened, and that you are not giving divine honours to your king, but taking them from him. For there is need of time for a man to be believed to be a god, and it is always thus that future generations requite great ^[16] men. But I pray for a late immortality for the king, in order that his life may be long and his majesty eternal. Divinity sometimes overtakes a man, it never accompanies him.

^[17] "You mentioned Hercules and Father Liber just now as examples of consecration to immortality. Do you believe that they were made gods by the decree of a single banquet? Their mortal nature was removed from sight before Fame transported them ^[18] to Heaven. Forsooth you and I, Cleo, make gods, from us the king will receive endorsement of his divinity! I should like to try your power; make someone a king, if you can make a god. Is it easier ^[19] to bestow heaven than empire? May the propitious gods have heard without offence what Cleo said, and suffer things to go on in the same course in which they have flowed up to now. May they allow us to be content with our habits. I am not ashamed of my fatherland, nor do I desire to learn from the vanquished how I ought to do honour to my king.

For my part, I admit that they are the victors if we accept from them the laws under which we live."

^[20] Callisthenes was heard with favourable ears "as a defender of the public liberty. He had forced, not only assent, but also words, especially of the older men, to whom the change of their long-standing ^[21] customs to those of strangers was distasteful. And the king was not unaware of anything that was said on one side and the other, since he was standing behind the curtains which he had caused to be spread round the couches. Therefore he sent word to Agis and Cleo to put an end to the discussion and to allow only the barbarians, when he entered, to prostrate themselves after their custom, and a little later, as if he had transacted some unusually important business, ^[22] he returned to the banquet. When the Persians paid reverence to him, Polypercon, who was reclining above the king, in mockery began to urge one of them, — who touched the ground with his chin, to strike it harder against the earth, and thus aroused the anger of Alexander, which he had already been ^[23] unable to contain. Accordingly he said: "You, then, — will not adore me? To you alone do we seem to be deserving of ridicule?" Polypercon replied that the king did not seem to deserve ridicule, nor he ^[24] himself contempt. Then the king dragged him from his couch, hurled him to the ground, and when he had fallen on his face, said: "Do you not see that you have done the same thing which a little while before you ridiculed in another?" And ordering that he

should be put in prison, he broke up the banquet.

VI. Polypercon, indeed, he pardoned after he had been held in custody for a long time; against Callisthenes, who had formerly been suspected because of insubordination, his anger was more persistent. For [2] satisfying this an opportunity soon arose. It was the custom, as was said before, for the leading men of the Macedonians to entrust their sons to the king on their coming of age for duties not very different from [3] the services of slaves. They kept watch at night in turn close to the doors of the room in which the king slept. By these youths concubines were brought in by a different entrance from that before which the [4] armed guards were posted. They also received the horses from the grooms, brought them to the reigning king when he was about to mount, and accompanied him in the chase and in battle, besides being thoroughly trained in all the accomplishments of [5] liberal studies. The special honour was paid them of being allowed to sit at table with the king. No one had the power of chastising them by flogging [6] except the king himself. This troupe among the Macedonians was a kind of training-school for generals and governors of provinces; from these also their posterity had the kings from whose stock after many ages the Romans took away all power.

[7] So then, Hermolaus, a high-born boy belonging to this royal band, because he had been first to attack a wild boar which the king had intended to strike, by his order was punished by scourging. Being indignant at this disgrace, he began to complain about it to Sostratus. Sostratus was a member of the same troupe and an ardent lover of Hermolaiis; when he saw the lacerated body of which he was enamoured, perhaps being already angered with the king for some other reason also, he induced Hermolaiis, who was already incensed on his own account, to give and receive a pledge to join with him in forming [9] a plot to kill the king. And they did not execute the plan with youthful impetuosity; for they chose with care those whom they would admit as associates in the intended crime. They decided to include Nicostratus, Antipater, Asclepiodorus and Philotas; through these there were added Anticles and Aphthnius and Epimenes. But for carrying out the plan no easy road at all lay open; for it was necessary that all the conspirators should be on guard the same night, in order not to be interfered with by those who were not in the plot, but it happened that they [11] were on watch on different nights. Therefore in changing the order of guard-duty, and in other preparations for carrying out their design, thirty-two days were spent.

[12] The night had come on which the conspirators were due to be on guard, rejoicing in their common fidelity, of which the lapse of so many days had been a proof. Not one had hope or fear changed; so great among all was either their anger against the king or their [13] loyalty to one another. They were standing, then, at the door of the room in which the king was dining, in order to escort him to his bedchamber when he [14] had left the table. But his own good fortune, as well as the good company of the diners, led all to be lavish with their wine; games at the banquet also extended the time, while the

conspirators now rejoiced because they would attack him when sleepy, and now were anxious lest he should prolong the feast^[15] until daylight. For others were due to take their places as guards at dawn, and their turn would not come again until after seven days, and they could not hope that the fidelity of all would endure until^[16] that time. But when daylight was already at hand, the banquet came to an end and the conspirators received the king, rejoicing that the opportunity was offered for committing their crime, when a woman, of unsound mind, as it was thought, who was accustomed to haunt the royal quarters because she seemed by inspiration to foretell the future, not only met the king as he came out, but put herself in his way, and showing disturbance of mind in her face and eyes, warned him to return to the banquet.

[17] He jestingly replied that the gods gave good advice, and recalling his friends, extended the time of the entertainment until nearly the second hour of the day.

[18] Now the others of the troupe had taken over their posts, to watch before the door of the king's bedchamber, yet the conspirators remained there, although their turn of duty was completed; so persistent is a hope which human minds have eagerly^[19] conceived. The king, addressing them more kindly than usual, bade them go and rest themselves, since they had stood watch all night. He gave each man fifty sesteria and praised them because even after their turn had passed to others they had continued^[20] on guard. And they, deprived of their great hope, went to their homes. The others for their part waited for the night of their guard-duty; Epimenes, either because of the affability with which the king had received him along with the other conspirators, or because he believed that the gods opposed their design, had a sudden change of heart and disclosed the plan to his brother Eurylochus, whom before^[21] he had wished to have no part in the plot. All had the torture of Philotas before their eyes, and so Eurylochus at once took his brother by the hand and came into the royal quarters, then having aroused the body-guard, he declared that what he had to say^[22] concerned the king's life. Both the time at which he had come and the anxious expression of both brothers, betraying surely a troubled mind, as well as the sadness of one of them, alarmed Ptolemy and Leonnatus, who were on watch at the door of the king's bedchamber. Therefore opening the doors and bringing in a light, they awoke the king whom wine had buried in deep sleep. He gradually collected his thoughts and asked them what they had to^[23] say. Without delay Eurylochus said that the gods had not entirely turned against their family, since his brother, although he had dared an impious crime, yet repented of it and through himself rather than anyone else would reveal it; that the conspiracy had been planned for that very night which was passing, the ringleaders of the abominable design were those^[24] whom the king would least suspect. Then Epimenes explained everything in order and gave the names of the participants. It is certain that Callisthenes was not named as taking part in the plot, but it was said that he was accustomed to lend ready ears to the boys

when they abused the king and criticized ^[25] his conduct. Some add that when Hermolaus complained to him also that he had been flogged, Callisthenes had said that they ought to remember that they were now men; but whether that was said to console him for suffering lashes, or to excite the resentment of the youths, was uncertain.

The king, awakened in mind and body, when he pictured the great danger which he had escaped, at once gave Eurylochus fifty talents and the rich estate of a certain Tiridates and restored his brother to him ^[27] even before he begged for his life, but the authors of the crime, and among them Callisthenes, he ordered to be kept in fetters. When these had been brought into the royal quarters, since he was wearied by wine and loss of sleep he rested all day and the following ^[28] night. But on the next day he called a general assembly, at which the fathers and relatives of those concerned were present, who were not without anxiety even for their own lives, for according to the law of the Macedonians they were doomed to die, since the lives of all were forfeit who were related by ^[29] blood to the guilty parties. The king ordered the conspirators except Callisthenes to be brought in, and without hesitation they confessed what they had ^[30] planned. Then, when all cried out against them, the king himself asked what he had done to deserve the plotting of such a crime against him.

VII. The rest were struck dumb, but Hermolaus said: "We verily, since you ask as if you did not know, made a plot to kill you because you have begun, not to rule us as free men, but to lord it over us as if ^[2] we were slaves." First of all his own father Sopolis, crying out that he was also the murderer of his parent, arose and putting his hand over his son's mouth, declared that one who was crazed by his crime and his misfortunes ought not to have a further hearing.

^[3] But the king, silencing the father, ordered Hermolaiis to tell what he had learned from his master Callisthenes, and Hermolaiis said: "I take advantage of your favour and tell you what I have learned from ^[4] our own calamities. How small a part of the Macedonians survive your cruelty; how few too of the noblest blood? Attalus and Philotas and Parmenion and Lyncestes Alexander and Clitus, so far as our enemies are concerned still live, they stand firm in battle and protect you with their bucklers, and for your glory, for your victory they suffer wounds.

^[5] These you have magnificently requited; one stained your table with his blood, another died not even a simple death. The leaders of your armies, stretched upon the rack, furnished entertainment to the Persians, whom they had conquered. Parmenion was butchered without a trial, the man through whom you ^[6] had slain Attalus. For in turn you use the hands of the wretched to inflict death, and those who shortly before served as the tools of your murders you suddenly order to be butchered by others."

^[7] Thereupon all cried out at Hermolaiis, his father had drawn his sword against him and beyond doubt would have slain him if he had not been

prevented by the king; for indeed he ordered Hermolaüs to continue, and asked that they should hear with patience one who was adding to the reasons for his punishment.

[8] Therefore, when they had been with difficulty restrained, Hermolaiis went on: "How generously," said he, "do you permit boys inexperienced in speaking to plead! But the voice of Callisthenes is shut up [9] in a dungeon, because he alone is able to speak. For why is not he brought before you, when even those who have confessed are heard? No doubt because you fear to hear the free words of an innocent man, [10] and cannot even endure his look. And yet I insist that he is guilty of nothing. They are here who with me planned a glorious deed; there is none who says that Callisthenes was implicated with us, although he has been marked out for death by the most just Hand long-suffering of kings. These, then, are the rewards of the Macedonians, whose blood you use up as if it were superabundant and mean. But for you 30,000 mules carry captured gold, while your soldiers will bring home nothing save scars got without reward.

"Yet we could have endured all these things until you delivered us to the barbarians and by a novel fashion made the victors pass under the yoke. It is the Persians' garb and habits that delight you; you have come to loathe the customs of your native land. Therefore it was the king of the Persians, not of the Macedonians, that we wished to kill, and by the law [13] of war we justly pursue you as a deserter. You wished the Macedonians to bow the knee to you and to venerate you as a god, you reject Philip as a father, and if any of the gods were regarded as greater [14] than Jupiter, you would disdain even Jupiter. Do you wonder if we, who are free men, cannot endure your haughtiness? What do we hope for from you, since we must either die when innocent, or, what is more [15] dismal than death, must live in slavery? — You truly, if you can have a change of heart, owe much to me. For from me you have begun to know what honourable men cannot endure. For the rest, do not load with punishment the bereaved old age of our near of kin. Order us to be led to execution, so that we may accomplish by our death what we had sought from yours." Thus spoke Hermolaus.

VIII. But the king replied: "My patience shows how false is what that wretch has said, taught by his master. For although he has pleaded guilty to the worst of crimes, I have not only heard him, but I have compelled you to hear him, knowing well that when I allowed this brigand to speak he would show the same madness by which he was driven to wish to kill me, [3] whom he ought to have honoured as a father. Lately when he conducted himself so insolently in the chase, I ordered him to be chastised according to the custom of our country, one which was practised by the most ancient of the kings of Macedonia. This both ought to be done, and pupils endure it from their teachers, wives from their husbands; we allow [4] even slaves to flog boys of his age. This is my cruelty towards him, for which he wished to avenge himself by an impious murder. For towards the rest, who permit me to follow

my natural disposition, how mild I am it is superfluous to say to those who are not unaware of it.

[5] “That Hermolaus does not approve the punishments of traitors, since he himself has deserved the same treatment, by Heaven! I am not at all surprised. For when he praises Philotas and Parmenion, [6] he is helping his own cause. As for Lyncestes Alexander, although he was convicted by two witnesses and by his own letter of having plotted against my life, I put off his punishment for three years, until you demanded that at last he should atone for his crime by the penalty which he had deserved.

[7] Attalus, before I became king you remember to have been an enemy to my life. As for Clitus, would that he had not forced me to be angry with him! I endured his rash tongue, as he abused you and me, longer than he would have put up with me if I had [8] said the same things. The clemency of kings and leaders depends not only upon their own dispositions, but also upon those of their subjects. Commands are made mild by obedience, but when men’s minds have lost reverence and no distinction is observed between the highest and the lowest, force is needed to resist [9] force. But why should I wonder that that fellow has charged me with cruelty when he has dared to reproach me with avarice? I am unwilling to call you up one by one, for fear of making my generosity odious to me, if I make it offensive to your modesty. Just look at our whole army; those who before had nothing except their arms now sleep on silver couches, load their tables with gold, possess troupes of slaves, and cannot carry the weight of the spoils taken from the enemy!

[10] “But, he says, the Persians, whom we have conquered, are in high honour with me! In my opinion at least, the surest indication of my moderation is that I do not rule even the vanquished tyrannically. For I came into Asia, not in order to overthrow nations and make a desert of a half part of the world, but in order that those whom I had subdued in war [11] might not regret my victory. Therefore those are serving in the army with you and are shedding blood in defence of your empire, who, if they had been treated tyrannically would have rebelled. That possession is not lasting of which we are made owners by the sword; the gratitude for acts of [12] kindness is everlasting. If we wish to hold Asia, not merely to pass through it, our clemency must be shared with its people; their faith in us will make a stable and lasting empire. And it is certainly true that we have more than we can carry. But it is the way of insatiable avarice to wish to fill still fuller a [13] vessel which is already overflowing. Yet I am accused of transferring the customs of the vanquished to the Macedonians! True, for I see in many nations things which we should not blush to imitate; and so great an empire cannot fitly be ruled without contributing some things to the vanquished and learning from them.

“That was almost enough to make one laugh, when Hermolaus demanded of me that I should oppose Jupiter by whose oracle I am recognized as his son. Have I control even of the responses of the gods? He offered me the title of

son; to accept it was not unfavourable to the very plans in which we are engaged. Would that the people of India may believe me to be a god. For wars depend upon reputation, and often even what has been falsely ^[16] believed has gained the place of truth. Do you think it was to gratify my luxury that I adorned your arms with gold and silver? I wished to show to those who are accustomed to nothing cheaper than those metals that the Macedonians, who are invincible in other things, cannot be outdone even in gold.

^[17] Therefore I will first of all captivate the eyes of those who despise everything that is usual and humble and will show them that we are coming, not because we are desirous of gold and silver, but to subdue the whole world. It is this glory, parricide that you are, that you wished to interrupt and to deliver the Macedonians to the conquered nations by killing their king! ^[18]

“But now you urge me to spare your relatives! You all certainly ought not to have known what I had resolved to do about them, in order that you might die with greater grief, if you have any memory and regard for your near of kin; but I long ago abandoned that custom to which you refer, of killing the innocent kinsmen and relatives along with the guilty parties, and I guarantee that they will all hold the same rank that they had before. Now as ^[19] to your Callisthenes, to whom alone you seem to be a man because you are an assassin, I know why you wish him to be given audience; it is that in the presence of this company those reproaches which you have sometimes hurled at me and sometimes heard may be repeated from his lips. If he were a Macedonian, I should have presented him along with you, a master most worthy of such a pupil; as it is, being an Olynthian, he has not the same privilege.” ^[20] After these words he dismissed the assembly, and ordered those who had been condemned to be handed over to the men who belonged to the same cohort. They put them to death with torments, in order by ^[21] cruelty to show their loyalty to the king. Callisthenes also expired in torture, although he was guiltless of forming any design against the king’s life; but he was by no means suited to a court and to the character ^[22] of flatterers. Therefore there was no one whose death roused greater hatred of the king among the Greeks, because he had not only put to death a man endowed with noble character and accomplishments, one who had called him back to life when he had resolved to die after the death of Clitus, but had ^[23] even tortured him, and that without a trial. This act of cruelty, when it was too late, was followed by repentance.

IX. But in order not to foster idleness, which naturally sows gossip, he set out for India, being always more illustrious in war than after a victory.

^[2] Almost all India looks towards the east, being less ^[3] extensive in width than in a straight line. The parts which receive the south wind rise to a higher level of ground; the rest of the country is flat and allows a quiet course through plains to many famous ^[4] rivers rising in Mount Caucasus. The Indus is colder than the rest; it carries waters which do not ^[5] differ much from the sea in colour. The Ganges, greatest of all the rivers of the Orient, flows

towards the south and in a straight channel grazes the great ^[6] mountain ranges. Then rocks in its course deflect it towards the east. Both rivers flow into the Red Sea. The Indus carries away its banks along with many ^[7] trees and a great part of the soil, and is also checked by rocks, from which it often rebounds; where it finds a softer soil it is quiet, and forms islands. The ^[8] Acesines increases it. The Ganges intercepts the Iomanes in its downward course, and the two unite with a great commotion of their waters; for the Ganges opposes a rough mouth to the inflowing river and the waters which are hurled back do not yield.

^[9] The Diardines is less frequently heard of, because it runs through the remotest part of India, but it breeds not only crocodiles, as does the Nile, but also dolphins ^[10] and sea beasts unknown to other nations. The Ethymantus, curved from time to time into many windings, is made use of by the neighbouring peoples for irrigating their fields; that is why it sends out scanty remains of its waters, now without a name, ^[11] into the sea. The whole region is cut up by many rivers besides these, but they are unknown to fame, because they flow through regions unapproached as yet by us.

But the parts which are nearer the sea are greatly parched by the north wind; this is checked by the mountain ranges and does not penetrate into the interior, which in consequence is mild for bearing ^[13] fruits. But in that quarter the earth so varies the established order of the seasons that when other places are burning with the heat of the sun, snows bury India, and on the other hand, when other places are stiff with frost, intolerable heat prevails there. Nor is there any reason why Nature should have changed her ^[14] course. Certainly the sea by which India is washed does not differ even in colour from other seas. Its name was given it from King Erythrus; for which reason the ignorant believe that its waters are red.

^[15] The land is rich in flax; most of the inhabitants have their garments made of it. The bark of the trees is tender and can receive writing just as papyrus ^[16] does. There are birds which can be taught to imitate the sound of the human voice. The animals are unknown to other nations, except such as are imported from that country. The same land produces rhinoceroses, which are unknown to other peoples. The strength of its elephants is greater than those which men tame in Africa, and their size corresponds ^[18] to their strength. The rivers which flow sluggishly ^[19] in a mild and moderate course carry gold. The sea casts upon its shores gems and pearls; and they have no greater source of wealth, especially since they have made their vices common among foreign nations.

Indeed this refuse of the surging sea is valued at the price which desire sets upon it."

There as, everywhere, so also with them, the situation country affects the character of the men. They veil their bodies in linen robes as far as the feet, clothe their feet in sandals, bind their heads in linen, and precious stones hang from their ears; those who eminent among the people for high birth or are

adorn their wrists also and arms with gold. They comb their hair more frequently than they shear it; the chin is always unshorn, the rest of the skin of the face they shave close, so that it appears smooth. Nevertheless the luxury of their kings, which they themselves call magnificence surpasses the vices of all other nations. When the king allows himself to be seen in public, his attendants carry before him silver pans of incense, and fill with perfumes the whole road over which he has decided to be ^[24] borne. He reclines in a golden litter adorned with pearls hanging on every side; the linen robe which he wears is embroidered with gold and purple, his litter is followed by armed men and by his body-guard, ^[25] among whom on branches of trees birds perch, which they have trained by song to divert him from ^[26] serious affairs. His palace has gilded columns; over all of these runs a vine carved in gold, and silver figures of birds, in the sight of which they take the greatest pleasure, adorn the structure.

^[27] The palace is open to all comers, when the king is having his hair combed and adorned; it is then that he gives replies to deputations, then that he administers justice to his countrymen. When his sandals are taken off, his feet are bathed in perfumes.

^[28] His favourite exercise is the chase, which consists in shooting with arrows animals shut up in a preserve amid the prayers and songs of his concubines. The arrows are two cubits in length, and they discharge them with more effort than effect; for a weapon whose whole power depends upon lightness is burdened by its unsuitable weight. Shorter journeys he makes on horseback; when he undertakes a longer expedition, he rides in a chariot drawn by elephants, and the entire bodies of such huge brutes are covered with gold. Also, that nothing may be lacking in his abandoned habits, a long line of concubines follows in golden litters; this train is separated from that of the queen, but equals it in luxury.

^[30] Women prepare his food. They also serve his wine, the use of which is lavish with all the Indian peoples. When the king is overcome by wine and drowsiness, concubines take him to his chamber, invoking the gods of the night in a song, after the custom of the country.

^[31] Who would believe that amid such vices there would be regard for philosophy? There is one rude ^[32] and hideous class which they call sages. These consider it glorious to anticipate the day of fate and those whose life is feeble or whose health is impaired give orders to be burned alive; to wait for death they regard as a disgrace to life, and no honour is paid to the bodies of those who die of old age; they believe that the fire is sullied unless it receives ^[33] them while still breathing. Those who pass their lives in public services in the city are said skilfully to study the courses of the stars and to predict future events. And they believe that no one hastens the day of death who can wait for it unterrified. They ^[34] regard as gods whatever they have begun to care for, especially trees, the violation of which is a capital offence. They have divided the months into periods ^[35] of fifteen days, but the full duration of the year is

observed. They reckon time by the course of the moon, not, as most do, when it has filled its orb, but when it has begun to curve into horns, and therefore they have shorter months, because they reckon their duration according to that phase of the moon. Also many other things are related, for which it did not seem to be worth while to delay the course of our history.

X So, then, when Alexander had entered the bounds of India, the petty kings of the neighbouring races met him intending to submit to him, saying that he was the third son of Jupiter who had arrived in their land; that Father Liber and Hercules were known to them only by repute, but that Alexander [2] was present among them and was seen. The king received them courteously and bade them follow him, intending to use them as guides for his routes. But when no one else presented himself, he sent on Hephaestion and Perdiccas' with a part of his forces to subdue those who rejected his rule, and ordered them to proceed to the Indus River and make boats by which his army could be transported to places farther on. Those men, because several other rivers had to be crossed, joined ships together, but in such a way that they could be taken apart and carried on wagons and again joined together. He himself after having directed Craterus to follow with the phalanx led out the cavalry and the light-armed troops, and in a slight battle drove those who opposed him into the nearest city. And now Craterus had arrived; and so, in order in the beginning to strike with terror a nation which had not yet experienced the arms of the Macedonians, the king ordered him to spare no one, having set fire to the [6] fortifications of the city which he was besieging. But while Alexander was riding up to the walls he was struck by an arrow. Nevertheless he took the town, and having butchered all its inhabitants, even vented his anger on its buildings.

[7] Next, after subduing this unknown people, he came to the city of Nysa. It chanced that when he had pitched a camp before the very walls in a wooded place, a coldness severer than they had experienced at any other time chilled their bodies, and fire offered [8] a convenient remedy. Therefore they cut down trees and raised a flame, which, fed by logs, caught the sepulchres of the inhabitants. These had been built of old cedar, and widely spread the fire which had been started, until all were levelled with the [9] ground. And from the city first the barking of dogs, then the noise of men was heard. Then the townspeople knew that the enemy had come, and the Macedonians themselves, that they had reached the [10] city. And already the king had led out his troops and was laying siege to the place, when those of the enemy who had attempted a sortie were over-whelmed by weapons. In consequence some favoured surrender, others the trial of battle.

When their hesitation became known, Alexander directed that they should merely be beleaguered and not killed, and at last, exhausted by the hardships of a siege, they gave themselves up. They said that they had been founded by Father Liber; and this [12] was in fact their origin. The city is situated at the foot of a mountain which the natives call Meros; from this the Greeks took the

liberty of inventing the fable that Father Liber had been hidden in the ^[13] thigh of Jupiter. Alexander, having learned from the natives the situation of the mountain, had supplies sent in advance, and ascended to its summit with his whole army. Ivy and vines in abundance grow all over the height, and many perennial springs ^[14] gush forth. There are also fruits of a varied and wholesome flavour, since the earth without cultivation produces crops from the seeds that chance to fall there. Laurel, box, and myrtle form a natural grove ^[15] on those rocks. Carried away, as I for my part believe, not by divine inspiration but by a spirit of playfulness, they plucked the foliage of the ivy and the vines everywhere, and wreathed with garlands made from the leaves, wandered here and there through the whole grove like so many bacchantes.

^[16] Hence the mountain heights and valleys rang with the shouts of so many thousands, as they invoked the god who presided over that grove, since as soon as this wantonness was begun by a few, as commonly happens it quickly spread to the whole company.

^[17] In fact, as if they were in full enjoyment of peace, they threw themselves on the grass and the leaves that they had heaped together. And the king, not averse to this opportunity for revelry, furnished in abundance everything needed for feasting, and for ten days kept the army engaged in the service of Bacchus. Who would deny that distinguished glory also is more often the gift of Fortune than of merit? For the enemy did not venture to attack them even while they were feasting or in a drunken sleep, being as greatly terrified by the noise of their rioting and howling as if they had heard the shouts of men going to battle. The same good fortune on their return from the Ocean protected them in their drunken revelry before the faces of their enemies.

^[19] From here they came to the region which is called Daedala. The inhabitants had deserted their homes and had fled to the inaccessible and forest-covered mountains. Accordingly the king passed by Aeadira, which was equally abandoned and deserted by the ^[20] flight of its inhabitants. And so necessity changed his plan for war. For dividing his forces, he showed his arms in many places at the same time, and when the natives had been crushed where they had not looked for the enemy, they were thoroughly subdued ^[21] through general bloodshed. Ptolemy took the most cities, Alexander the greatest; then the king united again the forces which he had distributed.

^[22] Next, having passed over the Choaspes River, he left Coenus engaged in the siege of a rich city — the inhabitants call it Beira — and he himself came to the country of the Mazagae Assacenus, whose realm it had been, had lately died, and his mother ^[23] Cleophis ruled the city and the region. The city was garrisoned by 38,000 infantry and was fortified, not only by its situation, but also by art. For where it looks towards the east it is girt by a very rapid river, which, having precipitous banks on both sides, makes ^[24] approach to the city difficult. Towards the west and the south Nature, as if by design, has thrown up towering crags, below which lie caverns and abysses which have

been deeply hollowed by long lapse of time, and where they come to an end ditches have been 26 interposed with enormous labour. The city is surrounded by a wall of thirty-five stadia, the lower part of which is constructed of stone, the upper part of sun-dried brick. The brick work is so bound together by stones which they have interposed and at the same time by earth soaked in water, that the weaker part ^[26] rests on a stronger material. Nevertheless, in order that the whole structure might not settle, strong beams were placed upon it, on which galleries were raised, which both protected the walls and at the same time afforded a passage through them.

^[27] As Alexander was reconnoitring these fortifications and was uncertain what to do, since he could not fill up the caverns except by a mound, nor move up his siege-engines to the walls in any other way, someone from the wall shot at him with an arrow, and, as it happened, the weapon struck him in the ^[28] calf of his leg. When the barb had been pulled out he ordered a horse to be brought and riding upon it, without even binding up the wound, he continued no less vigorously to carry on what he had undertaken.

^[29] But since the wounded leg hung down, and when the blood dried the stiffening of the wound aggravated the pain, he is reported to have said that he was indeed called the son of Jupiter, but that he felt the effects of an ailing body. Yet he did not return to camp until he had carefully examined everything and had ordered what he wished to be done. Accordingly, just as had been commanded, some were demolishing the houses outside the city and were bringing a great amount of timber for making the mound; others were throwing trunks of great trees, with their branches, and masses of stone into the 3] caverns. And already the mound had risen to the level of the surface of the ground; therefore they erected towers, and such was the ardour of the soldiers that these tasks were finished within the ninth day.

To inspect these works the king went out before a scab had covered his wound, and after praising the soldiers he ordered them to push forward the siege-engines, from which a mighty mass of weapons was ^[32] poured upon the defenders. The movable towers especially terrified men who were unacquainted with; such devices, and they believed that such massive structures, aided by no visible power, were moved by the will of the gods; the mural pikes also, and the heavy spears hurled by the engines, they said ^[33] were not compatible with mortal power. Therefore, despairing of defending the city, they withdrew to the citadel. From there, because nothing but surrender was open to the besieged, envoys came down ^[34] to the king to ask for pardon. When this was granted, the queen came with a great train of noble ladies, making libations of wine from golden cups.

^[35] She herself, placing her little son at the king's knees, obtained, not only pardon, but also the splendour of her former fortune; indeed, she was addressed as queen. And some believed that this was granted rather to her beauty than because of compassion; ^[36] also it is certain that a son who was born to her, whoever his father was, was called Alexander.

XI. Then Polypercon, who had been sent to the city of Hora with an army, defeated the townsmen in a battle when they made a disorderly sortie; having driven them within their fortifications, he followed ^[2] and reduced the city to subjection. Many obscure towns, which had been deserted by their inhabitants, came into the power of the king. The inhabitants of these armed themselves and occupied a crag called Aornus. That this had been beset by Hercules without success and that he had been compelled by an earthquake to abandon the attempt was a widespread ^[3] report. When Alexander was at a loss, because the rock was steep and abrupt on all sides, an old man who was acquainted with the neighbourhood came to him with two sons, promising that if it were made ^[4] worth his while he would show him a way up. Alexander agreed that he would give him eighty talents and having retained one of the young men as a hostage, sent the father to carry out what he had offered ^[5] to do. Myllinas, the king's secretary, was made the leader of a light-armed troop. For Alexander wished these to go to the summit by a circuitous route, in order to escape the notice of the enemy.

^[6] The rock did not, like many others, rise by moderate and gentle slopes to a lofty summit, but elevated itself very much in the manner of a turning-block, of which the lower parts are wider, but become narrower as they rise higher and force the highest parts into ^[7] a sharp point. The Indus River comes close up to its base, and is very deep with steep banks on both sides; on the other side there are deep abysses and chasms. There was no other way open for storming the place ^[8] except by filling these. There was a forest at hand; this the king ordered to be cut in such a way that the tree-trunks should be thrown in stripped bare; for the branches covered with leaves would have hampered those who carried them. Alexander himself trimmed and threw in the first tree, and the army's shouting which followed was an indication of their eagerness, since no one shirked the task in which the ^[9] king had taken the lead. In this way before the seventh day they had wholly filled the caverns, when the king ordered the archers and the Agriani to try to mount the heights. Also he chose thirty of the ^[10] most active men of his own cohort. As leaders he gave them Charus and Alexander, and the king exhorted the latter to remember the name which he had in common with himself. And at first, because the danger was so evident, the king himself decided ^[11] not to run the risk, but when the signal was given by the trumpet, that prince of ready daring, turning to his guards, ordered them to follow him, and was the first to climb upon the rock. Then not one of the Macedonians stayed behind, but leaving their posts ^[12] of their own accord, they followed the king. Many met a wretched death, for they slipped from the steep rock, and the river which flowed by swallowed them up, a sad sight even for those who were not at the moment in danger; but when by the death of others they were reminded what they themselves had to fear, compassion changing to dread, they lamented, not the dead, but themselves.

And now they had gone so far that except as victors, they could not return without destruction, since the barbarians were rolling down huge stones upon

them as they went up, and when struck by these while their footing was unsteady and slipping, ^[14] they fell back headlong. Nevertheless Alexander and Charus, whom the king had sent ahead with thirty selected men, had gained the height and were already fighting hand to hand; but since the barbarians showered javelins upon them from above, they themselves were wounded more often than they ^[15] inflicted wounds. Therefore Alexander," remembering his name and his promise, while fighting more fearlessly than cautiously, was struck from every side ^[16] and overwhelmed. When Charus saw him lying prostrate, unmindful of everything except revenge he began to rush upon the enemy and killed many with his lance, some with his sword; but when so many assailed one man, he fell lifeless upon the body ^[17] of his friend. The king, troubled as was natural by the death of these most valiant young men and of the ^[18] rest of his soldiers, gave the signal for retreat. They saved themselves by withdrawing gradually and unterrified, and the barbarians, content with having dislodged the enemy, did not follow them up as they ^[19] gave ground. But although Alexander had decided to abandon the attempt — for no hope was offered of getting possession of the rock — yet he made a show of persisting in the siege. For he ordered the roads to be beset, and the towers to be advanced, and others to take the place of the wearied.

^[20] When his persistence was known, the Indi feasted for two days and two nights with a display, not only of confidence, but even of victory, beating drums ^[21] according to their custom; but on the third night the noise of the drums had ceased to be heard, but from the whole rock torches gleamed, which the barbarians had lighted in order that their flight might be safer, since they would have to run over pathless rocks in the darkness of night. The king, having sent Balacrus to reconnoitre, learned that the rock was deserted and the Indi in flight. Then, when the signal had been given for all to raise a shout, he struck ^[23] fear into them as they fled in disorder; and many, as if the enemy were at hand, were killed by throwing themselves over the slippery stones and pathless crags, still more, disabled in some part of their limbs, ^[24] were deserted by those who escaped injury. The king, although victor rather over the locality than over the enemy, yet made the show of a great triumph by sacrifices and worship of the gods. Altars to ^[25] Minerva Victoria were set up on the rock. To the guides of the road by which he had ordered the lightarmed troops to go up, although they had accomplished less than they had promised, the reward was faithfully paid, and the government of the rock, and of the district adjoining it, was entrusted to Sisocostus.

XII. From there the king went on to Ecbolima, and when he had found that a narrow part of the road was blocked by a certain Erices with 20,000 armed men, he turned over the heavier part of the army to ^[2] Coenus to be led at a moderate pace, and he himself, going ahead, dislodged by slingers and archers those who had beset the narrows, and make a way for the ^[3] forces which were following him. The Indi, either through hatred of their leader, or with the object of entering the good graces of the victor, attacked Erices, who was in

flight, killed him, and bore his head and armour to Alexander. He granted impunity to the deed, but refused any honour to the example.

From here he came on the sixteenth day to the river Indus, and found, as he had directed, that everything had been prepared by Hephaestion for crossing it. In that region Omphis was king, who had induced his father also to surrender his kingdom ^[5] to Alexander and after the death of his parent had sent envoys to ask Alexander whether he wished him to reign in the interim, or as a private citizen to await ^[6] his coming. But although he was allowed to be king, he nevertheless did not have the courage to use the privilege which was granted him. He indeed had received Hephaestion courteously, had measured out grain free of charge to his troops, yet had not met him, fearing to test the good faith of anyone except ^[7] the king. And so, when Alexander was coming near, he went out to meet him with his army equipped for action, in which he had also at moderate intervals between the companies of soldiers placed elephants, which at a distance gave the appearance of castles.

^[8] And Alexander at first thought that not an ally but an enemy was coming, and he also had already ordered his soldiers to take arms and the cavalry to withdraw to the wings, and was prepared for battle.

But the Indian, perceiving the mistake of the Macedonians, ordered the rest of his force to halt and himself put spurs to the horse which he was riding; Alexander did the same, whether he came as an enemy or a friend feeling safe either through his own ^[9] valour or the prince's good faith. They met, as could be judged from the expression of each, in a spirit of friendship. However, they could not talk together without an interpreter; accordingly, when one had been furnished, the barbarian said that he had met Alexander with his army, intending at once to deliver to him all the forces of his empire, and had not waited for a pledge of safety to be given through ^[10] messengers. He said that he entrusted his person and his realm to a prince whom he knew to be fighting for glory and to fear nothing more than a reputation for treachery. Pleased by the sincerity of the barbarian, the king gave him his hand as a pledge of ^[11] good faith, and restored his kingdom to him. There were fifty-six elephants, which he presented to Alexander, besides many head of sheep of extraordinary size and about 3000 bulls, a herd highly valued in that region and pleasing to the minds of rulers.

^[12] When Alexander inquired whether he had more field-labourers or soldiers, Omphis replied that since he was at war with two kings, he needed a greater ^[13] force of soldiers than of farmers. These kings were Abisares and Porus, but Porus was the more powerful. Both reigned beyond the river Hydaspes, and they had decided to try the fortune of war against ^[14] anyone who attacked them. Omphis with the permission of Alexander assumed the royal diadem, and according to the usage of his race took the name which his father had had; the people called him Taxiles, a name which went with the sovereignty ^[15] of whoever succeeded to it. Having then entertained Alexander as his guest for three days, on the fourth day he both made known how much

grain he had furnished to the forces which Hephaestion had brought, and gave golden crowns to Alexander and to all his friends, and besides these eighty talents of coined silver as a gift. Alexander, wonderfully ^[16] pleased by his generosity, both returned what he had given and added 1000 talents from the booty which he was carrying, besides many gold and silver vessels for use at table, a quantity of Persian robes, and thirty of his own horses with the same trappings to which they were accustomed when he himself rode them.

^[17] This liberality, although it put the barbarian under an obligation, yet seriously offended the king's friends. One of them, Meleager, having indulged too freely in wine, said at table that he congratulated Alexander that at least in India he had found a man ^[18] deserving of 1000 talents. The king, not forgetting how deeply he had regretted having killed Clitus because of his rash language, restrained his anger, but said that jealous men were nothing less than self-tormentors.

XIII. On the following day envoys of Abisares came to the king. They, according to their orders, surrendered everything into his power; and having given and received a pledge of good faith, they were ^[2] sent back to their king. Thinking that Porus also could be forced to surrender by the fame of his name, Alexander sent Cleochares to him to demand that he should pay tribute and meet Alexander at the frontier of his territories. Porus replied that he would comply with the second of these demands, that he would be on hand when Alexander entered his realm, but it ^[3] would be in arms. Alexander had already decided to cross the Hydaspes River, when Barzaentes, the instigator of the revolt of the Arachosii, was brought to him in fetters, as well as thirty elephants which had been captured at the same time with him, a timely aid against the Indi; for they had more hope and strength in those beasts than in their army. Damaraxus also, the king of a small district of India, who had allied himself with Barzaentes, was brought to Alexander in fetters. Accordingly, when the ^[5] deserter and the prince had been put under guard and the elephants given to Taxiles, Alexander came to the river Hydaspes, on whose farther bank Porus had taken position, intending to prevent the enemy ^[6] from crossing. Porus had put in front eighty-five elephants of extraordinary strength of body, and behind these 300 chariots and about 30,000 foot-soldiers, among whom were archers with heavier arrows, as was said before, than they could shoot to advantage.

^[7] Porus himself was mounted upon an elephant towering above the rest of the brutes, and armour decorated with gold and silver adorned a body of unusual stature. His courage was equal to his strength of body, and his wisdom was as great as ^[8] could be found among uncultivated folk. Not merely the appearance of the enemy, but also the size of the river that must be crossed terrified the Macedonians. Extending to a width of four stadia, with a deep channel which nowhere disclosed a ford, it gave ^[9] the impression of a vast sea. And it did not check its swift course in proportion to the extent of its widely spread waters, but as if confined by its banks to a narrow channel, it

rushed on in a foaming torrent, and rebounding billows revealed hidden ^[10] rocks in many places. Still more formidable was the appearance of the bank, which had been filled with horses and men. There stood huge masses of vast bodies, and when they were purposely irritated they wearied the ears with their hideous trumpeting. On one hand the river, on the other the enemy had nevertheless struck unlooked-for terror into breasts which were indeed capable of good hope and had surely often seen such hope realized. For they thought that the unsteady boats could not be steered to the bank nor landed there in safety. ^[12] There were in midstream numerous islands, to which both the Indi and the Macedonians crossed by swimming, raising their weapons over their heads. There light skirmishing took place, and both kings by the decision of these small contests were testing ^[13] the outcome of the main struggle. Now there were in the army of the Macedonians Hegesimachus and Nicanor, high-born youths conspicuous for rashness and daring, aroused by the constant good fortune of ^[14] their side to despise all dangers; under their lead the most active of the young men, armed only with lances, swam across to an island which a crowd of the enemy held and, armed with nothing better than ^[15] daring, slew many of the Indi. They might have come off with glory if successful rashness were ever capable of moderation; but while they were awaiting contemptuously and even haughtily those who were coming against them, they were surrounded by those who had secretly swum out and were overwhelmed ^[16] by weapons hurled at long range. Those who had escaped the enemy were swept away by the force of the river or swallowed up in the whirlpools. And this battle greatly increased the confidence of Porus, who saw the whole event from the bank.

^[17] Alexander, uncertain what to do, finally devised the following stratagem to deceive the enemy. There was an island in the river larger than the rest, wooded also and suitable for concealing an ambushade, moreover in a very deep ditch not far from the bank which he himself held he could conceal not only foot-soldiers but even men and their horses; therefore, in order to distract the enemy's attention ^[18] from guarding against this advantageous place, he ordered Ptolemy "with all his cavalry to ride to a point far from that island, and from time to time to alarm the Indi by shouts, as if they were going to ^[19] swim across the river. For many days Ptolemy did this, and by this device compelled Porus also to turn his army to that part at which he pretended to be aiming. Already the island was out of the enemy's ^[20] sight. Alexander ordered his tent to be pitched on a different part of the bank, and the cohort which usually attended him to stand before that tent and all the equipment of royal magnificence to be purposely ^[21] displayed before the eyes of the foe. Attalus also, of the same age as himself and not unlike him in face and figure, especially when he was seen from a distance, he adorned with the royal robe, in order to give the impression that the king himself was encamped on that part of the bank and was not thinking of crossing.

^[22] The carrying out of this plan was first delayed then furthered by a

storm, since Fortune turned even ^[23] obstacles to good results. He was preparing to cross the river with the rest of his forces to the shore near the island of which mention was made before, having diverted the attention of the enemy against those who, with Ptolemy, had occupied a part of the bank farther down the river, when a tempest poured out rain which was scarcely to be endured by people ^[24] under cover. And the soldiers, overwhelmed by the storm, fled back to the land, deserting the boats and the rafts, but the uproar made by the bustling men was drowned by the noisy gusts of wind and could not be heard by the enemy. Then in a moment the rain ceased, but such thick clouds overspread the sky that they hid the light, and men who were talking together ^[25] could scarcely recognize each other's faces. The night that darkened the sky would have terrified anyone else, since it was necessary to sail upon an unknown river, when perhaps the enemy were holding that very bank at which they were blindly and recklessly ^[26] aiming. But the king, inviting glory by courting danger, and thinking that the obscurity which terrified the rest was his opportunity, having given the signal for all silently to embark in the boats, ordered the one in which he himself was carried to be ^[27] pushed off first. The bank at which they aimed was deserted by the enemy; for Porus was still watching Ptolemy only. Therefore only one boat, which a wave had dashed upon a rock, was stranded; the rest reached their goal, and Alexander ordered his soldiers to arm themselves and take their places in the ranks.

XIV. And now the army had formed its wings and the king himself was leading it, when it was announced to Porus that the bank was held by armed men and that a dangerous moment was at hand. And at first, by that defect of the human mind which indulges wishful thinking, he believed that Abisares, his ally in the war, was coming, for so it ^[2] had been agreed. But presently, as the light grew clearer and revealed the enemy's battle line, Porus sent 100 four-horse chariots and 4000 horsemen to oppose the advancing column. The leader of the troops which he sent was Spitaces, his brother, and the greater part of his strength was in his chariots; ^[3] each of these carried six men, two with bucklers, two archers stationed on each side, the rest were the drivers, who were by no means unarmed; for when it was necessary to fight hand to hand, they dropped the reins and poured a shower of javelins upon the enemy.

^[4] However, on that day this aid was of hardly any use; for, as was said above, the rain which had fallen with greater violence than usual had made the plains slippery and unfit for riding, and the heavy and almost immovable chariots stuck fast in the muck and ^[5] mudholes. On the other hand, Alexander with his unencumbered and light-armed force charged them vigorously. The Scythians and the Dahae first of all attacked the Indi; then Alexander sent Perdicas with the cavalry against the right wing of the enemy.

^[6] And already the battle had begun everywhere, when those who drove the chariots, thinking it the last possible aid for their side, began to rush with loose ^[7] rein into the midst of the contest. This was a common evil for both

sides. For the foot-soldiers of the Macedonians were trampled at the first attack, and the chariots sent over the slippery and impassable ground [8] shook off those who guided them. The frightened horses of others dragged the chariots not only into [9] the mudholes and pools, but even into the river, a few, driven by the enemy's weapons, made their way to Porus, who was vigorously urging on the fight. He, when he saw the chariots wandering all over the field without drivers, distributed the elephants to [10] those of his friends who were nearest to him. Behind these he had stationed the infantry and the archers, as well as those who were accustomed to beat the drums; this with the Indi took the place of the sound of trumpets, and the elephants were not terrified by the noise, since their ears had been long since trained [11] to the familiar sound. A statue of Hercules was carried at the head of the infantry force; this was a very great incentive to the combatants, and to have abandoned those who were carrying it was held [12] to be a military disgrace. They even decreed the penalty of death to those who should not bring it back from the field of battle, since the fear which they had once felt of that enemy had been changed even to adoration and veneration. The Macedonians were checked for a time, by the sight not only of the elephants but of the king himself.

[13] The beasts, stationed between lines of armed men, at a distance looked like towers, while Porus himself had almost exceeded the measure of human stature; the beast on which he rode seemed to add to his height, since it rose as much higher than the other elephants as he did above the rest of his men.

[14] Accordingly Alexander, contemplating both the king and the army of the Indi, said: "At last I behold a danger worthy of my spirit; I am dealing at the same time with beasts and with remarkable [15] men." Then, looking at Coenus, he said: "When I, attended by Ptolemy, Perdikkas, and Hephaestion, have made a charge against the left wing of the enemy and you see me in the thick of the brunt of battle, do you move to the right wing and attack the enemy while they are in disorder. You, Antigenes, and you, Leonnatus, and Tauron, will at the same time advance against the centre and attack their front.

[16] Our spears, which are very long and strong, will never serve us better than against these beasts and their drivers; bring down those who are mounted on them and stab the brutes. It is a doubtful kind of strength, and rages more violently against its own men; for it is driven against the enemy by command, against its own men by fear."

[17] Having said this, he was the first to put spurs to his horse. And already, as had been planned, he had plunged into the ranks of the enemy, when Coenus [18] with mighty force charged the left wing. The phalanx too at the first onset burst through the middle of the line of the Indi. But Porus, where he saw that the cavalry were charging, ordered the elephants to be advanced, but that animal, being slow and well-nigh immovable, could not equal the [19] speed of the horses. The barbarians too could make no use of their arrows. For since these were long and very heavy, they could not safely and conveniently fit them to the bow unless they first rested its end upon the earth, and as the

ground was slippery and therefore interfered with attempting this, by the time they were ready to take aim they were overtaken [20] by the speed of the enemy. Therefore, disregarding the king's order — which generally happens when it is fear rather than a leader that begins to issue the sharper commands to men who are in great confusion — there were as many commanders as there were [21] scattered bands; one was giving orders to unite the line of battle, another to divide it, some to stand fast, and others to envelop the enemy from behind; [22] there was no general plan of action. Porus, however, with a few over whom shame had more power than fear, proceeded to collect his scattered forces and to advance against the foe, giving orders that the elephants be put in front of his line of troops.

[23] The brutes caused great terror, and their trumpeting not only threw into confusion the horses, animals so fearful of everything, but also the men and the ranks.

[24] And already those who shortly before were victors were looking about for an opportunity for flight, when Alexander sent against the elephants the light-armed Agriani and the other Thracians, troops [26] better in a rapid attack than in close combat. These cast a great shower of weapons both upon the elephants and upon those who were guiding them. The phalanx also began steadily to attack the terrified [26] animals. But some, who pursued the elephants too eagerly, so irritated them by wounds that they turned upon them. Hence, being trampled under foot, they served to the rest as a lesson to attack [27] with greater caution. It was a particularly awful spectacle when with their trunks they seized men and their weapons and passed them over their heads to [28] the drivers. As a result, the shifting battle, as they now pursued and now fled from the elephants, prolonged the undecided contest until late in the day, when with axes — for that kind of help had been prepared beforehand — they began to cut off their feet.

[29] With slightly curved swords, like sickles, which they called *copides*, they attacked the brutes' trunks. And their fear left nothing untried, not only in dealing death, but also in new ways of making death itself painful.

[30] Therefore the elephants, at last worn out by wounds, rushed upon and overthrew their own men, and those who had guided them were hurled to the ground and trampled to death by them. And now like cattle, more frightened than dangerous, they [31] were being driven off the field of battle, when Porus, abandoned by very many of his followers, began from his own elephant to pour upon those who surrounded him many javelins which had been made ready in advance. And although he wounded many at long range, he himself was exposed to shots from every [32] side. He had already suffered nine wounds, now in his back, now in his breast, and had lost so much blood that his arms were weak and the weapons which he tried to throw rather fell from his hands [33] than were hurled with any force. His elephant too, roused to madness and not yet wounded, charged with no less vigour against the enemy's ranks, until the driver of the beast saw that the king had collapsed,

had dropped his weapons, and was hardly ^[34] conscious. Then he urged the monster to flight, pursued by Alexander; but the king's horse, which had been pierced by many shafts and was giving out, fell under him, rather dismounting him than throwing him off. And so, while he was changing his horse he ^[35] pursued more slowly. Meanwhile the brother of Taxiles, king of the Indi, being sent ahead by Alexander, began to advise Porus not to persist in resisting to the bitter end, but to surrender himself to the ^[36] victor. But he, although his strength was exhausted and he had lost much blood, nevertheless, aroused by the familiar voice, said: "I recognize the brother of Taxiles, the betrayer of his kingdom and his country," and hurled at him the only javelin which, as it happened, had not fallen from his hands; and it passed through the middle of his breast and came out at his back. After performing this last feat of ^[37] valour Porus began to flee with greater speed. But the elephant also, which had received many spear-wounds, began to give out; hence Porus checked his flight and opposed the infantry to the pursuing enemy-

Already Alexander had come up with him and, perceiving Porus' obstinacy, ordered that no quarter be given to those who resisted. Therefore weapons were hurled from every side both upon the foot-soldiers and upon Porus himself, by which he was at last overwhelmed and began to slide off his beast.

^[39] The Indian who was managing the animal," thinking that the king was dismounting in the usual manner, ordered the elephant to kneel; when he did so, the rest of the animals also — for so they had been trained let down their bodies to the ground. This action delivered Porus and the rest of his company to the ^[40] victors. The king, believing that Porus had been killed, ordered his body to be stripped of its armour, and men were running up to take off his cuirass and his robe, when the elephant began to protect his master, and to attack the spoilers, and lifting the king's body, to place it upon his back. Therefore the beast was overwhelmed with weapons from all sides, and when he had been killed Porus was placed in a chariot.

^[41] When the king saw him lifting his eyes, moved by pity, not by hatred, he said: "What the mischief was the madness which forced you, knowing the fame of my exploits, to try the fortune of war, when you had Taxiles, so near a neighbour, as an example of my ^[42] clemency to those who submit?" But Porus answered: "Since you ask me, I will reply with that frankness which you have granted me in asking your question. I thought that no one was stronger than I. For I knew my strength, but had not yet tried yours. The outcome of war has shown that you are the stronger. But not even so am I unhappy in being second to ^[43] you." Being further asked how he thought the victor ought to treat him, he replied: "As this day advises you, on which you have learned how ^[44] perishable good fortune is." Porus effected more by his admonition than if he had resorted to prayers; for the greatness of his spirit, unterrified and unbroken even by misfortune, Alexander saw fit to treat, not merely with compassion, but even with ^[45] honour. He had the wounded man

attended to as if he had fought for him. When, contrary to the expectation of all, he recovered, Alexander received him into the number of his friends, and presently gave him a kingdom greater than he had held before.

[46] And truly there was no stronger and more consistent characteristic of his nature than admiration for true merit and glory; yet he estimated fame more frankly in an enemy than in a fellow citizen. For he believed that by his own countrymen his greatness could be impaired, but that it would be the more illustrious the greater those had been whom he had conquered.

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BOOK IX

I. ALEXANDER, rejoicing in so memorable a victory, by which he believed that the bounds of the Orient were opened to him, sacrificed victims to the Sun; then, in order that his soldiers also might meet the rest of the war with readier minds, he called an assembly, and after praising them informed them that whatever strength the Indi had possessed had ^[2] been overthrown in the recent battle; that hereafter there would be nothing but rich booty, and that world-renowned riches were conspicuous in that region to which they were on their way. Furthermore, he said that the spoils taken from the Persians were now cheap and shabby, that his hearers would fill, not only their homes, but all Macedonia and Greece with gems and pearls and gold and ivory.

^[3] The soldiers, being eager both for wealth and for glory, and at the same time because no assertion of his had ever disappointed them, engaged their service; and when they had been dismissed full of good hope, he ordered ships to be built, in order that, when they had overrun all Asia, they might visit the ^[4] world's end, the sea. There was an abundance of timber for ships in the neighbouring mountains, and when they began to attack it they found snakes of unheard-of size. There were in those mountains rhinoceros also, an animal rare elsewhere. This, however, was the name given to the beasts by the Greeks; the Indi, being unacquainted with that tongue, use another word in their own language. The king, having founded two cities, one on each bank of the river which he had crossed, presented each of the leaders of his forces with a crown of gold and a thousand gold-pieces; and to the rest also, in proportion to the rank which they held in his friendship or to their services, honour was ^[7] paid. Abisares, who had sent envoys to Alexander before he fought with Porus, again sent others, promising that he would do everything that the king should order, provided only that he might not be compelled to surrender his person; for he would not live without royal power, nor reign as a captive. To him Alexander ordered it to be announced that if Abisares was reluctant to come to him, he himself would come to Abisares.

Then, after crossing a very rapid river, he advanced ^[9] into the interior of India. There were forests extending over an almost immeasurable space and given shade by trees towering to an enormous height.

^[10] Most of their branches, which were as huge as great trunks, being bent down to the earth, rose again from where they had curved, so that the appearance was, not of a branch rising again, but of a tree sprung ^[11] from its own roots. The temperature of the air is wholesome; for the shade tempers the force of the sun, and there is an abundant flow of water from springs. But here also there was a great quantity ^[12] of serpents, whose scales shone with the brilliance *f* told. No poison is more dangerous; for instant death followed their bite unless an antidote was finished by the natives. From there over deserts they came to the river Hyraotis. Close to the river was a shady grove,

abounding in trees not seen elsewhere and in a quantity of wild peafowl. Having moved his camp from there, Alexander took a nearby town by encirclement, and after receiving hostages imposed tribute upon it.

Next he came to a great city, for that region, protected not only by a wall but also by a marsh ^[15] But the barbarians sallied forth to battle with chariots joined together; some were armed with lances, others with axes, and they leaped rapidly from chariot to chariot, when they wished to aid their men who ^[16] were under difficulties. And at first the unusual kind of battle terrified the Macedonians, when they were wounded from a distance; then, scorning such a disorderly device, they surrounded the chariots on ^[17] both sides and began to kill those who resisted. And Alexander gave orders that the bonds by which the chariots were held together should be cut, in order that one by one they might be more easily surrounded. And so the enemy, after losing 8000 of ^[18] their number, fled back to the town. On the following day ladders were planted on all sides and the walls were carried by assault. A few were saved by their swiftness, and when these, knowing of the destruction of the city, swam across the marsh, they truck great terror into the neighbouring towns by declaring that an invincible army, surely made up of gods, had come.

Alexander sent Perdicas with a light-armed band, ^[19] to devastate that region, and delivered a part of the forces to Eumenes, in order that he also might force the barbarians to surrender; Alexander himself led the rest to a strong city, in which the natives also of ^[20] other cities had taken refuge. The besieged sent envoys to beg the king for mercy, but nevertheless prepared for war. For a disagreement had arisen, which had divided the common people into divers opinions; some thought anything preferable to surrender, others that they had no power in themselves.

^[21] But while they could not come to an agreement, those who were eager for surrender opened the gates and ^[22] let in the enemy. Alexander, although he might justly have been angry with those who advocated war, having nevertheless pardoned them all and received hostages, moved his camp from there to the ^[23] next city. The hostages were led at the head of the army; when the inhabitants recognized them from the walls, since they were of the same nation they summoned them to a conference. The hostages by telling them of the king's clemency and at the same time of his power drove them to surrender; and he subdued the rest of the cities in a similar manner and received them under his protection.

^[24] From there he came into the realm of Sopithes. That nation, as the barbarians believe, excels in wisdom and is governed in accordance with good ^[25] customs. The children that are born they acknowledge and rear, not according to the discretion of their parents, but of those to whom the charge of the physical examination of children has been committed. If these have noted any who are conspicuous for defects or are crippled in some part of their limbs, they give orders to put them to death.

^[26] They marry, not because of consideration of family or rank, but of

exceptional personal beauty, because ^[27] that is what is valued in the children. A town of this nation, against which Alexander had moved his forces, was held by Sopithes himself. The gates were shut, but no armed men showed themselves on the walls and in the towers, and the Macedonians were in doubt whether the inhabitants had deserted the city or had hidden themselves treacherously; ^[28] when suddenly a gate was opened and the Indian king with two grown-up sons presented himself, a man far surpassing all other barbarians in physical ^[29] attractiveness. His robe, which covered his legs as well as the rest of his body, was embroidered with gold and purple, he wore golden sandals studded with gems, his shoulders and arms were adorned ^[30] with pearls and from his ears hung pearls conspicuous for whiteness and size, his golden sceptre was ornamented with beryl. This he handed to Alexander with a prayer that he might receive it with good fortune and surrendered himself and his children along with his nation.

^[31] There are in that region dogs famous for hunting; they are said to abstain from barking when they have seen a wild beast, and they are especially enemies to ^[32] lions. In order to display their strength to Alexander, Sopithes ordered a lion of extraordinary size to be let into an enclosed space and only four dogs to be brought in. They quickly attacked the wild beast; then one of those who were accustomed to such services began to pull away the leg of a dog that with the others was clinging to the lion, and then, because the animal did not let go, to cut the leg off with a ^[33] knife. When even then the dog's persistency was not overcome, he began to cut another part, and when the dog held fast with equal strength, to make cuts at the dog's body as well; but the dog even in dying kept his teeth fixed in the lion's wound. Such is the eagerness for the chase which Nature is ^[34] reported to have implanted in those animals. As for myself, I report more things than I believe; for I cannot bring myself to vouch for that about which I am in doubt, nor to suppress what I have heard.

^[36] Alexander then, leaving Sopithes in his kingdom, advanced to the river Hypasis, joined by Hephaestion, who had subdued a different region. Phegeus was king of the next nation; he gave orders to his subjects to work in the fields as they had been accustomed and went on to meet Alexander, refusing nothing which he should order.

II. The king remained with Phegeus for two days. On the third day he had decided to pass over the river, which was difficult to pass, not only because of the extent of its waters, but also because it was ^[2] encumbered with rocks. Accordingly, having inquired of Phegeus what he needed to know, he learned that beyond the river there was a journey of twelve days through desert wastes and that then they came to ^[3] the Ganges, the greatest river of all India, and that on its farther bank dwelt the races called Gangaridae and Prasii; that their king was Aggrammes and that he was blocking the roads with 20,000 cavalry and 200,000 infantry. Besides this, he was leading 2000 chariots, and, a special cause of terror, elephants, of which Phegeus said that he had as many

as 3000.

[5] All this seemed incredible to Alexander; therefore he asked Porus — for he was with him — whether [6] what was said was true. Porus assured him that the strength of the nation and of the kingdom was not exaggerated, but that the ruler was not only of humble, but of the lowest condition; in fact, his father, a barber whose daily profit barely kept him from starving, because he was not bad looking had [7] been beloved by the queen. By her he had been advanced to intimate friendship with the king who then reigned, and having treacherously killed him, had usurped the throne under the pretext of guardianship of the king's children; then, having murdered the children, he had begotten the present king, who was hated and despised by his subjects and mindful [8] rather of his father's fortune than of his own. Porus declaration had filled the king's mind with varied anxiety. He scorned the enemy and his beasts, but dreaded the nature of the terrain and the violence of [9] the rivers; it seemed a hard task to follow up and dislodge those who had been relegated almost to the utmost limit of the human race, on the other hand, his eager thirst for glory and his insatiable longing for renown allowed nothing to seem inaccessible, [10] nothing remote. Also he doubted sometimes whether the Macedonians, after having traversed such an extent of country and grown old in battle and in camp, would follow him over opposing rivers and through so many difficulties put in their way by nature; he feared that sated and laden with booty they would prefer to enjoy what they had obtained rather than wear themselves out by acquiring more.

[11] He realized that his mind and that of his soldiers was not the same; he embraced in his thoughts the rule of the whole world and still stood at the beginning of his task, but the soldiers, exhausted by toil, now that the danger was finally at an end sought the fruit of their labour which was nearest at hand.

[12] Therefore ambition prevailed over reason, and having called the soldiers together, he addressed them in about these terms: "I know well, soldiers, that many things which may well alarm you have been spread abroad with that intent by the peoples [13] of India during recent days; but such artifices of falsifiers are not unknown to you. It is thus that the Persians described as terrible the passes of Cilicia, the plains of Mesopotamia, the Tigris and Euphrates, one of which we crossed by a ford, the [14] other by a bridge. Repute is never transmitted with certainty; all things that she reports are exaggerated. Even our glory, although it rests on a solid [15] foundation, is greater in name than in fact. But now, who could believe that beasts looking like walls, that the river Hydaspes, that other obstacles greater to hear of than in reality, could be surmounted? Long ago, by Heaven! we should have fled from Asia if mere tales could have vanquished us.

[16] "Do you believe that there are greater herds of elephants in India than of cattle anywhere else, although the elephant is a rare beast, is not easy to capture, and is tamed with still greater difficulty? [17] And yet it is with the

same untruthfulness that they ^[1] have numbered their forces of infantry and cavalry.

Indeed, the wider the extent of a river, the more quietly it flows; for when restrained by banks that are close together, and hence dashed into a narrower channel, they carry torrential waters, and on the contrary their course is more sluggish in a spacious ^[18] channel. Besides this, all the danger is at the bank, where the enemy awaits us as we are landing our boats. Hence, however great the river that intervenes, the danger will be the same when we disembark on the land. But let us imagine that all those things are true; does the great size of the beasts or the multitude of the enemy terrify us? So far as the elephants are concerned, we have a recent experience before our eyes; they rushed with greater fury against their own men than against us; their bodies, great as they are, were mutilated by axes and ^[20] sickles. But what difference does it make whether they are as many as Porus had, or that there are 3000, when you have seen that after one or two are ^[21] wounded the rest are turned to flight? Furthermore, they manage even a few elephants with difficulty and inconvenience; but, when so many thousands are gathered together, they trample one another — where such huge and unwieldy masses of bodies have been able neither to stand nor to flee. For my part, I so despised those animals that after I had them, I did not make use of them against the enemy, knowing well enough that they inflicted more damage on their own side than on the enemy.

^[22] “But, one may say, it is the multitude of infantry and cavalry which appals you! For you have been accustomed to fight against small forces and now for the first time will have to withstand a disorderly ^[23] throng! Testimony to the invincible strength of the Macedonians against a superior number is given by the river Granicus, by the flooding of Cilicia with the blood of the Persians, and by Arbela, whose plains are strewn with the bones of those whom we ^[24] decisively defeated. You are late in having begun to count the enemy’s legions, after you have made a desert in Asia by your victories. When we were sailing through the Hellespont was the time to think of our small numbers; now the Scythians follow us, we have Bactrian auxiliaries at hand, the Dahae ^[25] and the Sogdiani are fighting in our ranks. Yet it is not in that mob that I trust. To your hands I look, your valour I have as a bail and a surety for what I am about to accomplish. So long as I shall stand in battle with you I do not number my army nor that of the enemy; do you only furnish me with hearts full ^[29] of enthusiasm and confidence. We stand, not on the threshold of our labours and toils, but at the end; we have come to the rising sun and the Ocean. If cowardice does not stand in our way we shall return from there in triumph to our native land after subduing the whole world.

“Do not, as lazy husbandmen do, through negligence let the ripe crop escape your grasp. The prizes are greater than the dangers; that region is both rich and unwarlike. Therefore I am leading you not so much to glory as to

booty. You deserve to bear back to your native land the wealth which that sea casts upon its shores, you deserve to leave nothing untried, nothing neglected through ^[28] fear. By yourselves and your glory, in which you rise above human heights, and by your services to me and mine to you, in which we rival each other, I beg and implore you not to desert your foster-child and fellow soldier, not to say your king, as he is approaching the ends of the universe. All the rest I have ordered you to do; this one thing I shall owe you. And I who ask this of you am one who has never ordered you to do anything without first exposing himself to its dangers, one who has often covered the army with his shield. Do not break the palm that is in my hands, with which I shall equal Hercules and Father Liber, if Nemesis withhold her ^[30] hands. Grant this to my prayers, and at last break your persistent silence. Where are those shouts, the sign of your eagerness? Where is that look on the faces of my Macedonians? I do not recognize you, my soldiers, nor do I seem to be recognized by you. For a long time I have been knocking at deaf ears, I have been trying to arouse estranged and broken spirits.”

^[31] And when, with faces lowered towards the earth, they persisted in keeping silence, he continued: “I have unintentionally failed you, in some way or other, that you do not wish even to look upon me. I seem to myself to be in a desert. No one replies, no one ^[32] at least refuses. To whom am I speaking? And what am I asking? It is your own glory and greatness that we are upholding. Where are those whom but now I saw vying with one another as to who should have the honour of carrying the body of their wounded king? I am deserted, abandoned, given ^[33] up to the enemy. But even alone I shall persist in going on. Expose me to the rivers, the beasts, and those nations whose mere names you dread. I shall find men to follow me, deserted though I am by you. With me will be the Scythians and the Bactriani, a ^[34] while ago our enemies, now our soldiers. It is better to die than to command on sufferance. Go then back to your homes. Go in triumph after having abandoned your king. Here I shall find either the victory of which you despair or opportunity for an honourable death.”

III. Not even thus could a word be forced from any of the soldiers. They were waiting for their generals and chief officers to bear the news to the king that, worn out by wounds and the unremitting toil of military service, they did not refuse their duties, but ^[2] were no longer able to endure them. But the generals, overwhelmed with fear, kept their eyes riveted on the ground.

Then first an involuntary murmur, then also groans were heard, and little by little sadness began to be shown more freely by such floods of tears that the king's anger was turned to compassion, and he himself, though he strove to do so, could not control his ^[3] eyes. At length, when the whole assembly was dissolved in tears, Coenus, while the rest hesitated, ventured to approach nearer to the tribunal, indicating that he desired to speak. When the soldiers saw him removing his helmet from his head — for so it is customary to address the king — they began to urge him to plead the cause of the army.

[6] Then Coenus said: “The gods forbid that we should have impious thoughts. And surely they do forbid it; the feelings of your soldiers are the same that they always have been, namely, to go wherever you order, to fight, to incur danger, at the price of our blood to hand your name down to future generations. Therefore, if you persist, we, even unarmed, naked, and worn out, follow wherever you desire, or lead the way. “But if you are willing to hear from your soldiers words that are not false, but are wrung from them by dire necessity, lend, I beg you, propitious ears to those who have most faithfully followed your command and your auspices and will follow them whither-

[7] soever you go. You have conquered, my king, by the greatness of your exploits, not the enemy alone, but also your own soldiers. Whatever mortals were able to endure we have fulfilled. We have traversed seas and lands, and everything there is better known to us than to the natives. We stand almost at the [8] very end of the world. You are preparing to go into another world, and to seek an India unknown even to the Indi. You seek to bring out of their lurking-places and lairs those who dwell among wild beasts and serpents, in order that you may survey in [9] victory more places than the sun looks upon. The thought is most worthy of your spirit, but too lofty for ours. For your valour will ever be on the increase, [10] our strength is already at an end. Look upon these bodies drained of blood, pierced by so many wounds, rotted by so many scars. Already our weapons are dull, already our armour is giving out.

“Clad in Persian dress, because that of our own country cannot be brought to us, we have degenerated [11] into foreign ways. How many of us have a cuirass? Who has a horse? Bid it be asked how many are attended by their own slaves, what each man has left from his booty. Victors over all, we lack everything. And we are not suffering because of luxury, but it is in war that we have used up the [12] equipment for war. Will you expose this most noble army naked to wild beasts? Of these, although the barbarians purposely exaggerate the multitude, yet even from their false report I know that the number [13] is great. But if you are still determined to penetrate farther into India, the southern part of that region is less immense; when that has been subdued, you may run down to that sea which Nature has decreed [14] should be the boundary of human affairs. Why do you seek glory by a long circuit when it lies at your hand? Here too the Ocean meets you. Unless you prefer to wander about, we have reached [15] the place to which your fortune is leading you. I have preferred to say these things in your presence rather than to discuss them with the men in your absence, not with a view to gaining favour with the army here assembled, but that you might hear from my lips the voice of those who speak out rather than the groans of those who grumble.”

[16] When Coenus had ended his address, shouts arose from every side mingled with lamentations, as in a medley of voices they called out “king,” “father.”

[17] and “lord.” And now also the other generals, and especially the older

ones, for whom because of their age it was both more honourable to ask for an excuse and whose authority was greater, gave [18] utterance to the same entreaties. Alexander found himself unable either to rebuke them for their obstinacy or to be appeased in his anger; therefore, being at a loss what to do, he leaped down from the tribunal, ordered the royal quarters to be closed, and all to be refused admission except his regular attendants. Two days were spent in anger; on the third day he came out and ordered twelve altars of squared stone to be erected as a memorial of his expedition. He also gave directions that the fortifications of the camp be extended, and couches of a larger size than were used by men of ordinary stature be left there, in order that by exaggerating the proportion of everything he might prepare a deceptive wonder for posterity.

[20] From here he retraced the ground which he had covered and encamped near the river Acesines. There, as it chanced, Coenus was taken ill and died. The king was in fact grieved by his death, but could not forbear to remark that Coenus for the sake of a few days had begun a long harangue, as if he alone [21] were destined to see Macedonia again. Already the fleet which he had ordered to be built was afloat in the river. Meanwhile Memon had brought from Thrace a reinforcement of 5000 horsemen, and besides these 7000 foot-soldiers from Harpalus, for 25,000 men [22] sets of armour inlaid with gold and silver. These Alexander distributed and ordered the old ones to be burned. Intending to make for the Ocean with a thousand ships, he left Porus and Taxiles, the Indian kings, who had been at odds and reviving old feuds, in friendly relations strengthened by an alliance by marriage, and established each in his own sovereignty because he had received the greatest service from [23] them in building his fleet. He also founded two towns, of which he called one Nicaea and the other Bucephala, dedicating the latter to the name and [24] memory of the horse which he had lost. Then, having given orders that the elephants and the baggage should follow by land, he sailed down the river, advancing about forty stadia each day, to allow the troops to be landed from time to time where there were convenient places.

IV. They had come into the country where the [2] Hydaspes unites with the Acesines. From there the river flows into the country of the Sibi. These people allege that their forefathers belonged to the army of Hercules; that being left behind on account of sickness, they had gained possession of the abode [3] in which their posterity were living. They dressed in the skins of wild beasts, their weapons were clubs, and they also showed many traces of their origin, although Greek customs had become obsolete.

[4] Having made a landing there, he went on for a distance of two hundred and fifty stadia, and after devastating the region, by an assault on all sides took [5] the town which was its capital. Another nation had opposed 40,000 foot-soldiers on the bank of the rivers; Alexander crossed the Acesines, drove them within their walls, and took their town by assault. Those of military age were put to death, the rest [6] were sold. Then, having attempted to storm a

second city, but being repulsed by the great strength of its defenders, he lost many of the Macedonians. But when he had persisted in besieging it, the inhabitants, despairing of safety, set fire to their houses and burned to death in the flames themselves and their 7 wives and their children. Since they themselves *were* spreading the fire, while the enemy were trying to put it out, a novel kind of battle took place; the inhabitants were trying to destroy their city, the enemy were defending it. So completely does war invert even the laws of Nature. g The citadel of the town was unharmed, and in it Alexander left his sick as a garrison. He himself sailed around the fortress in his ships. For the three greatest rivers of all India except the Ganges protect its fortifications with their waters; on the north the Indus washes them, on the south the Acesines unites [9] with the Hydaspes. Moreover, the union of the rivers raises billows like those of the sea, and the abundance of turbid silt, which is constantly shifted by the confluent waters, compresses the way where it [10] is navigable by boats into a narrow channel. Therefore, since wave after wave met them, and struck now the prows and now the sides of the ships, the sailors began to furl the sails. But their efforts were thwarted, partly by the surging waves, partly [11] by the very rapid flow of the rivers. In the sight of all two of the greater ships were sunk; the lighter ones, although they also could not be managed, were nevertheless driven on the bank uninjured. The king himself met with the swiftest of the eddies, by which his ship was turned sidewise and driven [12] on without obeying its helm. Already he had taken off his clothing, intending to plunge into the river, and his friends were swimming near by ready to pick him up, and it appeared equally dangerous either to take to swimming or to persist [13] in sailing on; therefore they plied the oars with mighty rivalry, and did all that human power could do to break through the waves which dashed upon [14] them. You might have thought that the billows were cloven and that the surges were forced to retreat. When at last the ship was saved from these, it nevertheless could not be brought to the bank, but was dashed upon the nearest shoal. You would have thought that a war had been waged with the river. Accordingly, Alexander set up as many altars as there were streams, and having offered sacrifice, went on for thirty stadia.

[15] From there he came into the land of the Sudracae and the Malli, who at other times were usually at war with each other, but then had united in the face of the common danger. They had 90,000 younger foot-soldiers, and besides these 10,000 horsemen [16] and 900 chariots. But when the Macedonians, who believed that they had already encountered every danger, knew that a fresh war with the most warlike nations of India still remained, they were struck with sudden fear, and began again to upbraid [17] the king with mutinous language: that after being compelled to cross the Ganges and the regions beyond it, they had nevertheless not ended, but only shifted, the war. They were exposed to unconquered nations in order that at the cost of their blood they might [18] open a way for him to the Ocean. They were being dragged beyond the constellations and the sun and forced to approach places

which Nature had withdrawn from the sight of mortals. For their new arms new enemies constantly appeared. Granted that they routed and put to flight all these, what reward awaited them? Gloom and darkness, and perpetual night brooding over an unplumbed sea, a deep teeming with schools of savage sea-monsters, stagnant waters in which expiring Nature had met her end.

[19] The king, disturbed by anxiety, not for himself but for his soldiers, having called an assembly, told them that those whom they feared were unwarlike; that after these no other nations stood in their way of traversing all the wide spaces which remained and coming to the end of the world and at the same time to [20] the end of their labours. The Ganges and the multitude of nations which were beyond that river he had sacrificed to their fears; he had diverted his arms to a quarter where there was equal glory but less danger.

[21] Already they were in sight of the Ocean, already the breezes of the sea were wafted to them; let them not begrudge him the renown which he sought. They would pass the bournes of Hercules and Father Liber, and thus give their king immortal fame at little cost to themselves. Let them allow him to return from India, not to leave it in flight.

[22] Every assemblage, especially one of soldiers, is fickle and carried away by impulse; thus is sedition [23] no harder to quell than to arouse. Never before were such cries of joy sent forth by the army; they bid him lead on with the favour of the gods, and to equal in glory those whom he is emulating. Alexander, elated by these acclamations, at once broke [24] camp and moved against the enemy. These were the strongest nations of the Indi; they were making vigorous preparations for war and had chosen as their leader one of the nation of the Sudracæ, a man of tried valour; he had encamped at the foot of a mountain and showed fires far and wide in order to increase the impression of his numbers, also vainly trying after the fashion of his nation from time to time by shouts and yells to terrify the unperturbed [25] Macedonians. And daylight was already approaching, when the king, now confident and full of hope, ordered his eager soldiers to arm themselves and go forth to battle. But the barbarians — it is not known whether through fear or because a disagreement had arisen among them — at any rate suddenly took to flight and gained the mountains, which were remote and full of obstacles. The king vainly pursued their army, but took their baggage.

[28] Next they arrived at a town of the Sudracæ in which many of the enemy had taken refuge, although they had no greater confidence in their walls than [27] in their arms. The king was already approaching them, when a soothsayer began to warn him not to enter on a siege, or at any rate to postpone it; that [28] danger to his life was indicated. The king, fixing his gaze upon Demophon — for that was the soothsayer's name — said: "If anyone should thus interrupt you when you were intent upon your art and were inspecting the entrails, I doubt not that he [29] would impress you as tactless and annoying." And when Demophon replied that it would most certainly be so, Alexander rejoined: "Do you think that to me, having before my eyes such

important affairs, and not the entrails of animals, anything could be a greater hindrance than a seer enslaved by superstition?"

[30] And with no longer delay than making this answer required, he ordered the scaling ladders to be applied, and while the rest hesitated, himself mounted the wall. The crown of the wall was narrow and its summit was not marked by battlements, as is usually the case, but a parapet was built all along it and [31] prevented assailants from crossing it. Hence the king was rather clinging to this parapet than standing on its edge, defending himself with his buckler from the [32] spears that fell upon him from every side; for he was being attacked at long range from the towers and his soldiers could not come up because they were overwhelmed by a storm of weapons from above. But at last shame overcame the greatness of their peril; for they saw that by their delay the king was [33] being abandoned to the enemy. But their help was delayed by their hurry; for while each man strove to be the first to reach the top of the wall they overloaded the ladders; and when these could not hold the burden put upon them, they fell and thus deprived the king of his sole hope. For in the sight of so great an army he stood alone, as if left utterly deserted.

V. By this time he had tired his left hand, by which he was shifting his shield about to parry the shots, and his friends were shouting to him to leap down to them, and were standing ready to catch him; when he dared an incredible and unheard-of deed, one which added much more to his reputation for rashness [2] than to his glory. For with a headlong leap he threw himself into the city filled with enemies, although he could hardly hope that he would at least die fighting and not unavenged; for before he could rise to his feet, he was likely to be overpowered and taken prisoner. But by good luck he had balanced his body so well that he alighted on his feet; hence he was standing erect when he began to fight. Fortune had also provided that he could not be surrounded; [4] for an aged tree, standing close to the wall, had thrown out its branches, thickly clothed with leaves, as if for the very purpose of protecting the king; against the huge trunk of this he took his place, in such a way as not to be surrounded, receiving on his buckler all the weapons that were hurled at him in [5] front. For although he was single-handed and so many men were attacking him with extreme violence from a distance, yet none dared to come nearer, and more missiles fell in the branches than on his shield.

[6] The king was protected in the first place by the widespread fame of his name, and secondly by [7] desperation, a great incentive to die gloriously. But as constantly new enemies came pouring on, by this time he had caught a vast number of weapons on his shield, his helmet was shattered by stones, and already his knees, wearied by protracted toil, had sunk under [8] him. On seeing this, those who stood nearest rushed upon him incautiously and in contempt of the danger; two of these he ran through with his sword and laid them dead at his feet. After that no one had the courage to go nearer him, but they assailed him with [9] javelins and arrows from afar. But although a mark for every shot, yet on his knees he had no difficulty in defending himself, until

an Indian discharged an arrow two cubits long — for, as I have said, the Indi had arrows of that length — with so good an aim that it passed through his cuirass and was fixed in his body ^[10] a little above his right side. On suffering this wound, from which a great jet of blood gushed forth, he let his armour drop as if dying, not even having the strength to draw out the weapon with his right hand. On seeing this, the man who had wounded him ran forward with eager joy to strip his body. No sooner did the king feel him lay hand on his person, than aroused, I suppose, by the disgrace of this supreme indignity, he recalled his failing spirits, and plunged his sword upward into his enemy's naked side.

^[12] Three bodies lay dead around the king, while the rest of his assailants stood in stupefaction afar off. He tried to lift himself with his shield, that he might at any rate die fighting before his last breath failed ^[13] him, but finding that not enough strength remained for that effort, he laid hold of the overhanging branches with his right hand and tried to rise. But not even then being able to control his body, he again fell upon his knees, waving his hand as a challenge to the enemy to meet him in single combat, if anyone ^[14] dared. At last Peucestes, having dislodged the defenders of the wall in another part of the town, followed in the king's footsteps and came ^[16] to him. Alexander, on seeing him, thinking that not hope of life but consolation in death had arrived, allowed his wearied body to fall on his shield. Then Timaeus appeared, and a little later ^[16] Leonnatus, and after him Aristonus. The Indi also, having learned that Alexander was within the walls, left the others, ran to the spot, and assailed those who were protecting him. Of these Timaeus, after receiving many wounds in front and fighting a ^[17] glorious battle, fell. Peucestes also, though pierced by three javelins, nevertheless with his shield was protecting not himself but the king; Leonnatus, while he was vigorously repulsing the eagerly charging barbarians, was severely wounded in the neck and fell ^[18] half-dead at the king's feet. Now Peucestes also, exhausted by his wounds, had lowered his shield; the last hope remained in Aristonus. He too was badly wounded and could no longer hold out against so great a number of foemen.

^[19] Meanwhile news was brought to the Macedonians that the king had been killed. What would have terrified other men animated them. For regardless of all danger, they broke through the wall with mattocks, and when they had made a breach, rushed into the city and cut down the Indi, more of whom fled ^[20] than dared to engage them. They spared neither old men, women, nor children; whoever met them they believed to be the person by whom the king had been wounded. And at length by the slaughter of the enemy they appeased their just anger.

^[21] Clitarchus and Timagenes are our authorities for the statement that Ptolemy, who was later king, was present at this battle, but he himself, who certainly was not inclined to depreciate his own glory, has written that he was not there, since he had been sent on an expedition. Such was the carelessness

of those who composed the old records, or their credulity, which is an equally great fault.

[22] Alexander was carried to his tent and the physicians cut off the shaft of the arrow, which was firmly fixed in his body, taking care not to stir the point.

[23] Then, when his clothing had been removed, they perceived that the arrow was barbed, and that it could not be extracted without injury unless the wound [24] was enlarged by the knife. But they feared that the flow of blood could not be staunched by those who performed the operation; for the arrow was very long and seemed to have penetrated the vital parts.

[25] Critobulus, who was a physician of distinguished skill, but was terrified in the face of such great risk, dreaded to put his hand to the work, lest the result of the treatment, if unsuccessful, might recoil upon [26] his own head. The king observed that he was weeping and near to fainting from fear and anxiety and said: "For what event or moment are you waiting, and why do you not free me as soon as possible from this pain and let me at least die? Do you perhaps fear that you may be blamed because I have received an [27] incurable wound?" But Critobulus, having at last ended his fear, or concealed it, began to urge that he let himself be held while he was withdrawing the point; that even a slight movement of his body would be [28] dangerous. When the king had assured him that there was no need of any to hold him, he kept his body motionless, as had been ordered.

So when the wound had been laid open and the barb extracted, a copious amount of blood proceeded to flow, the king to swoon, darkness veiled his eyes, [29] and he lay stretched out as if he were dead. And while they were vainly trying to staunch the flow of blood by applications, his friends began to cry out and to weep, believing that he had breathed his last. At last the blood ceased to flow, and the king gradually recovered his senses and began to recognize those 30 who stood around him. All that day and the following night the army stood under arms before the royal pavilion, confessing that they all lived by his breath alone, and they did not leave until they learned that he was quietly sleeping for a time. Then they returned to the camp with more assured hope of his recovery.

VI. The king, after his wound had been treated for seven days but had not yet cicatrized, hearing that the report of his death had gained strength among the barbarians, ordered two ships to be lashed together, and his tent to be set up in the centre, where it would be conspicuous to everyone, in order that from it he might show himself to those who believed that he was dead, and, being seen by the inhabitants, he put an end to the enemies hope which they had conceived from the false report.

[2] Then he went on down the river, keeping some distance ahead of the rest of the fleet, in order that the quiet which he still needed in his very weak condition might not be interfered with by the beat of the oars.

[3] On the fourth day after he had begun his voyage he came into a region which was indeed deserted by all its inhabitants, but abounded in grain and

cattle. The place suited him for resting both himself and his ^[4] soldiers. It was the custom for the principal men among the king's friends and for his body-guard to keep watch before his tent whenever he had fallen ill; since this custom was being observed at that time ^[6] as usual, they all entered his chamber. Alexander, anxious lest they brought some serious news, because they had all come at once, asked whether an immediate approach of the enemy was being reported.

^[6] But Craterus, who had been intrusted to convey to him the prayers of his friends, replied:—"Do you imagine that we are more disturbed by the coming of the enemy, although they even now stood on our rampart, than through care for your safety, on ^[7] which you seem to set little store? However great a force of all nations should unite against us, should fill the whole world with arms and men, should cover the sea with their fleets, should bring against us beasts never seen before, it is you that will make us g invincible. But who among the gods can promise that this prop and star of Macedonia will be lasting, when you so eagerly expose your person to evident dangers, forgetting that you draw into disaster the ^[9] lives of so many citizens? For who desires to be, or can be, your survivor? Following your auspices and command, we have come to a place from which none of us can find a way to his hearth and home except under your lead.

^[10] "But if you were still contending with Darius for the dominion of Persia, although no one could wish it, yet one could not even wonder that you are of such ready daring in the face of every danger; for when the peril and its reward are equal, the gain is not only more ample in case of success, but the solace is greater in ^[11] case of defeat. But that an obscure village should be bought at the price of your life who could endure, not to mention your own soldiers, but even the citizen of any barbarous nation who knows your greatness?

^[12] My soul shudders at the thought of the scene which we witnessed a short time ago. I fear to mention that the most worthless of hands would have polluted the spoils stripped from your invincible body, had not Fortune been compassionate and saved you for us.

"We are so many traitors, so many deserters, all of ^[13] us who were not able to keep up with you. Although you should brand your soldiers with ignominy, no one will refuse to pay that penalty for the guilt which ^[14] he could not avoid incurring. I pray you, allow us to be worthless in your sight in a different way. Whithersoever you bid us we will go. We demand for ourselves the obscure dangers and inglorious battles; save yourself for those which are worthy of your greatness. Glory gained over mean enemies quickly fades, and nothing is more unworthy than for it to ^[15] be wasted when it cannot be displayed." Ptolemy spoke too about the same purport, and the rest used similar language. And now with mingled tears and cries all besought him that at last from satiety he should set a limit to the pursuit of glory and have regard for his safety, that is, the safety of the state.

[16] The affection of his friends was gratifying to the king; accordingly, having embraced them one after the other with unusual tenderness, he bade them be seated and, seeking words of deeper feeling, [17] said: "To you indeed, most faithful and most loyal of my fellow citizens and friends, I feel and express gratitude, not only for the reason that today you value my safety more than your own, but also because from the outset of this war there is no pledge and proof of your affection for me which you have omitted, so much so that I must confess that my life has never been so dear to me as it has begun to be now that I can enjoy your [18] companionship for a long time. But the thought of those who wish to die for me is not the same as my own, since I think that I have long since won this goodwill of yours through deeds of valour. For you would wish to enjoy me for a long time, and perhaps forever, whereas I measure myself by the extent of [19] my glory rather than that of my life. I might, content with the kingdom of my sire, within the limits of Macedonia amid idleness have awaited an obscure and inglorious old age. And yet even the indolent cannot control their destiny, but a premature death often surprises those who consider length of days the only blessing. But I, who count not my years but my victories, if I keep a correct account of Fortune's favours, have already had a long life.

[20] "Beginning my reign in Macedonia, I hold dominion over Greece, I have subdued Thrace and the Illyrians, I rule the Triballi and the Maedi, I possess Asia from where it is washed by the Hellespont to the shores of the Red Sea. And now I am not far from the end of the world, and passing beyond this, I have resolved to open to myself a new realm of Nature, a new [21] world. From Asia I crossed into the bounds of Europe in a single hour. Having conquered both continents in the ninth year of my reign and the twenty-eighth of my life, does it seem to you that I can pause in the task of completing my glory, to which alone I have devoted myself? I at least shall not be found wanting, and wherever I shall fight, I shall believe that I am in the theatre of the whole [22] world. I will give fame to unknown places. I will open to all nations lands which Nature had moved to a distance.

"To end my life amid these enterprises, if chance shall so will it, is in my opinion glorious; I am born from such stock that I am bound to desire an [23] abundant life rather than a long one. I pray you, think that you have come to lands in which the name of a woman is renowned because of her valour. What cities did Samiramis build! What nations did she reduce to submission! What great works did she accomplish! We have not yet equalled a woman in glory, and has a satiety of renown already seized us? Let the gods favour us, and still greater things [24] await us. But those which we have not yet undertaken will be ours only if we consider nothing small in which there is room for great glory. Do you only keep me safe from intestine treachery and domestic plots; I will meet unterrified the hazard of war and of Mars.

[25] "Philip was safer on the field of battle than in the theatre. He often evaded the hands of the enemy, but he could not escape those of his own

countrymen. If you think also of the deaths of other kings, you will count more that were slain by their own ^[26] people than by the foe. But since an opportunity has now been offered of setting forth a matter which I have long agitated in my thoughts, let me say that I shall receive the greatest reward for my labours and my toils if my mother Olympias shall be consecrated to immortality when she departs from life.

^[27] This, if it shall be allowed me, I myself will effect; if Fate shall anticipate me, remember that I have entrusted this duty to you.” And then indeed he dismissed his friends. But for many days he remained there in the same camp.

VII. While this was going on in India, the Greek soldiers who had lately been established by the king in colonies round about Bactra, since disagreement had arisen among them, had revolted, not so much through hostility to Alexander, as from fear of ^[2] punishment. For the stronger faction, having killed some of their countrymen, began to think of armed action, and after having seized the citadel of Bactra, which through belief in its safety had been carelessly guarded, they had forced the barbarians also to join ^[3] in their revolt. Their chief was Athenodorus, who had even assumed the title of king, not so much from a desire for power, as for returning to his fatherland along with those who acknowledged his authority.

^[4] Against him a certain Biton of the same nation, but hostile to Athenodorus because of rivalry, laid a plot, and having invited him to a banquet, had him assassinated at table by a Bactrian called Boxus.

^[5] On the following day Biton called an assembly and convinced the majority that Athenodorus without provocation had plotted to take his life; but others suspected imposture on the part of Biton and the ^[6] suspicion gradually began to spread to more. Accordingly, the Greek soldiers armed themselves, intending to kill Biton if an opportunity offered; but their leading men appeased the wrath of the multitude.

^[7] Biton, rescued from imminent danger contrary to his expectation, a little later plotted against those who had saved him. But when his treachery became ^[8] known, they seized both him and Boxus. The latter they ordered to be put to death at once and Biton also, but after suffering torture. And they were already applying the instruments of torture to his body, when the Greeks — for what reason is uncertain ^[9] — as if crazed, rushed to arms. When their tumult was heard, those who had been ordered to torture Biton, left him, for fear that they would be prevented from carrying out their orders by the cries of the ^[10] rioting soldiers. He, stripped naked as he was, came to the Greeks, and the pitiable aspect of the man who had been condemned to death suddenly changed their feelings to pity, and they gave orders to let him go.

^[11] Twice freed from punishment in this way, he returned to his native land with the rest who had left the colonies established by Alexander. This is what happened in the region of Bactra and the frontiers of Scythia.

^[12] In the meantime a hundred envoys came to the king from the two

nations of which mention has been made. All rode in chariots and were men of uncommon stature and dignified bearing; their robes were of linen, embroidered with inwrought gold and [13] purple. They said that they surrendered to him themselves, their cities, and their lands, and would entrust for the first time the liberty which they had preserved inviolate for so many ages to his protection and authority; that it was the gods that advised their submission to him, not fear, since they assumed the yoke while their strength was [14] unimpaired. The king, after holding a council, admitted the surrendered peoples into his protection, imposing upon them the tribute which both nations were paying to the Arachosii; besides, he ordered them to furnish 2500 horsemen. All these commands [15] were faithfully carried out by the barbarians. Then he invited the envoys and the petty kings of the nations to a banquet, and ordered a magnificent feast to be prepared. A hundred golden couches had been placed at a small distance from each other; the couches he had hung about with purple tapestries gleaming with gold, displaying in that banquet all that was corrupt in the ancient luxury of the Persians or in the new fashions adopted by the Macedonians, thus intermingling the vices of both nations.

[16] There was present at the feast Dioxippus, an Athenian, a celebrated boxer, and because of the extraordinary greatness “of his strength already both well known to the king and a favourite of his. Some through jealousy and malice carped at him with mingled seriousness and jest, saying that they had as a companion a useless brute with an over-fed body; that while they entered battle, he, dripping [17] with oil, was preparing his belly for feasts. Thus it was that at the banquet Corratas, a Macedonian, already overcome by wine, began to upbraid Dioxippus, and to demand that, if he were a man, he should fight with him on the following day with swords; that the king at last would have an opportunity to judge of Corratas’ rashness or the other’s [18] cowardice. And the challenge was accepted by Dioxippus, who contemptuously made sport of the soldier’s bravado. And on the next day the king, since they even more earnestly demanded the contest, and he was unable to dissuade them, allowed [19] what they desired to be carried out. A great number of soldiers, including the Greeks, favoured Dioxippus. The Macedonian had assumed his usual arms, holding in his left hand a bronze shield and a spear — they call it *sarisa* — in his right a lance, and girt with a sword, as if he were going to fight with [20] several men at once; Dioxippus, gleaming with oil and wearing a garland, displayed a purple cloth in his left hand, and in his right a stout knotted club. This very thing had filled the minds of all with eager anticipation; since for a naked man to fight with one in full armour seemed not only rashness, but madness.

Then the Macedonian, not doubting that his foe could be killed at long range, hurled his lance. Dioxippus avoided it by a slight movement of his body, and before the other could transfer his spear to his right hand, leaped upon him and broke the spear in [22] two with his club. Having lost both his

missiles, the Macedonian had begun to draw his sword, when Dioxippus seized him in his arms, suddenly knocked his feet from under him, and butted him to the ground; then snatching his sword from him, he set his foot upon the Macedonian's neck as he lay prostrate, and poising his club to strike him, would have crushed his defeated adversary with it, had he not been prevented by the king.

[23] The result of this spectacle was displeasing, not only to the Macedonians, but to the king, especially because the barbarians had witnessed it; for he regretted that the famous valour of the Macedonians was [24] exposed to ridicule. For this reason the ears of the king were opened to the calumnies of jealous rivals. And a few days later at a feast a golden cup was purposely abstracted, and the attendants went to the king, pretending to have lost what they had [25] actually hidden. Often there is less firmness in innocent embarrassment than in genuine guilt. Dioxippus could not endure the gaze of all eyes by which he was marked as a thief, and leaving the banquet, he wrote a letter to be delivered to the king, and [26] killed himself with his sword. The king was greatly grieved by his death, believing it to be a sign of indignation rather than of repentance, especially after the excessive joy of his rivals showed that he had been falsely accused.

VIII. After the envoys of the Indians had been sent home, they returned a few days later with gifts. These consisted of 300 horsemen, 1030 chariots, each drawn by four horses abreast, a quantity of linen cloth, 1000 Indic shields, 100 talents of white iron, [2] lions and tigers of unusual size (both species of animals being broken in and tamed), also some skins [3] of huge lizards, and shells of tortoises. Then the king ordered Craterus to lead on his forces at no great distance from the river down which he was going to sail, but those who were accustomed to attend him he embarked upon ships and sailed downstream to the lands of the Malli.

[4] From there he went on to the Sambagrae, a strong race of India, which was governed by the will of the people, not the power of kings. They had 60,000 infantry and 6000 cavalry; these forces were followed by 500 chariots. They had chosen three leaders [5] distinguished for valour in war. But the people in the fields adjoining the river — and they had many villages, especially on its bank — when they saw the whole stream as far as they could see covered with ships, and shining arms of so many soldiers, stunned by the novel sight, believed an army of gods was coming and another Father Liber, a name celebrated [6] among those nations. Hence the shouting of the soldiers, hence the beat of the oars and the confused cries of the rowers, as they encouraged one another, [7] had filled their ears with terror. Therefore they all ran to those who were under arms, crying that they were mad and were about to do battle with gods; that the ships were innumerable and carried invincible heroes. And they struck such terror into the army of their countrymen that they sent envoys to surrender the nation. g When these had been received in submission, Alexander came next on the fourth day to another nation. These

had no more courage than the others had had. Accordingly, after founding a town there, which he ordered to be called Alexandria, he entered the territories of those who are called the ^[9] Musicani. Here, because of charges made by the Parapanisadae, he tried the satrap Terioltes,” whom he had made their governor, and since he was convicted of many acts of greed and arrogance, ordered ^[10] him to be put to death. Oxyartes, ruler of the Bactriani, was not only acquitted, but because of his tie of affection with the king was given the territories of a more extensive rule. Then, having reduced the Musicani to submission, Alexander put a garrison in charge of their capital.

^[11] From there he came through forests to a rude race of India. Its king was Porticanus, who with a great force of his subjects had shut himself up in a fortified city. This Alexander took by assault on the third ^[12] day after he had begun to besiege it. And Porticanus, having taken refuge in the citadel, sent envoys to the king to discuss conditions of surrender. But before they reached Alexander two towers had fallen with a mighty crash, and through their ruins the Macedonians burst into the citadel. After this had been taken, Porticanus, who was resisting with a few of his men, was slain.

^[13] Having therefore razed the citadel, and sold all the prisoners, Alexander entered the domain of King Sambus, and after receiving many towns in surrender took the strongest city of the nation by a ^[14] subterranean passage. To the barbarians, who were inexperienced in military operations, this seemed like a prodigy; for armed men came up out of the earth almost in the middle of the city, no indication having been given beforehand of the digging of the passage-

^[15] way. Clitarchus states that 80,000 Indi were killed in that region, and many captives sold at auction.

^[16] Again the Musicani revolted; Pithon was sent to subdue them, captured the principal man of the race, who was also the instigator of the rebellion and brought him to Alexander. The king had him crucified, and returned again to the river, on which he had ordered the fleet to wait for him.

^[17] Then, three days later, he sailed down the river to a town at the extremity of the realm of Sambus. That king had lately given himself up, but the people of the city rejected his authority and had closed the ^[18] gates of the town. The king, despising the smallness of their number, ordered 500 of the Agriani to advance to the wall, and by slowly retiring to lure the enemy outside of the town; for they would be sure to follow, if they believed that the Agriani were ^[19] in flight. The Agriani, as had been ordered, after attacking the enemy, suddenly turned their backs; the barbarians, hotly pursuing them, fell in with other troops, among whom was King Alexander himself. Hence the battle was renewed, and of 3000 barbarians 600 were killed, 1000 captured, and the ^[20] rest shut within the walls of the city. But the victory was not so happy in its outcome as it appeared to be at first sight; for the barbarians had poisoned their swords. In consequence the wounded died one after the other, and no cause for so speedy a death could be imagined by the physicians, since

even slight wounds were incurable.

[21] Now the barbarians had hoped that the incautious and rash king might be one of the victims. But although he fought among the foremost, he was [22] fortunate enough to escape untouched. Ptolemy, who was wounded in the left shoulder, slightly it is true but with greater danger than that caused by the wound, had caused the king special anxiety. He was a blood-relation, and some believed him to be a son of Philip; at any rate it was known for certain that he was the offspring of one of that king's [23] concubines. He was also a member of Alexander's body-guard and a most valiant warrior, and even greater and more distinguished in the arts of peace than in those of war; modest and affable in his manner of life, particularly generous and easy of access, he had assumed none of the haughtiness of [24] royal origin. Because of these qualities it could be doubted whether he was dearer to the king or to the people; at all events, it was at that time that he first realized the affection of his countrymen; which was so great that in that time of his peril the Macedonians seemed to have presaged the rank to which he afterwards rose.

[25] Indeed their solicitude for Ptolemy was no weaker than that of the king. For when Alexander, wearied by fighting and by anxiety, had taken his place beside Ptolemy, he ordered a bed for himself [26] to sleep on to be brought in. As soon as he lay down upon it, he immediately fell into a profound sleep. When he awoke, he said that in a dream a serpent had appeared to him, carrying an herb in its mouth, which it had indicated to be a cure for the [27] poison; and the king declared too that he would recognize the colour of the herb if anyone could find it. Then, when it was found — for it was sought by many at the same time — he placed it upon the wound; and immediately the pain ceased and within a short [28] time the wound was scabbed over. The barbarians, since their first hope had proved vain, surrendered themselves and the city.

From there they came to the next nation, that of the Patalii. Their king was Soeris, who had abandoned his city, and taken refuge in the mountains.

[29] Alexander took the town and pillaged the fields. From there great booty was driven off, in the form of flocks and herds, and a great store of grain was found.

[30] Then, taking guides acquainted with the river, he sailed down to an island which arose in about the middle of the channel.

IX. Being compelled to stay there for a longer time, because the guides, who had been carelessly guarded, had made their escape, he sent men to look for others. When none were found, the desire of visiting the Ocean and going to the ends of the world prevailed upon him, without guides who knew the region, to entrust his own life and the safety of so [2] many valiant men to an unknown river; and so they sailed on, knowing nothing of the country through which they were being carried. How far off from there the sea was, what nations dwelt there, how quiet the mouth of the river was, whether it was navigable by ships of war, was divined by uncertain and blind conjecture; the

sole consolation for the rash enterprise was the king's perpetual good fortune.

[3] Already they had gone on for 400 stadia, when the pilots made known to the king that they felt sea air [4] and that the Ocean was not far distant. He, filled with joy, began to urge the sailors to bend to the oars, saying that the end of their labours, so ardently desired, was at hand; now nothing was wanting to complete their glory, nothing left to oppose their valour, without any decision of Mars, without blood-shed, they were taking the very edge of the world; not even Nature could go farther, soon they would see what [5] was unknown except to the immortals. Nevertheless he sent a few men ashore in a boat, to take some of the peasants who were roving about, from whom he hoped to get more accurate information. They, after searching all the huts, at last found some hidden [6] in them. These, when asked how far away the sea was, answered that they had never even heard of any sea; but that on the third day they could reach bitter water, which spoiled the fresh water.

It was clear that this was a description of the sea by those who were not acquainted with its nature; [7] and so the boatmen rowed on with great eagerness, and each succeeding day, as the fulfilment of their hopes drew nearer, their ardour increased. By the third day sea water mixed with the river met them, as the tide, which was still gentle, mingled the different [8] waters. Then carried to another island, situated in the middle of the river, somewhat more slowly because their speed being retarded by the tide, they brought their fleet to the shore and ran about to look for supplies, with no thought of the accident which befell them in their ignorance. It was nearly the third hour, when the Ocean, in its regular change, began to be carried on a flood-tide into the river, and pushed it back. The stream, at first checked and then pushed more violently, was driven upstream with greater speed than that of torrents running in a [10] precipitous channel. The nature of the sea was unknown to the common soldiers, who thought that they were witnessing portents and signs of the anger of the gods when the sea continually swelled and overflowed to flood fields that shortly before were dry.

[11] Now the ships were lifted and the whole fleet was scattered, and those who had gone on shore, alarmed and amazed by the unexpected calamity, ran from [12] every side back to the ships. But in times of confusion even haste is slow. Some were pushing at the ships with poles, others had taken their seats while [13] they prevented the oars from being put in place, some in their haste to sail, without waiting for those who ought to have been with them, were weakly struggling with crippled and unmanageable ships, other ships had taken all those who rushed inconsiderately into them; and equally too great and too small numbers [14] delayed their haste. Here some were shouting to wait, there others, to go on, and the contradictory cries of those who never demanded one and the same action had prevented the use, not only of the eyes, [15] but also of the ears. And there was no help even in the pilots, for their voice could not be heard in the tumult, nor could their orders be carried out by the frightened and disordered sailors.

[16] Hence the ships began to be dashed together, and the oars to be shorn off in turn, and the crews to foul one another's ships. You would have supposed, not that it was the fleet of one army, but that the fleets of two armies were engaged in a sea-fight.

[17] Prows were dashed against sterns, those ships that damaged ships in front of them were in turn injured by ships behind them; from angry words they even came to blows.

[18] And now the tide had flooded all the plains about the river except for mounds projecting like small islands, to which many in their trepidation hastened [19] to swim, deserting the ships. The scattered fleet stood, a part in very deep water, where valleys had made low ground, a part were stranded on shoals, wherever the waters had covered land of uneven but rising level; when on a sudden a new cause of terror, greater than the former one, surprised [20] them. The sea began to flow back with great pull, as the waters ran back to their own channel and restored the lands which a little before had been submerged in deep surge. Hence some of the ships, being thus stranded, were thrown upon their prows, others fell upon their sides. The fields were strewn with baggage, arms, and fragments of [21] broken planks and oars. The soldiers dared neither to land nor to stay aboard, since they were awaiting more serious calamities than the present that might follow at any time. They could hardly believe that they actually beheld what they were experiencing, shipwreck on dry land, the sea in the river.

[22] And there was no end to their troubles; for since they did not know that the sea would a little later bring back the tide by which their ships would be floated, they foresaw famine and the utmost extremities. Horrible sea-beasts too, left by the tide, were [23] roaming about. And already night was drawing near, and despair of safety had disturbed even the king himself. However his cares did not so master his indomitable spirit as to keep him from spending the whole night on the watch and sending horsemen ahead to the mouth of the river, in order that when they saw that the tide was rising again, they might [24] outstrip it. He also gave orders that the ships which were damaged should be repaired, that those which had been overturned by the waves should be raised, and that everyone should be prepared and alert [25] when the sea had again flooded the lands. When all that night had been spent in watching and in encouraging the army, at the same time the horsemen came fleeing for safety at top speed, and the tide followed. This at first, as the waters came under them with gentle flow, began to lift the ships, and then, when all the fields were flooded, even set the fleet in motion.

[26] Then the hand-claps and cheers of the soldiers and boatmen, hailing with unrestrained joy the unexpected safety, made the shores and banks resound. In wonder they asked one another whence so great a sea had suddenly returned, whither it had fled the day before, what was the nature of this same element which was at one moment at variance with the strict laws of time, and at another so subject to them.

[27] The king, since from what had happened he conjectured that the regular tune was after sunrise, in the middle of the night, in order to anticipate the tide, with a few ships went down the river and, carried out to its mouth, proceeded 400 stadia into the sea, at last accomplishing the object of his prayers. Then, after sacrificing to the gods presiding over the sea and the region, he returned to the fleet.

X. Next the fleet went up the river, and on the second day was moored near a salt lake, the unknown nature of which deceived those who rashly entered its waters. For a scabby itch attacked their bodies and the contagion of the ailment was [2] communicated also to others. A remedy was oil. Then Leonnatus was sent ahead, to dig wells along the route by which he seemed likely to lead the army in a march by land — for the region was dry — while Alexander himself with his troops remained where he was, [3] waiting for the springtime. Meanwhile he both founded several cities and ordered Nearchus and Onesicritus, who were skilled in navigation, to sail the strongest ships down to the Ocean, and having gone as far as they safely could, to make themselves acquainted with the nature of the sea, saying that when they wished to return to him, they could come up either by that same river or by the Euphrates.

[4] And when the winter was nearly over, he burned the ships which seemed useless, and led the army [5] by land. On the ninth day he came into the region of the Arabitae, and from there in the same number of days into that of the Cedrosii. This free people, after having held a council, surrendered themselves, and nothing was demanded of the surrendered [6] except supplies. Next, on the fifth day, he came to a river which the natives call the Arabus. A region barren and poor in water met him; having passed through this, he crossed into the land of the Horitae. There he handed over the greater part of the army to Hephaestion and shared the light-armed troops [7] with Ptolemy and Leonnatus. Three armies at the same time were pillaging the Indi, and a great amount of booty was driven off; Ptolemy was burning the maritime regions, the king himself and in another direction Leonnatus, the rest of the country. In this region also he founded a city, and colonized it with Arachosii.

[8] From there he came to the Indi who dwell along the sea-coast. They occupy a great extent of country which is barren and desolate, and mingle in no kind of [9] intercourse even with their neighbours. Their very solitude has made quite wild their dispositions, which are savage even by nature; their nails grow long, never having been cut, their hair is shaggy and unshorn.

[10] They adorn their huts with shells and other things thrown up by the sea. Clad in the skins of wild beasts, they feed upon fish cured in the sun, and also on the flesh of larger animals cast up by the sea.

[11] Therefore, since their supplies were used up, the Macedonians began to suffer at first scarcity, and finally starvation, grubbing everywhere for the roots of palms — for that is the only kind of tree that grows [12] there. And when even this nourishment had failed them, they began to kill their draught

animals, not even abstaining from the horses. And when they had nothing to carry their packs, they burned the spoils taken from the enemy, for the sake of which they had traversed the remotest parts of the Orient.

[13] Then pestilence followed hunger. For the harmful juices of the unwholesome viands, added to the labour of marching and anxiety of mind, had spread diseases, and they could neither remain where they were nor advance without danger of death; if they remained, famine, if they went on, a deadlier enemy, pestilence, [14] assailed them. Hence the plains were strewn with almost more bodies of the dying than of the dead. And not even those who were slightly ill were able to follow; for the army was led on rapidly, since each man believed that the army was making the more progress towards the hope of safety, the more [15] they cut short their journey by hurrying. Therefore those who had given out besought those whom they knew, and strangers as well, to succour them; but there were no animals by which they could be taken on, and the soldiers could barely carry their arms and the sight of the evil which threatened themselves was before their eyes. Therefore, though often called back, they could not endure even to look upon their comrades, but pity was overcome by fear.

[16] Those others, being left behind, called upon the gods as witnesses, on their common sacred rites, and on the aid of the king, and when they found that they were wearying deaf ears to no purpose, despair turned to madness and they prayed that those to whom they appealed might have a fate like their own and friends and comrades as cruel as themselves.

[17] The king, oppressed by grief, and at the same time by shame, because he himself was the cause of such a great disaster, sent messengers to Phrataphernes, satrap of the Parthyaei, to order cooked food to be brought on camels, and informed other governors of [18] neighbouring regions of his necessities. And they did not delay. And so the army, saved at least from starvation, was at last led into the country of Cedrosia. That is a land with a soil productive of all fruits; there he encamped for some time, in order [19] to recuperate the suffering soldiers with rest. Here he received a letter from Leonnatus, saying that he had fought with 8000 infantry and 400 cavalry of the Horitae with successful result. From Craterus also came the news that he had defeated Ozines and Zariaspes, Persian nobles who were attempting [20] a revolt, and that they were in fetters. Therefore, having made Sibyrtius governor of that region — for Menon, its prefect, had lately fallen ill and died

[21] he himself advanced into Carmania. The satrap of that nation was Astaspes, who was suspected of having wished to revolt while the king was in India. When Astaspes came to meet him, Alexander dissembled his anger, and, addressing him graciously, kept him in his same rank until he could inquire into what had been reported.

[22] Then, when the governors, as had been ordered, had sent a great supply of horses and yoked draught-cattle from all the region which was under their

rule, the king restored their equipment to those who ^[23] lacked it. Their arms also were replaced with equally handsome ones; for they were not far from Persia, ^[24] which was not only subdued, but also rich. Therefore, as was said before, rivalling not only the glory of Father Liber which he had carried off from those nations, but also his procession, whether that was a triumph first invented by that god or the sport of drunken revellers, he decided to imitate it, in a spirit ^[25] raised above the level of human greatness. To this end, he ordered the villages through which his route lay to be strewn with flowers and garlands, mixing-bowls filled with wine, and other vessels of unusual size to be placed everywhere on the thresholds of the houses, then carriages to be spread, so that each might hold many soldiers, and to be equipped like tents, some with white curtains, and others with costly tapestries.

^[26] At the head marched the king's friends and the royal troop, wreathed with chaplets made of a variety of flowers; on one side was heard the music of flute-players, on another the notes of the lyre; the army also joined the revels in vehicles adorned according to the means of each man and hung around with their most beautiful arms. The king and his companions rode in a chariot loaded down with golden ^[27] bowls and huge beakers of the same material. In this way the army for seven days marched in a riotous procession, an easy prey if the conquered had had any courage even against revellers; a single thousand, by Heaven!, provided they were real men and sober, could have captured in the midst of their triumph those who for seven days had been heavy with ^[28] drunkenness. But Fortune, who assigns renown and value to actions, turned to glory even this disgrace to an army. Both the age of that time, and afterwards posterity, regarded it as wonderful that they marched drunken through nations not wholly subdued, and that the barbarians took this rash conduct for ^[29] confidence. This splendid exhibition was followed by the executioner; for it was ordered that the satrap Astaspes, of whom mention was made before, should ^[30] be put to death; so true is it that cruelty is no obstacle whatever to luxury, nor luxury to cruelty.

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Alexander shows severity towards corrupt governors. Nearchus and Onesicritus return and report what they have learned and heard. The undeserved execution of Orsines, satrap of Parsagada. Revolt of the Odrysae in Thrace (i).

Disturbances in Greece. The governors in Asia are ordered to disband all their foreign troops. Harpalus, whom Alexander had made satrap of Babylon, fearing that he has lost the king's favour because of his offences, embezzles 5000 talents of the royal treasure and escapes to Europe, hoping to lead the Athenians to join him.

Alexander plans to go to Athens, but learns that Harpalus driven from Athens, has been killed in Crete. Alexander pays the debts of the soldiers, intending to send the older ones home and retain the rest. A mutiny takes place in the camp, which he quells (ii).

Alexander punishes thirteen of the mutineers. He calls an assembly of the foreign soldiers and praises them (iii).

He chooses his body-guard and his attendants from the Persians. As the ringleaders of the revolt are being taken by Persian attendants to execution, one of them remonstrates with the king.

Alexander, in a rage, gives orders to throw them all into the river, bound as they were. The army submits to this and even calls for the punishment of others, if guilty (iv).

The soldiers stand before the king's quarters in their tunics and beg for admission; they are willing to be punished. His anger persists for two days. He then appears, and after mildly censuring their lack of discipline, declares that he is reconciled with them. He offers a splendid sacrifice and invites the leading men of the Persians and the Macedonians to a banquet. Then all the weaker soldiers are mustered out with pay for past services and a talent each for travelling expenses. He gives orders that all sons begotten from Asiatic wives be left with him. More than 10,000 veterans, led by Craterus, are discharged and sent to Greece. Antipater is directed to give them special honours and privileges. Craterus is made governor of Macedonia, and Antipater is ordered to come to Alexander with reinforcements. Because of discord between Antipater and Olympias the king is suspicious of Antipater as being too important for a prefect. After making changes in the army, Alexander comes to Celonae, a town occupied by the descendants of Boeotians driven from their homes by Xerxes. A quarrel arises between Eumenes and Hephaestion. Alexander comes to Media, celebrated for its fine horses. At Ecbatana he offers sacrifices and celebrates games, and relaxes his mind with banquets. Hephaestion is taken ill and dies. His body is taken to Babylon and given a magnificent funeral. Alexander orders mourning for Hephaestion throughout the empire, and his friends vie with him in honouring

Hephaestion; he is persuaded that Hephaestion is a god and Agathocles, a Samian, falls into great danger by weeping for him as if he were dead. Alexander marches against the Cossaei, a rude and warlike nation; he subdues them within 40 days. He founds cities and marches to Babylon. Nearchus warns him not to enter the city, but he scorns the prediction of the Chaldeans, He sails on the river Pallucopas to the land of the Arabians. He founds a city, in which he settled the aged and infirm Greeks and others who wished to remain there. In spite of many unfavourable omens, he enters Babylon. He is entertained by Nearchus at a banquet, and when he was about to retire was persuaded by Médius to attend a drinking-bout. After spending the night in drinking he is taken ill and within six days his strength is exhausted. The troops insist on being admitted to see him.

On his death-bed Alexander remained in the same posture until he had saluted every man in the army. He gives his ring to Perdiccas, and directs that his body be taken to Ammon. He dies, saying that he left his kingdom “to the best man.” A summary of his good qualities and his defects. His invariable good fortune (v).

Consultation as to his successor, and the various opinions of the Macedonians (vi).

Meleager favours Alexander’s brother Arrhidaeus. Pithon names Perdiccas and Leonnatus as regents for an expected son of Roxane. Arrhidaeus with a guard of footsoldiers breaks into the kings quarters. Perdiccas and Leonnatus with their cavalry decide to leave the city (vii).

Meleager urges Arrhidaeus to kill Perdiccas. Perdiccas takes a position in the plains and afflicts Babylon with hunger. Arrhidaeus, desirous of peace, tries to quiet the disturbance (viii).

Perdiccas while he is making a lustration of the army in the Macedonian manner, by a statagem kills Meleager and about 30 other fomenters of discord (ix).

Perdiccas partitions Alexander’s empire, giving the main part to Arrhidaeus and himself, the remainder to the leaders of the Macedonian forces. Rumour that Alexander was poisoned. The king’s body is embalmed in the manner of the Egyptians and Chaldeans and taken by Ptolemy to Memphis and later to Alexandria (x).

BOOK X

I. AT about that same time Oleander and Sitalces, and Heracon with Agathon arrived, who at the king's [2] order had killed Parmenion. 5000 infantry with 1000 horsemen followed them, but also accusers from the provinces of which they had been governors. And the service rendered by the assassination, although very pleasing to the king, could not make amends for the many crimes which they had committed. For not only had they pillaged everything secular, but they had not even withheld their hands from sacred objects, and maidens and women of high station who had suffered violation were weeping for [4] the insult to their persons. Their greed and lust had made the name of the Macedonians hateful to the [5] barbarians. Among them all, however, the mad passion of Cleander was preeminent, who after having assaulted a maiden of high birth had given her to one of his slaves as a concubine.

[6] Very many of Alexander's friends had an eye, not so much to the atrocity of the crimes that were openly laid to the charge of these men, as to the memory that they had killed Parmenion, which might secretly help the accused with the king; and they rejoiced that his anger had recoiled upon the tools of his anger, and that no power gained through crime was lasting [7] for anyone. The king, having examined the case, declared that the accusers had passed over one crime, and that the greatest of all, namely, despair of his safety; for they never would have ventured on such conduct, if they had either wished him to return safely from India or had believed that he would [8] return. Therefore he bound these men in fetters, but ordered the 600 soldiers who had been the [9] instruments of their cruelty to be put to death. On the same day punishment was inflicted upon those also whom Craterus had brought in, who were responsible for the revolt of the Persians.

[10] Not long afterwards Nearchus and Onesicritus arrived, whom he had ordered to advance some distance [11] into the Ocean. They reported some things from hearsay, others which they had learned from observation: that there was an island opposite the mouth of the river, which abounded in gold, but lacked horses — these, they had learned, were bought at a talent apiece from those who ventured to bring them from the mainland — that the sea was full of [12] whales; that these, huge as great ships, floated with the course of the tide, and when frightened off by the blast of the trumpet, from following the ships, plunged under the water with a great roaring of the sea, like so many sunken vessels.

[13] As to other matters they had taken the word of the natives; that the Red Sea was so called, not from the colour of its waters, as most people believed, but [14] from a King Erythrus; that there was, not far from the mainland, an island thickly planted with palm-groves, and that in about the middle of the wood a lofty column arose, marking the grave of King Erythrus and inscribed in the characters of that [15] nation. They added that ships carrying sutlers and

merchants, whose pilots had followed the report of gold, had crossed to the island, but after that had ^[16] never been seen by them again. The king, fired with eagerness to know more, bade them go back and coast along the shore until they brought the fleet to the mouth of the Euphrates; from there they would go up the river to Babylon.

^[17] Alexander himself, having embraced infinite plans in his mind, had determined, after thoroughly subduing the entire seacoast of the Orient, to cross from Syria to Africa, being incensed against the Carthaginians, then passing through the deserts of Numidia, to direct his course to Gades — for the report had spread abroad that the pillars of Hercules were there ^[18] — then to visit Spain, which the Greeks called Hiberia from the river Hiberus, to approach and skirt the Alps and the seacoast of Italy, from which it is ^[19] only a short voyage to Epirus. With this in view he ordered the governors of Mesopotamia to cut timber on Mt. Libanus, transport it to Thapsacus, a city of Syria, and lay the keels of 700 ships; all were to be septiremes, and to be taken to Babylon. The kings of the Cypriotes were ordered to furnish copper, hemp and sails.

^[20] While he was thus engaged, letters of Kings Porus and Taxiles were delivered to him, reporting that Abisares had died a natural death, and Philippus, his satrap, as the result of a wound, and that those who had wounded the latter had been punished.

^[21] Accordingly, he appointed, in place of Philippus Eudaemon — he was a general of the Thracians — and gave the kingdom of Abisares to that king's son.

^[22] From there they came to Parsagada; that is a Persian race, whose satrap was Orsines, prominent among all the barbarians for high birth and wealth.

^[23] He traced his descent from Cyrus, formerly king of the Persians; he had wealth, both what he had inherited from his forefathers and what he himself had amassed during long possession of sovereignty.

^[24] He met the king with gifts of every kind, intending to give presents not only to Alexander but to his friends as well. Troops of tamed horses followed him and chariots adorned with silver and gold, costly furniture and splendid gems, golden vases of great weight, purple vestments, and 3000 talents of coined ^[25] silver. But this great generosity of the barbarian was the cause of his death. For when he had honoured all the friends of the king with gifts beyond their highest hopes, to Bagoas, a eunuch who had won the regard of Alexander through prostitution, he ^[26] paid no honour, and on being admonished by some that Bagoas was dear to Alexander, replied that he was honouring the friends of the king, not his harlots, and that it was not the custom of the Persians to mate with males who made females of themselves by prostitution.

^[27] On hearing this, the eunuch exercised the power which he had gained by shame and disgrace against the life of an eminent and guiltless man. For he secretly supplied the most worthless fellows of that same nation with false

accusations, warning them not to make them public until he himself should have [28] given the word. Meanwhile, whenever no witnesses were present, he filled the credulous ears of the king with lies, concealing the reason for his anger, in order to add greater weight to his accusations.

[29] Orsines as yet was not suspected, but nevertheless was already less esteemed; for he was secretly being incriminated without being aware of the hidden danger. And that most shameless harlot, not forgetting his deception even amid debauchery and the endurance of shame, whenever he had aroused the king's passion for himself, charged Orsines now with avarice, sometimes even with treason.

[30] And now the calumnies were ripe for the ruin of a blameless man, and Fate was on hand, whose will is inescapable. For it chanced that Alexander ordered the tomb of Cyrus to be opened, in which his body had been laid at rest, and to which Alexander wished [31] to pay funereal honours. He had believed it to be a storehouse filled with gold and silver — for that was common rumour among the Persians — , but except the king's mouldering shield, two Scythian bows, [32] and a scimitar he found nothing. However, having placed a crown of gold upon the coffin in which the body lay, he covered it over with the robe which he himself was accustomed to wear, expressing surprise that a king of such renown and endowed with such power had been buried no more sumptuously than [33] if he had been one of the common folk. The eunuch was at Alexander's side; looking significantly at him, he said: "What wonder if the tombs of kings are empty, when the houses of their satraps cannot contain the gold that they have amassed from them?"

[34] For my part, I had never seen the tomb before, but I learned from Darius that 3000 talents of gold were [35] buried with Cyrus. Hence that generosity to you, in order that what Orsines could not keep with safety, he might even curry favour by giving away."

[36] He had already aroused the king's mind to anger, when those to whom he had entrusted the same business arrived. On one side Bagoas, on the other those whom he had suborned, filled the king's ears [37] with false charges. Before Orsines suspected that he was being accused he was delivered into bondage. Not content with the punishment of an innocent man, the eunuch laid his hand upon him as he was about to be executed. Orsines with a glance at him said: "I had heard that women once reigned in Asia; this however is something new, for a eunuch to [38] reign!" Such was the end of one of the noblest of the Persians, who was not only blameless but of [39] remarkable kindness towards the king. At the same time Phradates, suspected of aspiring to royal power, was put to death. Alexander had begun to be too hasty in inflicting prompt punishment, and also in [40] believing calumnies; so true is it that success is able to change one's nature, and that rarely is anyone cautious enough towards his own good fortune. For this same man shortly before had not been able to bring himself to punish Lyncestes Alexander [41] though he had been charged by two witnesses, had even suffered humbler criminals to be

acquitted against his desire because the rest believed them innocent, and had restored their thrones to ^[42] vanquished enemies; but towards the end of his life he had so degenerated from his true self, that though formerly of a mind proof against lust, at the caprice of a catamite he gave kingdoms to some and took life from others.

^[43] At about that same time Alexander received a letter from Coenus about what had happened in Europe and Asia while the king subdued India.

^[44] *Zopyrion, governor of Thrace, while making an expedition against the Getae, had been overwhelmed with his whole army by tempests and gales which ^[45] suddenly arose. On learning of this disaster Seuthes had forced his subjects the Odrysae to revolt. While Thrace was almost lost, Greece also did not remain unshaken by disturbances. For Alexander, by punishing the insolence of certain satraps who, while he was detained at the end of the world by war with the Indi, had practised the greatest and most disgraceful crimes against the provincials, had inspired fear in the rest. These, being guilty of like offences and fearing the same punishment for their crimes, took refuge in the protection of the mercenary soldiers, expecting by such troops as these to defend themselves if they should be demanded for punishment, or after exacting as much money as they could, sought safety in flight. After this was known, letters were sent to all the governors of Asia, and when these were read, they found that they were ordered to disband on the spot all the foreign soldiers who were serving under them.*

Among these was Harpalus. Alexander, because years before Philip, just on account of the friendship between Harpalus and his son, had driven him out and Harpalus had fled the country, regarded him as one of his most faithful friends. And after the death of Mazaeus he had made him satrap of Babylon and had appointed him custodian of the royal treasures. Harpalus, then, having by his flagrant offences lost the confidence which he could have felt in the remarkable favour of the king, abstracted 5000 talents from the royal treasure, hired a band of 6000 mercenaries, and escaped to Europe. For long since, driven headlong by extravagance and his passions, and despairing of pardon from the king, he had looked about for help from others against Alexander's anger, and had sedulously courted the Athenians, whose power and influence with the rest of the Greeks he knew, as well as their secret hatred of the Macedonians. Therefore he pointed out to his followers that the Athenians, knowing of his arrival and seeing before their eyes the forces and the money which he was bringing, would join forces and plans with them at once. For he thought that from an inexperienced and fickle people by making use of unprincipled and venal persons he could gain everything by bribes.

II. Therefore with thirty ships they cross to Sunium — it is a promontory of the land of Attica — from which they had decided to go to the port of ^[2] the city. Alexander, having learned this, and being equally incensed at Harpalus and the Athenians, ordered a fleet to be made ready, intending to go ^[3] at once

to Athens. As he was secretly considering this plan, a letter was delivered to him, saying that Harpalus had in fact entered Athens, and by his money had won the support of the leading men but that presently, after an assembly of the people had been held, he was ordered to leave the city and had taken refuge with his Greek soldiers; then he had crossed to Crete in his ships and at the instigation of a friend had been treacherously slain.

[4] Alexander, rejoicing at this, gave up his design of crossing into Europe, and issued orders that the exiles, except such as were stained by the blood of citizens, should be received by all the Greek cities [5] from which they had been banished. And the Greeks, not daring to disregard his order, although they thought that it marked the beginning of the breakdown of their laws, even restored to those who had been condemned such of their property as was [6] left. The Athenians alone, defenders not only of themselves but also of Greece, could not tolerate such a cesspool of classes and men, being accustomed to be governed, not by the command of a king, but [7] by the laws and ancestral customs; therefore they shut out the exiles from their territories, preferring to endure anything rather than admit what was once the off-scourings of their city, and then even of their places of exile.

[8] Alexander, having sent the older of his soldiers to their native land, ordered 13,000 infantry and 2000 horsemen to be selected for him to retain in Asia, thinking that Asia could be held by an army of moderate size, because he had distributed garrisons in many places and had filled the newly founded cities with colonists desirous of maintaining [9] the *status quo*. But before selecting those whom he intended to retain, he ordered all the soldiers to make a declaration of their debts. He had learned that many had heavy indebtedness, and although it had been contracted by their own extravagance, he had nevertheless decided to liquidate it himself.

[10] The soldiers, thinking that they were being tested, in order that he might more easily separate the wastrels from the frugal, had delayed for some time in making their reports. And the king, knowing well that it was shame and not stubbornness which kept them from confessing their indebtedness, ordered tables to be set up throughout the whole [11] camp, and 10,000 talents to be brought out. Then at last, when they were satisfied that he was in earnest, they declared their debts. And out of so great a sum of money not more than 130 talents remained. To such an extent had that army, though victor over so many of the richest nations, yet carried off from Asia more victory than booty.

[12] But when it was known that some were being sent home and others retained, the soldiers, thinking that he would establish the permanent seat of his kingdom in Asia, frenzied and forgetful of military discipline, filled the camp with mutinous talk, and assailing the king more boldly than ever before, began all together to demand their discharge, displaying their faces [13] disfigured with scars and their hoary heads. Prevented by neither the rebukes of their officers nor by respect for the king, with rebellious shouts and military violence they interrupted Alexander when he wished to speak, and openly

declared that they would move a step from there in no direction except towards 14 their native land. At last, when silence had been made rather because they thought that he had been influenced than because they could be, they were waiting to see what he would do, when he said: [15] “What does this sudden disturbance and such insolent and furious lawlessness threaten? I fear to speak, at least plainly; you have broken my authority and I am king on sufferance, to whom you have not left the privilege of addressing you, of knowing and advising you, or even of looking you in the face.

[16] In fact, when I have decided to send some to their native land and a little later to take others with me, I witness the same uproar from those who are to go as from those with whom I decided to follow those [17] who had been sent in advance. What does this mean? The shouting of all is the same for different reasons! I should very much like to know whether it is those who are to go, or those who are to be retained who complain of me.”

[18] You would have believed that all with one voice raised a shout; so unanimously came the reply from [19] the whole assembly that they all complained. Then the king continued: “By Heaven! it is impossible for me to be led to believe that you all have the reason for complaint which you allege, in which the greater part of the army does not join, inasmuch as I dismissed more than I am intending to retain.

[20] Undoubtedly there is some deeper evil which turns you all from me. For when has a whole army abandoned its king? Not even slaves run away from their masters in a single body, but even they feel some shame in leaving those who have been [21] deserted by the rest. But I, forgetting such mad mutiny, am trying to apply remedies to those that are incurable. By Heaven! I reject all the hope which I had conceived from you, and I have decided to treat with you, not as with my soldiers — for that you have already ceased to be — but as the most [22] ungrateful of hired hands. You have begun to be crazed by the prosperity which surrounds you, forgetting the condition from which you were saved by my kindness, in which, by Heaven! you deserve to grow old, since it is easier for you to master bad fortune than good.

[23] “There’s insolence! You, who a short time ago were paying tribute to the Illyrians and the Persians, are disdainful of Asia and the spoils of so many nations. Those who but now were half-naked under Philip find purple robes mean! Their eyes cannot endure gold and silver! For they desire wooden bowls, wicker shields, and rusty swords!

[24] Such was the splendid equipment in which I received you, besides a debt of 500 talents, when the whole royal equipment was not more than 60 talents, the foundation of the deeds which I afterwards accomplished. With which nevertheless — may envy withhold her hand! — I imposed my rule upon the [25] greatest part of the earth. Are you wearied of Asia, which by the glory of your deeds has made you equal to the gods? You are in a hurry to desert your king and go into Europe, when to very many of you your travelling expenses would have been lacking if I had not liquidated your

debts, and that too in booty from ^[26] Asia. And you are not ashamed, carrying about in your bottomless bellies the spoils of conquered nations, to wish to return to your wives and children, to whom few of you can show the fruits of victory; for of the rest your very arms have been pawned, even while you are on the way to the realization of your hopes.

^[27] “Fine soldiers truly I am going to lose, bed-mates of mistresses; men to whom this alone remains out of such great riches, and on this, wealth is being spent. Therefore let the ways be opened for those who desert me! Get out from here! And quickly too! I with the Persians will protect your backs as you flee. I detain no one; free my eyes, most ^[28] ungrateful of citizens! Joyfully will your parents and children receive you, returning without your king! They will come out to meet deserters and ^[29] runaways! I shall triumph, by Heaven! in your flight, and wherever I shall be, I shall punish you by honouring and preferring to you those with whom you leave me. Moreover, you will soon know how much an army is worth without a head, and what help there is in my single person.” Then in a rage he leaped down from the tribunal and plunged into the midst of the array of armed soldiers, and having noted those who had spoken most mutinously, he seized them one by one, none daring to resist, and handed over thirteen of them to his bodyguard to be kept in custody.

III. Who would have believed that an assemblage recently so savage was paralysed by sudden fear, even when they saw those who had dared nothing more serious than the rest dragged off to punishment?....

^[3] Whether veneration for the mere name, since nations which live under kings honour their kings among the gods, or a particular veneration for Alexander himself, or the confidence with which he exercised his authority with such force, struck them all with terror; at any rate, they showed a remarkable instance of patience, and were so far from being exasperated by the execution of their fellow-soldiers when towards nightfall they learned that they had been put to death, that there was nothing that they left undone to make each man act with more obedience and loyalty. For on the following day, when they had been refused access to the king, and only Asiatic soldiers were admitted, they uttered mournful cries throughout the whole camp, declaring that they wished to die forthwith if the king persisted in being angry. But he, determined to carry out everything upon which he had resolved, ordered an assembly of the foreign troops to be called, while the Macedonians were kept within their camp, and when the foreign troops had come together in great numbers, he summoned an interpreter and addressed them as follows: ^[7] “When I was crossing from Europe into Asia, I hoped that I should add many famous nations and a great force of men to my kingdom. And I was not deceived in believing what was reported about them ^[8] But to that report this also is added, that I behold brave men of invincible loyalty towards their kings.

^[9] I had supposed that luxury prevailed everywhere, and that by excess of good fortune you were plunged into pleasures; but, by Heaven! you endure

with equal indefatigability, such is that strength of yours of both mind and body, the duties of military service, and while you are brave men, you cultivate loyalty ^[10] no less than courage. This, it is true, I now declare for the first time, but have long known it therefore I have both made a selection from the men of military age among you, and have incorporated them with my soldiers. You have the same equipment, the same arms; but in obedience and submission to discipline you are far superior to the rest.

[11] “It is for this reason that I myself united in marriage with me Roxanê, daughter of the Persian Oxyartes, not disdaining to rear children from a ^[12] captive. Then later, when I desired to propagate the stock of my race more extensively, I took to wife a daughter of Darius and set the example to my nearest friends of begetting children from captives, in order that by this sacred alliance I might abolish all distinction between vanquished and victor.

[13] Therefore believe that in my eyes you are soldiers of OUT blood, not brought in from outside. Asia and Europe now belong to one and the same kingdom; I give you the arms of the Macedonians, I have made you old soldiers instead of new and foreign ones; you are both my citizens and my ^[14] soldiers. All things take on the same colour; it is neither unbecoming for the Persians to simulate the manners of the Macedonians, nor for the Macedonians to copy those of the Persians. Those ought to have the same rights who are to live under the same sovereign.” *After having made this address, Alexander entrusted to Persians the guardianship of his person, made his attendants Persians, his servants Persians. When the Macedonians who mere leaders in this mutiny mere being led by these in bonds to execution, they say that one of them, a man of weight in authority and in years, spoke as follows to the king:*

IV. “How long will you gratify your mind even with punishments, and those too of a foreign kind? Your soldiers, your citizens, without a trial and led by their captives, are dragged off to death. If it is your judgement that we deserve death, at least ^[2] change those who inflict the penalty.” The king was admonished in a friendly spirit, if he had been willing to listen to the truth, but his wrath had changed to madness. Therefore he ordered again — for those to whom the order had been given had hesitated — that the mutineers be drowned in the river, bound as ^[3] they were. Not even such a punishment as this roused mutiny among the soldiers. On the contrary, the companies went to the leaders of the forces and to the king’s friends, asking that if he judged that there were any besides who were stained with the same guilt, he should order them to be put to death; that they offered their bodies to his anger; let him slaughter them. *At last, almost beside themselves with grief, they ran to the royal quarters in a body, and throw-in down their arms before the doors and standing in their tunics, begged with tears that their bodies, unarmed and submissive to punishment, might be admitted. That they did not refuse by the punishment of the guilty to expiate the faults that they had committed through insubordination. That the anger of the king was to them more terrible than*

death. —

But although, continuing to stand day and night before the royal quarters, they manifested their repentance by pitiful outcries and attire, yet the king's wrath held out for two days against his men's most abject prayers. On the third day, overcome by their constant entreaties he came out, and after mildly censuring the lack of discipline of the army, declared, not without the shedding of many tears by both sides, that he was reconciled with them. Nevertheless the event seemed to call for expiation by greater victims. Accordingly, after offering a splendid sacrifice, he invited the chief men of the Macedonians and at the same time those of the Persians to a feast. It is reported that he entertained 9000 men at that banquet, and that they all, at the king's invitation, made libation from the same bowl, while the priests of the Greeks and of the barbarians dictated not only other propitious prayers but especially that a union of the two kingdoms should be consolidated for all time in the same body. Then the discharge was hastened, and all the weakest soldiers were mustered out. He also granted a furlough to some of his friends of greater age. Among these were Clitus, surnamed Albus, Gorgias, Polydamas, and Antigenes. To those who left he not only faithfully gave pay for their past services, but also added a talent to each soldier for travelling expenses.

He gave orders that the sons whom they had begotten from Asiatic wives — they are said 10000 — should be left with him, for fear that if they returned to Macedonia with their fathers and the former wives and children of these, they might fill families with strife and discord; he promised that he would take care that the children should be trained in the customs of their country and taught the principles of military service. So, more than 10,000 veterans were discharged and Craterus, one of the king's special friends, was appointed to lead them. If anything to which is liable should befall him, they were ordered to obey Polypercon. A letter was also written to Antipater with orders that honour should be paid to the veterans, so that whenever games and athletic contests were celebrated, they should witness them from the first rows of seats and with garlands on their heads, and that the ungrown children of those who should have died should inherit their fathers' pay. He appointed Craterus governor of Macedonia and the adjacent districts, but gave orders that Antipater should come to the king with a reinforcement of younger Macedonians. For that through the discord between the governor and Olympias some grave calamity might be suffered his mother had sent many letters to Alexander and Antipater many, in which they charged each numerous arrogant and hostile acts which tended to the disgrace or the impairment of the royal majesty, after the rumour of the king's death falsely spread abroad, had seeped into mother and his sister Cleopatra had set on foot a revolution, and his sister had taken possession of her father's kingdom, and Olympias, of Epirus.

It happened that while letters of that kind were being delivered,

Hephaestion, who was wont to be regarded as the confidant of all the king's secrets, was at the same time looking over the letters that had been opened by Alexander. And the king did not prevent him, but taking of his ring from his finger, he laid it upon the reader's lips, signifying that nothing of what had been written should be communicated to others. But he is said to have railed at them both, and, angered by the insolence of his mother, to have said that she for a lodging of ten months which she had furnished him in her womb was exacting a heavy price, but that he had held Antipater in suspicion, on the ground that having gained a victory over the Spartans he was growing arrogant, and because of power already prolonged over so many years had risen above the conduct becoming a prefect. Accordingly, when Antipater's dignity and uprightness were praised by certain men, Alexander replied that he seemed white on the outside, but if he was looked into deeply, he was all purple. Nevertheless he concealed his suspicion and showed no clearer indication of an alienated feeling. Yet very many believed that Antipater, thinking that he was summoned for punishment, was responsible by disloyal plots for the death of the king, which followed shortly afterward.

Meanwhile the king, in order to patch up the losses in his diminished army, mustered all the best of the Persians into the ranks of the Macedonians; he also set aside a thousand of the most distinguished for a body-guard; another troop of spearmen, not fewer than 10,000, he ordered to keep watch by night at the royal quarters. As he was doing this, Peucestes appeared with 20,000 archers and stingers which he had mustered from his own province. When these had been distributed, through the army, the king set out from Susa, and, having crossed, the Pasitigris River, measured of a camp at Carae. Then, having led his forces for four days through Sittacene, he advanced to Sambana, and remained there for seven days. Then, after making a march of three days, he arrived at Celonae. This town is occupied by people from Boeotia, whom Xerxes drove from their transferred to the Orient; and they retained as a proof of their origin a language of their own, the most part of Greek words, but because of the necessity of commerce they used the speech of the neighbouring barbarians. Then he entered Bagistane, a rich region, abounding in a handsome and prolife growth of and in other things which contribute not only to the necessities, but also to the enjoyment of life.

Meanwhile a serious quarrel had arisen between and Hephaestion. For Hephaestion slaves from the lodging of which they had taken for their master, in order that be put up in it. And not long afterwards when their haired seemed to be already put to sleep, through a new cause of strife that arose it revived to such an extent that they even broke out into a dreadful wrangle and Utter abuse of each other. But by the intervention of Alexander and at his command their enmity at least in appearance, after he had even Hephaestion, who, since he enjoyed the kings greatest favour, persistently repulsed Eumenes, although the latter of Media, and they are conspicuous for their size and beauty. More than 50,000 were found there when Alexander crossed into

that country, as was noted by his companions; that formerly there had been three times that number, but amid the confusion of the wars brigands had driven off the greatest part of them. There the king halted for about thirty days. Thither Atropates, satrap of Media, brought a hundred barbarian women skilled in horsemanship and armed with round shields and axes; this equipment led some to believe that they were survivors of the race of the Amazons. Then in seven days he came to Ecbatana, the capital of Media. There he offered solemn sacrifices to the gods, exhibited games, and relaxed his mind with banquets and festal days, in order to be stronger for new tasks.

But as he was meditating on these tasks, Fate, as if laying her hand upon him, drew him elsewhere and snatched away the life of the dearest of his friends, and not long afterwards of the king himself. He was viewing the boys contesting in the stadium when it was announced that Hephaestion was failing; he had already been sick abed for seven days from over-indulgence in wine. Alarmed by the danger of his friend, the king at once rose from his seat and quickly went to Hephaestion's lodging. Yet he did not reach there before death had anticipated him. This is certainly regarded as the most grievous of all the losses which Alexander had suffered in his whole lifetime? and that he was so overcome by the greatness of his sorrow as to burst into tears and lamentations gave strong proof of a loss of his usual spirit. But there are various reports of his conduct; this much is agreed by all, that Alexander, in order to give his friend the most splendid obsequies, did not wish him to be buried at Ecbatana, but to be taken by Perdiccas to Babylon, to which place he himself was on the point of going; and that there he had arranged for a funeral of unheard-of splendour at a cost of 12,000 talents. Certain it is that he gave orders for Hephaestion to be mourned throughout the whole empire, and in order that his memory might not be lost in the army, Alexander appointed no leader of the cavalry which he had commanded, but wished it to be called the troop of Hephaestion, and that the standards that he had established there should not be changed. The king planned funereal contests and games such as had never been given before, and brought together 3000 artists; and these not long after are said to have competed at Alexander's own funeral.

The king's friends also, not lacking in zeal to win his favour by such lavish demonstrations of sympathy, vied with one another in devising means of making the memory of the deceased more glorious and more honoured. Accordingly Eumenes, since he felt that he had incurred the king's indignation because of his quarrel with Hephaestion, induced many men to consecrate themselves and their arms to Hephaestion and he himself contributed generously to join in honouring his funeral. The rest followed this example, and their shameless flattery went so far that the king, insane with grief and longing for his dead friend, was at last persuaded that Hephaestion was a god.

At that time, indeed, among the leaders of the forces Agathocles the

Samian fell into extreme danger because when passing the tomb of Hephaestion he was seen to have wept over him. And had not Perdiccas falsely said that while he was hunting Hephaestion had appeared to him, and had he not sworn by all the gods and by Hephaestion himself that he had learned from him that Agathocles had not wept as over a dead mortal who had vainly been honoured with the title of divinity, but that it was because of the memory of their former comradeship that he had been unable to restrain his tears, a brave man, who had deserved well of the king, although blameless, would have suffered severe punishment because of his affection for his friend.

But in order for a time to call away his mind from grief, the king undertook an expedition into the land of the Cossaei. They dwell in the mountains near Media, a rude and warlike race, accustomed to live by plunder. From that people the kings of the Persians were wont to purchase peace by an annual tribute, to prevent them from running down into the land below them and infesting it with brigandage. For when the Persians resorted to force they had easily defeated them, defended as they were by the ruggedness of the places in which they took refuge whenever they were overcome by arms. They were also placated by annual gifts, in order that the king on his return to Babylon from Ecbatana, where he regularly spent the summer, might have a safe passage through those lands. These people, then, Alexander attacked with his force in two divisions, and completely subdued them within forty days. For after being often defeated by the king himself and by Ptolemy, who was leading one part of the army, they surrendered to the victor, in order to recover their men who had been made prisoner.

Alexander gave orders that strong cities be founded in strategic places, for fear that when the army was withdrawn the savage race might throw off the yoke. Then he moved his camp, and in a leisurely march, in order to give rest to the soldiers, who were wearied by the recent campaign, he went on to Babylon. And already he was only thirty stadia distant from the city, when Nearchus, whom he had sent ahead to Babylon by way of the Ocean and the mouths of the Euphrates, met him, and entreated him not to think of entering the city, which was destined to be fatal to him. He said that he had learned this from the Chaldeans, who had already abundantly proved the credibility of their art by the result of many predictions. The king, influenced by the reputation of the Chaldeans and by their persistent assertion, having sent many of his friends to the city, led the army by another road past Babylon and pitched a permanent camp 200 stadia from the city. But, advised by the philosopher Anaxarchus, he scorned the warnings of the Chaldeans, whose teachings he thought false or superfluous, and entered the city. Thither deputations from almost the whole world had flocked together. After giving attentive audience to these for several days, he then turned his thoughts to the obsequies of Hephaestion. These were celebrated with such great and general devotion that there was no king up to that time whose funeral rites they did

not surpass in the greatness of their cost and the magnificence of their equipment.

After this a longing seized the king to sail over the river Pallacopas to the lands of the Arabians; having arrived there and having discovered a suitable site for founding a city, he settled in it those of the Greeks who were disabled by age or by wounds, as well as any who had remained behind of their own volition. When these things had been finished to his satisfaction, now at ease about the future, he laughed at the Chaldeans because he had not only entered Babylon but also had left it unharmed. But in fact, as he was returning through the marshes which the Euphrates makes by pouring into the Pallacopas, a direful omen was offered. For some overhanging branches dragged the diadem from the king's head and cast it into the river. When after this prodigies were announced one after the other, continual sacrifices were offered to avert them, at the same time by Greek and by barbarian rites.

Nevertheless they could not be expiated except by the Icings death. And when he had entertained Nearchus with a banquet and he was already about to go to bed, he yielded to the urgent entreaties of Medius of Larissa that he would come to him for a drinking-bout. After he had drunk deeply there all night, he began to feel ill. Then his illness grew so much worse that within six days it had so exhausted all his strength that he could not even speak. Meanwhile the troops, overcome by anxiety and longing to see him, although their leaders warned them not to burden the king in his illness, extorted permission to be admitted to his presence.

V. As they gazed at him, their rising tears gave the impression no longer of an army looking upon its ^[2] king, but of one attending his funeral; yet the grief of those who stood about his couch was still greater. When the king saw them he said: "After I am gone ^[3] will you find a king worthy of such men?" Incredible to tell and to hear of, he continued to hold his body in the same attitude in which he had composed himself when he was about to admit the soldiers, until he had been saluted by the whole army for that last time. And having dismissed the common throng, as if he had discharged every debt to life, he threw ^[4] back his exhausted frame, and after bidding his friends to seat themselves — for his voice too had already begun to give out — he drew his ring from his finger and handed it to Perdiccas, adding instructions that they should order his body to be taken to Ammon.

^[5] When they asked to whom he left his kingdom, he replied, to him who was the best man, but that he already foresaw that because of that contest great ^[6] funeral games were in preparation for him. Again, when Perdiccas asked when he wished divine honours to be paid to him, he said that he wished it at the time when they themselves were happy. These were the king's last words, and shortly afterwards he died.

^[7] And at first the whole royal quarters rang with wailing, lamentation, and beating of breasts; presently, as if in a desert waste, everything was mute and torpid, since grief was changed to thoughts of ^[8] what would happen next. The

high-born boys who were his regular body-guard could neither contain the greatness of their grief nor keep themselves within the vestibule of the royal quarters. Wandering about and as if crazed, they had filled that city, great as it was, with grief and sorrow, omitting no complaints which sorrow suggests in such a disaster; [9] therefore those who had stood without the royal quarters, Macedonians and foreigners alike, rushed together. And in their common sorrow the vanquished could not be distinguished from the victors; the Persians, calling upon a most just and mild lord, the Macedonians upon the best and bravest of kings, exhibited, as it were, a contest in mourning.

[10] And not only words of sorrow were heard, but also of indignation, that through the envy of the gods a man so vigorous and in the flower of his youth and his fortune had been torn from mankind. His vigour and his aspect as he led his soldiers to battle, besieged cities, scaled walls, and rewarded brave men before the assembled army, were before their minds eye.

[11] Then the Macedonians repented of having denied him divine honours, and they confessed that they had been impious and ungrateful in having cheated his ears of the title due him. And after they had continued for a long time, now in veneration, now in longing for the king, their pity was diverted to themselves.

[12] Having left Macedonia, they saw themselves abandoned beyond the Euphrates and in the midst of foes dissatisfied with the new rule; without a sure heir to their king, without an heir to the throne, each man would be trying to draw the public forces into his own power.

[13] Then they foresaw the civil wars that followed. Again they would have to pour out their blood, old scars must be broken by new wounds; not to gain the rule of Asia, but to appoint a king to reign [14] over themselves. Aged and infirm, they who had recently asked their discharge from a legitimate king would now die perhaps in defence of the power of [15] some obscure subordinate. As they were turning over such thoughts in their minds, night came on and increased their alarm. The soldiers kept vigil under arms, the Babylonians, some from the walls, others from the roof of their own houses, were each looking out as if to get more certain information.

[16] And none dared to light their lamps, but because they could not use their eyes, they caught with their ears the noise and outcries, and often terrified by unfounded fear, they ran through the dark streets, and as they met one another were in turn suspected and apprehensive.

[17] The Persians, having shaved their hair according to custom, in mourning garb with their wives and children grieved for the king, not as their conqueror and recently their enemy, but with genuine longing as their own nation's most just ruler, and used as they were to live under a king, they confessed that none other had been more worthy to rule them.

[18] And their grief was not confined within the walls of the city, but the report of so great a disaster had spread through the region nearest to Babylon and then through a great part of Asia on the hither side [19] of the Euphrates.

The news was quickly brought also to the mother of Darius; she, rending the garments which she wore, put on mourning garb and, tearing her hair, threw herself on the ground.

[20] Beside her sat one of her granddaughters, mourning for the recent loss of Hephæstion, whom she had married, and in the general sorrow was renewing her [21] own reasons for grief. But Sisigambis alone felt the misfortune that had befallen all her family; she wept for her own loss and for that of her granddaughters. This recent grief too had revived the sorrows of the past. You might think that she had just lost Darius, and that the unhappy woman had to perform the funeral rites of two sons; she wept at [22] once for the dead and for the living. For who would have a care for her girls? Who would be a second Alexander? Again they were taken prisoner, again they had lost royal rank. After the death of Darius they had found someone to protect them, but after Alexander they assuredly would find none to do so.

[23] Amid these thoughts it entered her mind that her eighty brothers had been killed on one and the same day by Ochus, most savage of kings, and that their father had been added to the slaughter of so many sons, and that of the seven children that she herself had borne only one was left. Even Darius had flourished for a time, only that he might meet a more 21 cruel death. At last she gave way to grief and veiling her head and turning away from her granddaughter and her grandson, who fell at her knees, she at the same time abstained from food and shunned the light of day. The fifth day after she [25] had resolved to die, she passed away. Surely her death is a strong testimony to Alexander's indulgence towards her and to his just treatment of all the captives; for she who had had the fortitude to live after Darius was ashamed to survive Alexander.

[26] And, by Heaven! to those who judge the king fairly it is clear that his good qualities were natural, [27] his faults due to his fortune or to his youth. He possessed incredible strength of mind, an endurance of toil which was almost excessive, a courage excelling not only among kings but among those whose sole [28] merit it is, a generosity that often bestowed greater gifts than are asked of gods in prayer, clemency towards the vanquished, shown either by returning so many kingdoms to those from whom he had taken [29] them in war or by giving them as gifts, a constant contempt of death, the fear of which appals the rest of mankind, a desire for glory and renown which, although it was greater than was proper, yet was to be overlooked in a young man who had done such [30] glorious deeds; also his devotion to his parents, of whom he had decided to consecrate Olympias among [31] the immortals and had avenged Philip, his kindness to almost all his friends, his goodwill to his soldiers, [32] his wisdom equal to the greatness of his spirit, and a keenness of judgement of which one of his years could hardly have been capable, a restraint of immoderate desires, the indulgence of passion only within natural requirements, and to have enjoyed no pleasures except such as were lawful, were certainly gifts of his own nature.

[33] The following qualities were attributable to his fortune: to equal himself with the gods and to aspire to divine honours, to trust to oracles which advised such conduct, and to be more angry than was fitting with those who refused to venerate him, to change his attire to that of foreign nations, to imitate those customs of the conquered races which he had scorned [34] before his victory. As for his hot temper and his love of wine, just as these were intensified by youth, [35] greater age might have moderated them. Yet it must be confessed that although he owed much to his own merit, yet he owed still more to Fortune, over whom he alone of all mortals had control. often did she save him from death! How often, when rashness brought him into danger, did she protect [36] him by perpetual good luck! She likewise fixed the same end for his life and for his glory; the Fates waited for him until, having thoroughly subdued the Orient, and having reached the Ocean, he fulfilled every task of which mortality was capable.

[37] This was the king and leader for whom a successor was sought, but the burden was too great for the shoulders of one man; hence even his name and the fame of his exploits spread kings and kingdoms throughout almost the whole world, and those were considered most glorious who had retained even the least part of so great a fortune. —

VI. But in Babylon — for it was from there that made a digression — his body-guards called to the royal quarters the chief of the king's friends and the leaders of his forces. A throng of soldiers followed, eager to know to whom the fortune of Alexander [2] would pass. Many generals, shut out by the great number of soldiers, had been unable to enter the royal quarters, since a herald forbade access except to those who had been summoned by name. But this order, [3] being of uncertain origin, was disregarded. And first of all the great wailing and lamentation was renewed, then expectation of what was coming checked their [4] tears and caused silence. Then Perdiccas, having put in view of the public the royal throne, on which were the diadem and the robe of Alexander together with his arms, placed on the same throne the ring which had been handed to him the day before by the king.

At the sight of these the whole assembly again burst into tears and renewed the mourning, and [5] Perdiccas said: "For my part, I return to you the ring handed to me by the late king himself, with which he was wont to seal the documents pertaining to his [6] kingdom and his power. Furthermore, although no calamity equal to this which has befallen us can be devised by the angry gods, yet those who consider the greatness of what he accomplished may well believe that so great a man was merely loaned to mankind by the gods, in order that, when his allotted service to humanity was completed, they might quickly take [7] him back into their own family. Therefore, since nothing else is left of him except what is always separated from immortality, let us pay as soon as possible the rites due to his body at least, not forgetting in what city and among whom we are, and of what a chief and what a king we have been [8] despoiled. We must therefore, fellow-soldiers, give attention and consider

how we may secure the victory which he has won among those from whom it was won. We have need of a head; to name one is in your power. One thing you must know, that a throng of soldiers without a leader is a body without [9] a soul. It is five months from the time when Roxanê became with child; we pray that she may bear a son, who shall rule over us with the gods' approval, when he comes of age. Determine by what men you wish to be ruled in the meantime." Thus spoke Perdiccas.

[10] Then Nearchus said that no one could deny that only the blood and stock of Alexander was suited to [11] royal majesty, but that to wait for a king who was not yet born, and to pass over one who was already living, suited neither the desires of the Macedonians nor their exigencies; that the king had a son by Barsinê; he ought to be presented with the crown.

[12] His speech was approved by no one; and so, clashing their shields with their spears after their custom, they persisted in uproar. And already, as Nearchus maintained his opinion too persistently, they had almost reached the point of mutiny, when Ptolemy [13] said: "Truly a most worthy stock to rule the race of the Macedonians is the son of Roxanê or Barsinê, whose very name Europe will be ashamed to hear, since it is that of one who is in greater part a captive.

[14] Is that why we have conquered the Persians, that we may serve their stock, a thing which those legitimate kings, Darius and Xerxes, sought in vain with armies of so many thousands and such great fleets?

[15] My advice is this, that the throne of Alexander be set up in the royal quarters, and that those who were summoned to his counsels should come together whenever there shall be need of general consultation, and that what the majority of them shall decide shall stand approved, and that the generals and commanders of troops shall obey those men.

[16] Some agreed with Ptolemy, fewer with Perdiccas. Then Aristonius began to speak, saying that Alexander, when he was asked to whom he left his kingdom, wished the best man to be chosen; moreover, he had himself judged that Perdiccas, to whom he [17] had handed his ring, was the best man. For he was not the only one who sat by Alexander when he was dying, but, the king, looking about, had chosen him from his throng of friends to give it to. Therefore it was Alexander's wish that the supreme power [18] should be bestowed upon Perdiccas. And there was no doubt that Aristonius' opinion was the truth. Therefore all bade Perdiccas to come forward and take up the king's ring. He wavered between inclination and shame, and believed that the more modestly he sought what he coveted the more persistently they [19] would press it upon him. So, after delaying and being for a long time uncertain what to do, he finally retired to the back part of the assembly, and stood behind those who were nearest to the throne.

[20] But Meleager, one of the generals, taking the courage which the hesitation of Perdiccas had aroused, said: "May the gods themselves not permit that the fortune of Alexander and the burden of so great a kingdom

should fall upon such shoulders, certainly men will not allow it. I say nothing of those of nobler birth than this fellow, but only of brave men, who need to endure nothing against their ^[21] will. And truly it makes no difference whether you have for king the son of Roxanê, whenever he shall be born, or Perdiccas, since that fellow will usurp the royal power under the guise of regency.

That is why no king pleases him except one who is not yet born, and amid the great haste of all, which is not only reasonable but even necessary, he alone waits for the completion of months, and already divines that a male child has been conceived. And could you doubt that he is even ready to suborn one?

^[22] If, by the God of Faith! Alexander had left this man to be king in his place, that would be the only one of his commands that I should think ought not ^[23] to be obeyed. Why then do you not run to plunder the treasures? for surely the people alone are the ^[24] heirs to these riches of the king.” Having said this, he burst through the midst of the armed men, and those who had made way for him when he left followed him to the booty which had been proclaimed.

VII. And already there was a large body of armed men around Meleager, and the assembly was on its way to sedition and discord, when a man unknown to most of the Macedonians, one of the lowest of the common people, said: “What need is there of arms and civil war, when you have the king whom you ^[2] seek? Arrhidaeus, son of Philip, brother of Alexander, who was shortly before king, recently his associate in sacrifices and ceremonies, and now his sole heir, is passed over by you. Why has he deserved this? Or what has he done to be cheated even of the common law of nations? If you seek a king like Alexander, you will never find one; if one next in blood, Arrhidaeus is the only choice.”

^[3] After hearing these words the assembly at first kept silence, as if ordered to do so, then they shouted with one voice that Arrhidaeus ought to be summoned, and that those who had held an assembly without him deserved death.

^[4] Then Pithon, bathed in tears, began to say that now Alexander was more than ever to be pitied, since he had been defrauded of the use and company of such good citizens and soldiers. For having an eye only to the name and the memory of their king, they were ^[5] blind to all else. Then in plain language he heaped abuse upon the one to whom the throne was being awarded, but his insulting words brought more hatred upon himself than contempt upon Arrhidaeus. For in pitying him the assembly began to favour him.

^[6] Therefore with persistent acclamation they declared that they would tolerate no other king than one who had been born to such a hope, and they ordered ^[7] Arrhidaeus to be called. Him Meleager, being hostile to Perdiccas, whom he hated, promptly brought into the royal quarters, and the soldiers hailed him as king under the name of Philippos.

^[8] But this was the voice of the common people, the opinion of the chief

men was different. Of these Pithon began to follow the plan of Perdiccas, and named Perdiccas and Leonnatus, both born of royal stock, as guardians of the son to be born of Roxane.

[9] He added that Craterus and Antipater should have direction of affairs in Europe. Then an oath was exacted of each man that they would submit to a [10] king begotten of Alexander. Meleager — naturally terrified for fear of punishment, he had withdrawn with his partisans — again burst into the royal quarters dragging Philippus with him and crying that his vigorous youth favoured the hope which they had just conceived for the new king; let them only try the offspring of Philip, son and brother to two kings; let them trust their own judgement rather than that of others.

[11] No deep sea, no vast and storm-swept ocean rouses such great billows as the emotions of a multitude, especially if it is exulting in a liberty which is new [12] and destined to be short-lived. A few were for giving the power to Perdiccas, who had recently been chosen, more to Philippus, whom they had scorned. But they could not favour nor oppose anything for long, and now repented of their resolution, and now of the very fact of having repented. At last, however, their [13] favour inclined to the royal stock. Arrhidaeus had left the assembly greatly alarmed by the authority of the leading men, and as he went out the favour of the soldiers was rather silenced than diminished; hence, on being recalled he put on the robe of his brother, the very one which had been placed upon [14] the throne. And Meleager, having put on his cuirass, armed himself as an attendant upon the new king. The phalanx followed his example, clashing their spears against their shields as a sign that they would sate themselves with the blood of those who [15] aspired to a rule to which they had no claim. They rejoiced that the strength of the empire would remain in the same house and family; that the inheritance of empire would defend the royal stock; they were accustomed to honour and venerate the name itself, and no one assumed it unless born to rule. —

[16] Therefore Perdiccas in terror ordered the room in which the body of Alexander was lying to be bolted; he had with him 600 men of tried valour, Ptolemy [17] also had joined him and the royal band of pages. But the barriers were easily broken through by so many thousands of soldiers. And the king also had rushed in, surrounded by a throng of attendants, of whom [18] Meleager took the lead; accordingly, Perdiccas called aside those who wished to protect the body of Alexander. But those who had broken in were throwing javelins at him at long range. And after many had been wounded, at last the older men, taking off their helmets in order to be more easily recognized, began to entreat those who favoured Perdiccas to cease from war and yield to the king and to superior [19] numbers. Perdiccas was the first to lay down his arms, and the rest followed his example. Then, when Meleager tried to persuade them not to leave the body of Alexander, they, thinking that he was looking for an opportunity for treachery, through another door of the palace took flight in the direction of the [20] Euphrates. The cavalry, which was

composed of the noblest of the youth, in great numbers followed Perdiccas and Leonnatus, and advised leaving the ^[21] city and encamping in the plains. But Perdiccas did not give up hope that even the infantry would follow him; and therefore, for fear that by leading away the horsemen he might seem to have separated from the rest of the army, he remained in the city.

VIII. But Meleager did not cease to warn the king that his right to rule ought to be confirmed by the death of Perdiccas; that if his ambitious spirit were not checked, he would start a revolution. That he remembered what he had deserved of the king, and besides no one was wholly loyal to one whom he ^[2] feared. The king rather listened to than accepted this advice; accordingly Meleager took his silence as a command and sent men in the name of the king to summon Perdiccas. They were directed to kill ^[3] him if he hesitated to come. Perdiccas, when the arrival of the messengers was known, attended only by sixteen youths of the royal cohort, took his place on the threshold of his house, and after upbraiding the messengers and repeatedly calling them slaves of Meleager, he so terrified them by the firmness of his courage and his expression, that they fled almost ^[4] beside themselves. Perdiccas ordered the youths to mount their horses and came with a few of his friends to Leonnatus, intending now to ward off violence with a stronger force, if anyone should offer it.

^[6] On the following day it seemed to the Macedonians shameful that Perdiccas had been exposed to danger of death, and they decided to go and punish by arms ^[6] the rash act of Meleager. But he, having foreseen a revolt, when he had come to the king began to ask him whether he himself had ordered Perdiccas to be seized. The king replied that he had ordered it at the instigation of Meleager, but that they ought not to make a disturbance; for Perdiccas was alive.

^[7] Therefore when the assembly had been dismissed, Meleager, terrified especially by the desertion of the cavalry and not knowing what to do — for he had fallen into the very danger which he had shortly before devised for his enemy — spent nearly three ^[8] days in considering uncertain plans. And in fact the former appearance of the royal quarters continued; for envoys of the nations came to the king, and the leaders of the forces were present with him, and armed men and attendants had filled the vestibule.

^[9] But the great seriousness which involuntarily showed itself was a sign of extreme desperation, and suspecting one another, they did not dare to approach nor to talk with anyone, but turned over secret thoughts each in their own minds, and from comparison with the new king longing was aroused for the one whom they had lost.

^[10] They inquired where he was whose rule and auspices they had followed; they had been deserted amid hostile and unsubdued nations, who would seek to inflict punishment for their many disasters, when-

^[11] ever an opportunity was offered. They were eating their hearts out by such thoughts as these, when it was announced that the cavalry who were

under Perdiccas, having taken possession of the plains around Babylon, had held back the grain which was ^[12] being transported into the city. In consequence, there began to be at first scarcity and then famine, and those who were within the city maintained that they ought to come to terms with Perdiccas or fight ^[13] with him. By chance it had so happened that those who had been in the fields, fearing a devastation of the farmhouses and villages, were fleeing to the city, and that the townspeople, as provisions were failing them, were going out of the city, since to both classes the abode of the others seemed safer than their own.

^[14] The Macedonians, fearing some disturbance from these, went in a body to the royal quarters and expressed their opinions. But it seemed best for envoys to be sent to the cavalry to discuss ending ^[15] the discord and laying down arms. Therefore the king sent Pasiyas the Thessalian and Damyllus of Megalopolis and Perilaus. When these had delivered the king's message, they received the reply that the horsemen would not lay down their arms unless the king should surrender the ringleaders of the discord.

^[16] When this reply was announced, the soldiers of their own accord armed themselves. Philip, called from the royal quarters by their tumult, said: "There is no necessity for an outbreak; for those who rest quiet will seize the prizes of those who engage in ^[17] mutual strife. At the same time remember that you are dealing with citizens, and that hastily to snatch from them the hope of grace is the part of ^[18] those eager for civil war. Let us try by a second deputation whether they can be reconciled. And I believe that, since the body of Alexander is not yet buried, all will unite to pay this pious duty which ^[19] we owe him. So far as I am concerned, I prefer to return this authority of mine rather than to exercise it at the expense of the blood of fellow-citizens; and if there is no other hope of harmony, I beg and entreat you, choose a better man."

^[20] Then with tears in his eyes he took the diadem from his head, and extended his right hand, in which he was holding it, so that if anyone claimed to be ^[21] more worthy he might take it. This very moderate speech aroused great hope of his character, which before that day had been obscured by his brother's fame. Accordingly, all began to urge him to consent ^[22] to carry out what he had planned. Again he sent the same envoys, to ask that they should receive Meleager as a third leader. This was granted without difficulty; for Perdiccas wished to separate Meleager from the king, and thought that alone he ^[23] would be no match for the other two. Therefore when Meleager came out to meet him with the phalanx, Perdiccas received him at the head of the squadrons of cavalry. Both armies exchanged salutations and united for ever, as they thought, in firm concord and peace.

IX. But already by the Fates civil wars were being forced upon the Macedonian nation; for royal power desires no associate and was being sought by many.

^[2] First therefore they brought their forces into collision, then separated

them; and when they had weighted the body with more than it could carry, the limbs also began to give out, and an empire that might have endured under one man fell in ruins while it was [3] being upheld by many. Therefore the Roman people rightly and deservedly asserts that it owes its safety to its prince, who in the night which was almost our [4] last shone forth like a new star. The rising of this star, by Heaven! rather than that of the sun, restored light to the world in darkness, since lacking their head the limbs were thrown into disorder.

[6] How many firebrands did it extinguish! How many swords did it sheath! How great a tempest did it dispel with sudden prosperity! Therefore our empire [6] not only lives afresh but even flourishes. Provided only that the divine jealousy be absent, the posterity of that same house will continue the good times of this our age, it is to be hoped forever, at any rate for very many years.

[7] But to return to the series of events from which the contemplation of the public happiness had diverted me, Perdiccas rested the sole hope of his safety on the death of Meleager; he thought that a man who was vain, faithless and quick to revolt, and his own bitterest enemy, must be attacked first.

[8] But he hid his design with deep dissimulation, in order to crush him when he was off his guard.

Therefore he secretly suborned certain men from the troops which he commanded, who were to make open complaint, as if he himself knew nothing of it, that Meleager had been placed on an equality with [9] Perdiccas. When their talk was reported to Meleager, furious with anger at Perdiccas, he told him what he had learned. He, as if terrified by something of which he knew nothing, began to give utterance to surprise and complaint, and to show a pretence of displeasure; finally, he agreed that the authors of such seditious [10] talk ought to be arrested. Meleager embraced and thanked Perdiccas, and strongly commended his [11] loyalty and goodwill towards him. Then after consulting together they formed a plan for chastising the guilty parties.

It was decided to purify the army after the native fashion, and the past discord seemed to furnish a [12] reasonable cause for this. The kings of the Macedonians had been accustomed to purify the soldiers in the following manner; having disembowelled as dog in the farthest part of the plain into which they were going to lead the army, they throw the flesh on both sides; within that space all the soldiers stand under arms, on one side the cavalry, on the other [13] the phalanx. Accordingly on that day which they had appointed for this sacred ceremony the king with the horsemen and the elephants stood facing the [14] infantry which Meleager commanded. Already the cavalry force was advancing, and the infantry, not wholly recovered from the sudden fear caused by the recent discord and expecting something, hesitated for a time whether to withdraw their forces into the city — for the plain was advantageous for the horse-

[15] men — ; but fearing to condemn the good faith of their fellow-soldiers

without sufficient reason, they halted, their minds prepared for fighting if anyone should offer violence.

Already the forces were coming together, and there was only a short space which divided the two lines.

[16] Then the king with one wing of the cavalry “began to ride up to the infantry, demanding for punishment, at the instigation of Perdiccas, the authors of the discord, whom he himself was bound to protect, and threatened to lead all his squadrons against them, [17] as well as the elephants, if they refused. The infantry were dumbfounded by the unexpected danger, and not even Meleager himself had longer either judgement or courage. It seemed safest in the circumstances rather to await their fate than to [18] hasten it. Then Perdiccas, seeing them paralysed and in his power, separated from the rest about thirty who had followed Meleager when he rushed forth from the first assembly which was held after the death of Alexander, and in the sight of the whole army cast them before the elephants. All were trampled to death by the feet of the beasts, while [19] Philip neither prevented nor authorized it; and it was plain that he would not admit anything as his own act except what the result should justify.

This was an omen and a beginning of civil wars [20] among the Macedonians. Meleager, learning too late the treachery of Perdiccas, for the moment calmly kept his place in the formation, since no violence was offered to his own person, but presently, [21] abandoning hope of safety, since he saw that his enemies were usurping to effect his ruin the name of the man whom he himself had made king, he took refuge in a temple and there was killed, not being protected even by the sanctity of the place.

X. Perdiccas, having led the army into the city, held a council of the leading men, in which it was decided that the rule should be so shared that the king should in fact hold the chief authority, that Ptolemy should be satrap of Egypt and the African races which were under the jurisdiction of the [2] Macedonians; to Leomedon was given Syria with Phoenicia, to Philotas Cilicia was assigned, Antigonus was ordered to hold Lycia with Pamphylia and Greater Phrygia, Cassander was sent to Caria, Menander to Lydia; they ordered that Lesser Phrygia that borders upon the Hellespont should [3] be the province of Leonnatus. Cappadocia fell to Eumenes with Paphlagonia; he was ordered to defend that region as far as Trapezus and to wage war with Ariarathes; he alone declined his [4] assignment. Pithon was ordered to hold Media, Lysimachus Thrace and the Pontic nations adjoining Thrace. It was decided that those who were in charge of India, and those in charge of Bactra, the Sogdiani, and the others who dwell near either the Ocean or the Red Sea should retain command and hold rule over the territories of which each had charge; that Perdiccas should remain with the king and command the forces which followed the king.

[5] Some have believed that the provinces were distributed by Alexander in his will, but we have learned that the report of such action was false, although

handed [8] down by some authorities. Furthermore, when the parts of the empire were distributed, they each continued to protect their own holdings as they themselves had fixed them, except that no landmark could ever remain fixed in the face of unlimited [7] ambition. To be sure they had not long since as servants of the king, under pretext of exercising a delegated authority, individually usurped huge kingdoms, occasions for controversy having disappeared, since they were all of the same race and each one was separated from the rest by the situation [8] of his province. But it was difficult to be content with what occasion had granted them; for all first possessions seem mean when greater ones are hoped for. Hence it appeared to them all more convenient to increase their realms than it would have been to accept them as they were.

[9] It was the seventh day since the king's body had been lying in its coffin, for the attention of all was diverted from so solemn a duty to the establishment [10] of public order. And no more burning heat exists than that of the region of Mesopotamia, so great that it destroys many animals which it overtakes on the bare ground; such is the heat of sun and sky, [11] by which everything is burned as by fire. Springs of water are rare and are hidden by the deceit of the natives; their use is available to them, but is unknown to strangers. I report what is recorded [12] rather than believed: when at last his friends had leisure to care for Alexander's lifeless body, those who had entered the room saw it corrupted by no decay, nor even by the slightest discoloration. The vigour too which comes from the breath of life had [13] not yet left his face. And so the Egyptians and Chaldeans who were ordered to care for the body after their manner, at first, as if he were still breathing, did not dare to lay their hands upon him; then after praying that it might be right and lawful for mortals to handle a god, they emptied the body of entrails, the golden coffin was filled with perfumes, and the emblem of his rank was placed upon the king's head.

[14] Many believed that he had been slain by poison; that a son of Antipater among his attendants, Iollas by name, had administered it by his father's command. Certain it is that Alexander was often heard to say that Antipater took upon himself the state of a king, that he was more powerful than a prefect ought to be, and that he was puffed up by the rich spoil and fame of his Spartan victory while he claimed [15] as his own all that the king had given him. They also believed that Craterus had been sent to kill [16] Alexander with a troop of the old soldiers. Now it is a fact that the power of the poison which is produced in Macedonia is such that it even melts iron and that only the hoof of a draught-animal can [17] withstand the liquid; they call the fount from which the destructive poison flows the Styx. This was brought by Cassander and delivered to his brother Iollas, and by him was put in the last draught given to the king.

[18] These tales, however much they were given credence, the power of those whom rumour had [19] aspersed presently suppressed; for Antipater

seized the rule of Macedonia and of Greece as well, then his son succeeded him, after all who were related to Alexander, even by a distant connexion, had been ^[20] killed. But Ptolemy, under whose control Egypt had come, transported the king's body to Memphis, and from there a few years later to Alexandria where every honour was paid to his memory and his name.

The Latin Text



Ancient Pella, Central Macedonia, Greece — the historical capital of Macedon in the time of Alexander the Great



Atrium with a pebble-mosaic paving in Pella — close to the site where Philip of Macedon was assassinated

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In this section of the eBook, readers can view the original Latin text of Curtius' *History of Alexander*. You may wish to Bookmark this page for future reference.

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BOOK III.

Inter haec Alexander ad conducendum ex Peloponneso militem Cleandro cum pecunia misso Lyciae Pamphylicaeque rebus conpositis ad urbem Celaenas exercitum admovit. [2] Media ilia tempestate moenia interfluebat Marsyas, amnis fabulosis Graecorum carminibus inclitus. [3] Fons eius ex summo montis cacumine excurrans in subiectam petram magno strepitu aquarum cadit, inde diffusus circumiectos rigat campos, liquidus et suas dumtaxat undas trahens. [4] Itaque color eius placido mari similis locum poetarum mendacio fecit: quippe traditum est nymphas amore amnis [p. 4] [5] retentas in illa rupe considerare. Ceterum quamdiu intra muros fluit, nomen suum retinet, at cum extra munimenta se evolvit, maiore vi ac mole agentem undas Lycum appellant. [6] Alexander quidem urbem destitutam ab suis intrat, arcem vero, in quam confugerant, oppugnare adortus caduceatorem praemisit, qui denuntiaret, [7] ni dederent, ipsos ultima esse passuros. Illi caduceatorem in turrem et situ et opere multum editam perductum, quanta esset altitudo, intueri iubent ac nuntiare Alexandro, non eadem ipsum et incolas aestimatione munimenta metiri: [8] se scire inexpugnabiles esse, ad ultimum pro fide morituros. Ceterum ut circumsederi arcem et omnia sibi in dies artiora esse viderunt, sexaginta dierum indutias pacti, ut, nisi intra eos auxilium Dareus ipsis misisset, dederent urbem, postquam nihil inde praesidii mittebatur, ad praestitutam diem permisere se regi. [9] Superveniunt deinde legati Atheniensium petentes, ut capti apud Granicum amnem redderentur sibi. Ille non hos modo, [10] sed etiam ceteros Graecos restitui suis iussurum respondit finito Persico bello. Ceterum Dareo imminens, quem nondum Euphraten superasse cognoverat, undique omnes copias contrahit totis viribus tanti belli discrimen aditurus. [11] Phrygia erat, per quam ducebatur exercitus: pluribus vicis quam urbibus frequens tunc habebat nobilem quondam Midae regiam. [12] Gordium nomen est urbi, quam Sangarius amnis praeterfluit pari intervallo Pontico et Cilicio mari distantem. [13] Inter haec maria [p. 5] angustissimum Asiae spatium esse conperimus utroque in artas fauces compellente terram. Quae quia continenti adhaeret, sed magna ex parte cingitur fluctibus, speciem insulae praebet ac, nisi tenue discrimen obiceret, quae nunc dividit maria, committeret. [14] Alexander urbe in dicionem suam redacta Iovis templum intrat. Vehiculum, quo Gordium, Midae patrem, vectum esse constabat, aspexit cultu haud sane a vilioribus vulgatisque usu abhorrens. [15] Notabile erat iugum adstrictum compluribus nodis in semetipsos implicatis et celantibus nexus. [16] Incolis deinde adfirmantibus editam esse oraculo sortem, Asiae potiturum, qui inexplicabile vinculum solvisset, cupido incessit animo sortis eius explendae. [17] Circa regem erat et Phrygum turba et Macedonum, illa expectatione suspensa, haec sollicita ex temeraria regis fiducia: quippe serie vinculorum ita adstricta, ut, unde nexus inciperet quoque se conderet, nec ratione nec visu perspicere posset, solvere adgressus iniecerat curam ei, ne in

omen verteretur irritum inceptum. [18] Ille nequaquam diu luctatus cum latentibus nodis: 'Nihil,' inquit, 'interest, quomodo solvantur,' gladioque ruptis omnibus loris oraculi sortem vel elusit vel implevit. [19] Cum deinde Dareum, ubicumque esset, occupare statuisset, ut a tergo tuta relinqueret, Amphoterum classi ad oram Hellesponti, copiis autem praefecit Hegelochum, Lesbum et Chium Coumque praesidiis hostium liberaturos. [20] His talenta ad belli usum quin- [p. 6] genta attributa, ad Antipatrum et eos, qui Graecas urbes tuebantur, DC missa, ex foedere naves sociis imperatae, quae Hellesponto praesiderent. [21] Nondum enim Memnonem vita excessisse cognoverat, in quem omnes intenderat curas, satis gnarus cuncta in expedito fore, si nihil ab eo moveretur. [22] Tamque ad urbem Ancyram ventum erat: ubi numero copiarum inito Paphlagoniam intrat. Huic iuncti erant Heneti, unde quidam Venetos trahere originem credunt. [23] Omnis haec regio paruit regi, datisque obsidibus tributum, quod ne Persis quidem tulissent, pendere ne cogentur, inpetraverunt. [24] Calas huic regioni praepositus est, ipse adsumptis, qui ex Macedonia nuper advenerant, Cappadociam petiit.

At Darius nuntiata Memnonis morte haud secus, quam par erat, motus omissa omni alia spe statuit ipse decernere: quippe quae per duces suos acta erant, cuncta damnabat, ratus pluribus curam, omnibus afuisse fortunam. [2] Igitur castris ad Babylona positis, quo maiore animo capesserent bellum, universas vires in conspectum dedit et circumdato vallo, quod decem milium armatorum multitudinem caperet, Xerxis exemplo numerum copiarum iniit. [3] Orto sole ad noctem agmina, sicut discripta erant, intravere vallum. Inde emissae occupaverant Mesopotamiae campos, equitum peditumque propemodum innumerabilis turba, maiorem quam pro numero speciem ferens. Persarum erant centum milia, in quibus eques XXX inplebat. [4] Medi decem milia equitum, quinquaginta peditum habebant. [5] Barcanorum equitum duo milia fuere, armati bipen- [p. 7] nibus levibusque scutis maxime cetrae speciem reddentibus, peditum decem milia equitum pari armatu sequebantur. [6] Armenii quadraginta milia miserant peditum additis septem milibus equitum. Hyrcani egregiorum equitum, ut inter illas gentes, sex milia expleverant additis equitibus mille Tapuris. [7] Derbices quadraginta peditum milia armaverant: pluribus aere aut ferro praefixae hastae, quidam lignum igni duraverant. Hos quoque duo milia equitum ex eadem gente comitata sunt. [8] A Caspio mari octo milium pedester exercitus venerat, ducenti equites. Cum iis erant ignobiles aliae gentes: duo milia peditum, equitum duplicem paraverant numerum. [9] His copiis triginta milia Graecorum mercede conductae egregiae iuventutis adiectae. Nam Bactrianos et Sogdianos et Indos ceterosque Rubri maris accolae, ignota etiam Persis gentium nomina, festinatio prohibebat acciri. [10] Nec quicquam illi minus quam multitudo militum defuit. Cuius tum universae aspectu admodum laetus purpuratis solita vanitate spem eius infantibus conversus ad Charidemum, Atheniensem belli peritum et ob exilium infestum Alexandro — quippe Athenis iubente eo fuerat expulsus — , percontari coepit, satisne ei videretur instructus ad obtinendum hostem. [11] At

ille et suae sortis et regiae superbiae oblitus: ‘Verum,’ inquit, ‘et tu forsitan audire nolis et ego, nisi nunc [p. 8] dixero, alias nequiquam confitebor. [12] Hic tanti apparatus exercitus, haec tot gentium et totius Orientis excita sedibus suis moles finitimis potest esse terribilis: nitet purpura auroque, fulget armis et opulentia, [13] quantam, qui oculis non subiecere, animis concipere non possunt. Sed Macedonum acies, torva sane et inculta, clipeis hastisque immobiles cuneos et conferta robora virorum tegit. Ipsi phalangem vocant, peditum stabile agmen: vir viro, armis arma conserta sunt. [14] Ad nutum monentis intenti sequi signa, ordines servare didicerunt: quod imperatur, omnes exaudiunt. Obsistere, circumire, discurrere in cornu, mutare pugnam non duces magis quam milites callent. [15] Ac ne auri argentique studio teneri putes, adhuc illa disciplina paupertate magistra stetit: fatigatis humus cubile est, cibus, quem occupati rapiunt, satiat, tempora somni artiora quam noctis sunt. [16] Iam Thessali equites et Acarnanes Aetolique, invicta bello manus, fundis, credo, et hastis igne duratis repellentur! Pari robore opus est. In illa terra, quae hos genuit, auxilia quaerenda sunt: argentum istud atque aurum ad conducendum militem mitte.’ [17] Erat Dareo mite ac tractabile ingenium, nisi etiam naturam plerumque fortuna corrumpere. Itaque veritatis inpatiens hospitem ac supplicem, [18] tunc cum maxime utilia suadentem, abstrahi iussit ad capitale supplicium. Ille ne tum quidem libertatis oblitus: ‘Habeo,’ inquit, ‘paratum mortis meae ultorem: expetet poenas consilii mei spreti is ipse, contra quem tibi suasi. Tu quidem licentia regni tam subito [p. 9] mutatus documentum eris posteris, homines, cum se permisere fortunae, etiam naturam dediscere.’ [19] Haec vociferantem, quibus imperatum erat, iugulant. Sera deinde paenitentia subiit regem, ac vera dixisse confessus sepeliri eum iussit.

Thymondas erat, Mentoris filius, inpiger iuvenis: cui praeceptum est a rege, ut omnes peregrinos milites, in quis plurimum habebat spei, a Pharnabazo acciperet, opera eorum usurus in bello. Ipsi Pharnabazo tradit imperium, quod antea Memnoni dederat. [2] Anxium demde instantibus curis agitabant etiam per somnum species imminentium rerum, sive illas aegritudo, sive divinatio animi praesagientis accersiit. [3] Castra Alexandri magno ignis fulgore conlucere ei visa sunt et paulo post Alexander adduci ad ipsum in eo vestis habitu, quo ipse factus rex fuisset, equo deinde per Babylona vectus subito cum ipso equo oculis esse subductus. [4] Ad haec vates varia interpretatione curam distrinxerant: alii laetum id regi somnium esse dicebant, quod castra hostium arsissent, quod Alexandrum deposita regia veste in Persico et vulgari habitu perductum ad se vidisset, quidam non: [5] augurabantur quippe inlustria Macedonum castra visa fulgorem Alexandra portendere: cui vel regnum Asiae occupare fatum esse, haud ambigue doceri, quoniam in eodem habitu Dareus fuisset, cum appellatus est rex. [6] Vetera [p. 10] quoque omina, ut fere, sollicitudo revocaverat: recensebant enim Dareum in principio imperii vaginam acinacis Persicam iussisse mutari in eam formam, qua Graeci uterentur, protinusque Chaldaeos interpretatos, [7] imperium Persarum ad eos

transitum, quorum arma esset imitatus. Ceterum ipse et vatum responso, quod edebatur in vulgus, et specie, quae per somnum oblata erat, admodum laetus castra ad Euphraten moveri iubet. [8] Patrio more Persarum traditum est orto sole demum procedere. Die iam inlustri signum e tabernaculo regis bucina dabatur: super tabernaculum, unde ab omnibus conspici posset, imago solis crystallo inclusa fulgebat. [9] Ordo autem agminis erat talis. Ignis, quem ipsi sacrum et aeternum vocabant, argenteis altaribus praeferebatur. Magi proximi patrium carmen canebant. [10] Magos trecenti et sexaginta quinque iuvenes sequebantur puniceis amiculis velati, diebus totius anni pares numero: quippe Persis quoque in totidem dies discriptus est annus. [11] Currum deinde Iovi sacratum albentes vehebant equi: hos eximiae magnitudinis equus, quem Solis appellabant, sequebatur. Aureae virgae et albae vestes regentes equos adornabant. [12] Haud procul erant vehicula decem multo auro argentoque caelata. [13] Sequebatur haec equitatus duodecim gentium variis armis et moribus. Proximi ibant, quos Persae Inmortales vocant, ad decem milia. Cultus [p. 11] opulentiae barbara non alios magis honestabat: illi aureos torques, illi vestem auro distinctam habebant manicatasque tunicas gemmis etiam adornatas. [14] Exiguo intervallo, quos cognatos regis appellant, decem et quinque milia hominum. Haec vero turba muliebriter propemodum culta luxu magis quam decoris armis conspicua erat. [15] Doryphorae vocabantur proximum his agmen, soliti vestem excipere regalem. Hi currum regis anteibant, quo ipse eminens vehebatur. [16] Utrumque currus latus deorum simulacra ex auro argentoque expressa decorabant: distinguebant internitentes gemmae iugum, ex quo eminebant duo aurea simulacra cubitalia avorum, alterum Nini, alterum Beli. Inter haec aquilam auream pennas extendenti similem sacraverant. [17] Cultus regis inter omnia luxuria notabatur: purpureae tunicae medium album intextum erat, pallam auro distinctam aurei accipitres, velut rostris inter se concurrerent, [18] adornabant, ex zona aurea muliebriter cinctus acinacem suspenderat, cui ex gemma vagina erat. [19] Cidarim Persae vocabant regium capitis insigne: hoc caerulea fascia albo distincta circumibat, [20] Currum decem milia hastatorum sequebantur: hastas argento exornatas, spiculo aureo praefixas gestabant. [21] Dextra laevaue regem ducenti ferme nobilissimi propinquorum comitabantur. Horum agmen claudebatur triginta milibus peditum, quos equi regis CCCC sequebantur. [22] Intervallo deinde unius stadii matrem Darei, Sisigam- [p. 12] bim, currus vehebat, et in alio erat coniunx. Turba feminarum reginas comitantium equis vectabatur. [23] Quindecim deinde, quas armamaxas appellabant, sequebantur: in his erant liberi regis et, quae educabant eos, [24] spadonumque grex, haud sane illis gentibus vilis. Tum regiae pelices trecentae et sexaginta vehebantur, et ipsae regali cultu ornatae. Post quas pecuniam regis sexcenti muli et trecenti cameli vehebant praesidio sagittariorum prosequente. [25] Propinquorum amicorumque coniuges huic agmini proximae lixarumque et calorum greges vehebantur. Ultimi erant cum suis quisque ducibus, qui cogerent agmen, leviter armati. [26] Contra si quis aciem Macedonum intueretur, dispar facies

erat equis virisque non auro, non discolori veste, [27] sed ferro atque aere fulgentibus: agmen et stare paratum et sequi, nec turba nec sarcinis praegrave, intentum ad ducis non signum modo, sed etiam nutum. [28] Et castris locus et exercitui commeatus suppetebant. Ergo Alexandro in acie miles non defuit, Dareus, tantae multitudinis rex, loci, in quo pugnavit, angustiis redactus est ad paucitatem, quam in hoste contempserat.

Interea Alexander Sabistamene Cappadociae praeposito Cificiam petens cum omnibus copiis in regionem, quae Castra Cyri appellatur, pervenerat: stativa illic habuerat Cyrus, [2] cum adversus Croesum in Lydiam duceret. Aberat ea regio quinquaginta stadia ab aditu, quo Ciliciam intramus: Pylas incolae dicunt artissimas [p. 13] fauces munimenta, quae manu ponimus, naturali situ imitantes. [3] Igitur Arsames, qui Ciliciae praeerat, reputans, quid initio belli Memno suasisset, quondam salubre consilium sero exequi statuit: igni ferroque Ciliciam vastat, ut hosti solitudinem faciat, quidquid usui potest esse, corrumpit sterile ac nudum solum, [4] quod tueri nequibat, relicturus Sed longe utilius fuit angustias aditus, qui Ciliciam aperit, valido occupare praesidio iugumque opportune itineri imminens obtinere, unde inultus subeuntem hostem aut prohibere aut opprimere potuisset: [5] nunc paucis, qui callibus praesiderent, relictis retro ipse concessit, populator terrae, quam a populationibus vindicare debebat. Ergo qui relictis erant, proditos se rati ne conspectum quidem hostis sustinere valuerunt, cum vel pauciores locum obtinere potuissent. [6] Namque perpetuo iugo montis asperi ac praecepti Cilicia includitur: quod cum a mari adsurgat, velut sinu quodam flexuque curvatum rursus altero cornu in diversum litus excurrit. [7] Per hoc dorsum, qua maxime introrsus mari cedit, asperi tres aditus et perangusti sunt, quorum uno Cilicia intranda est. [8] Campestris eadem, qua vergit ad mare, planitiem eius crebris distinguuntibus rivis: Pyramus et Cydnus, incliti amnes, inferfluunt. Cydnus non spatio aquarum, sed liquore memorabilis: quippe leni tractu e fontibus labens puro solo excipitur, nec torrentes incurrunt, qui placide manantis alveum turbent. [9] Itaque incorruptus idemque frigidissimus, quippe multa riparum amoenitate inumbratus, ubique fontibus suis similis in mare evadit. [10] Multa in ea regione monumenta vulgata carminibus vetustas [p. 14] exederat: monstrabantur urbium sedes Lyrnesi et Thebes, Typhonis quoque specus et Corycium nemus, ubi crocum gignitur, ceteraque, in quibus nihil praeter famam duraverat. [11] Alexander fauces iugi, quae Pylae appellantur, intravit. Contemplatus locorum situm non alias magis dicitur admiratus esse felicitatem suam: obrui potuisse vel saxis confitebatur, si fuissent, qui in subeuntes propellerent. [12] Iter vix quaternos capiebat armatos: [13] dorsum montis imminebat viae non angustae modo, sed plerumque praeceptae crebris oberrantibus rivis, qui ex radicibus montium manant. Thracas tamen leviter armatos praecedere iusserat scrutarique calles, ne occultus hostis in subeuntes erumperet. Sagittariorum quoque manus occupaverat iugum: [14] intentos arcus habebant moniti, non iter ipsos inire, sed proelium. Hoc modo agmen pervenit ad urbem Tarson, cui tum maxime Persae subiciebant ignem, ne opulentum

oppidum hostis invaderet. [15] At ille Parmenione ad inhibendum incendium cum expedita manu praemisso, postquam barbaros adventu suorum fugatos esse cognovit, urbem a se conservatam intrat.

Mediam Cydnus amnis, de quo paulo ante dictum est, interfluit, et tunc aestas erat, cuius calor non aliam magis quam Ciliciae oram vapore solis accendit, [2] et diei fervidissimum tempus esse coeperat. Pulvere simul ac sudore perfusum regem invitavit liquor fluminis, ut calidum adhuc corpus ablueret: itaque veste deposita in conspectu agminis — decorum quoque futurum ratus, si ostendisset suis levi et parabili cultu corporis [p. 15] se esse contentum — [3] descendit in flumen. Vixque ingressi subito horrore artus rigere coeperunt, pallor deinde suffusus est et totum propemodum corpus vitalis calor liquit. [4] Expiranti similem ministri manu excipiunt nec satis compotem mentis in tabernaculum deferunt. Ingens sollicitudo et paene iam luctus in castris erat: [5] flentes querebantur in tanto impetu cursuque rerum omnis aetatis ac memoriae clarissimum regem non in acie saltem, non ab hoste deiectum, sed abluentem aqua corpus ereptum esse et extinctum. [6] Instare Dareum victorem, antequam vidisset hostem. Sibi easdem terras, quas victoria peragrassent, repetendas: omnia aut ipsos aut hostes populos. Per vastas solitudines, etiam si nemo insequi velit, euntes fame atque inopia debellari posse. [7] Quem signum daturum fugientibus? quem ausurum Alexandro succedere? Iam ut ad Hellespontum fuga penetrarent, classem, qua transeant, quem praeparaturum? [8] Rursus in ipsum regem misericordia versa illum florem iuventae, illam vim animi, eundem regem et commilitonem divelli a se et abrumpi inmemores sui querebantur. [9] Inter haec liberius meare spiritus coeperat, adlevaratque rex oculos et paulatim redeunte animo circumstantes amicos agnoverat, laxataque vis morbi ob hoc solum videbatur, quia magnitudinem mali sentiebat. [10] Animi autem aegritudo corpus urgebat: quippe Dareum quinto die in Cilicia fore nuntiabatur. Vinctum ergo se tradi et tantam victoriam eripi sibi ex manibus obscuraque et ignobili morte in tabernaculo extingui se querebatur. [11] Admissisque amicis pariter ac medicis: ‘In quo me,’ inquit, ‘articulo rerum mearum fortuna deprehenderit, cernitis. Strepitum [p. 16] hostilium armorum exaudire mihi videor et, qui ultro intuli bellum, iam provocor. [12] Dareus ergo cum tam superbas litteras scriberet, fortunam meam in consilio habuit, sed nequiquam, si mihi arbitrio meo curari licet. [13] Lenta remedia et segnes medicos non expectant tempora mea: vel mori strenue quam tarde convalescere mihi melius est. Proinde, si quid opis, si quid artis in medicis est, sciant me non tam mortis quam belli remedium quaerere.’ [14] Ingentem omnibus incusserat curam tam praeceps temeritas eius. [15] Ergo pro se quisque precari coepere, ne festinatione periculum augeret, sed esset in potestate medentium: inexperta remedia haud iniuria ipsis esse suspecta, cum ad perniciem eius etiam a latere ipsius pecunia sollicitaret hostis. [16] Quippe Dareus mille talenta interfectori Alexandri daturum se pronuntiari iusserat. Itaque ne ausurum quidem quemquam arbitrabantur experiri remedium, quod propter novitatem posset esse suspectum.

Erat inter nobiles medicos ex Macedonia regem secutos Philippus, natione Acarnan, fidus admodum regi: puero comes et custos salutis datus non ut regem modo, sed etiam ut alumnum eximia caritate diligebat. [2] Is non praeceps se, sed strenuum remedium adferre tantamque vim morbi potione medicata levaturum esse promisit. [3] Nulli promissum eius placebat praeter ipsum, cuius periculo pollicebatur. Omnia quippe facilius quam moram perpeti poterat: arma et acies in oculis erant, et victoriam in eo positam esse arbitrabatur, si tantum ante signa stare potuisset, id ipsum, quod post diem tertium medicamentum sumpturus esset — [4] ita enim medicus praedixerat — aegre ferens. Inter haec a Parmenione, fidissimo purpuratorum, litteras accipit, [p. 17] quibus ei denuntiabat, ne salutem suam Philippo committeret: mille talentis a Dareo et spe nuptiarum sororis eius esse corruptum. [5] Ingentem animo sollicitudinem litterae incusserant, et, quidquid in utramque partem aut metus aut spes subiecerat, secreta aestimatione pensabat. [6] ‘Bibere perseverem? ut, si venenum datum fuerit, ne inmerito quidem, quidquid acciderit, evenisse videatur? Damnem medici fidem? in tabernaculo ergo me opprimi patiar? At satius est alieno me mori scelere quam metu nostro.’ [7] Diu animo in diversa versato nulli, quid scriptum esset, enuntiat epistulamque sigillo anuli sui inpresso pulvino, cui incubabat, subicit. [8] Inter has cogitationes biduo absumpto inluxit a medico destinatus dies, et ille cum is poculo, in quo medicamentum diluerat, intravit. [9] Quo viso Alexander levato corpore in cubili epistulam a Parmenione missam sinistra manu tenens accipit poculum et haurit interritus: tum epistulam legere Philippum iubet nec a vultu legis movit oculos, ratus, aliquas conscientiae notas in ipso ore posse deprehendere. [10] Ille epistula perfecta plus indignationis quam pavoris ostendit proiectisque amiculo et litteris ante lectum: ‘Rex,’ inquit, ‘semper quidem spiritus meus ex te pependit, sed nunc vere arbitror sacro et venerabili ore trahi tuo. [11] Crimen parricidii, quod mihi obiectum est, tua salus diluet: servatus a me vitam mihi dederis. Oro quaesoque, omisso metu patere medicamentum concipi venis: laxa paulisper animum, quem intempestiva sollicitudine amici sane fideles, sed moleste seduli turbant.’ Non securum modo haec vox, sed etiam laetum regem ac plenum bonae spei fecit. [p. 18] [12] Itaque: ‘Si di,’ inquit, ‘Philippe, tibi permisissent, quo maxime modo velles, animum experiri meum, alio profecto voluisses, sed certiore, quam expertus es, ne optasses quidem: [13] hac epistula accepta tamen, quod dilueras, bibi. Et nunc crede me non minus pro tua fide quam pro mea salute esse sollicitum.’ Haec elocutus dextram Philippo offert. [14] Ceterum tanta vis medicamenti fuit, ut, quae secuta sunt, criminationem Parmenionis adiuverint: interclusus spiritus arte meabat. Nec Philippus quicquam inexpertum omisit: ille fomenta corpori admovit, ille torpentem nunc cibo, nunc vini odore excitavit. [15] Atque ut primum mentis compotem esse sensit, modo matris sororumque, modo tautae victoriae adpropinquantis admonere non destitit. [16] Ut vero medicamentum se diffudit in venas et sensim toto corpore salubritas percipi potuit, primum animus vigorem suum, deinde corpus quoque expectatione

maturius recupera vit: [17] quippe post tertium diem, quam in hoc statu fuerat, in conspectum militum venit. Nec avidius ipsum regem quam Philippum intuebatur exercitus: pro se quisque dextram eius amplexi grates habebant velut praesenti deo. Namque haud facile dictu est, praeter ingenitam illi genti erga reges suos venerationem quantum huius utique regis vel admiratione dediti ei fuerint vel caritate flagraverint. [18] Iam primum nihil sine divina ope adgredi videbatur: [19] nam cum praesto esset ubique fortuna, et temeritas in gloriam cesserat. Aetas quoque vix tantis matura rebus, sed abunde sufficiens omnia eius opera honestabat. Et quae leviora haberi solent [p. 19] plerumque, militari gratiora vulgo sunt, exercitatio corporis inter ipsos, cultus habitusque paulum a privato abhorrens, militaris vigor: [20] quis ille vel ingenii dotibus vel animi artibus, ut pariter carus ac venerandus esset, effecerat.

At Dareus nuntio de adversa valitudine eius accepto celeritate, quantam capere tam grave agmen poterat, ad Euphraten contendit iunctoque eo pontibus quinque tamen diebus traiecit exercitum Ciliciam occupare festinans. [2] Iam Alexander viribus corporis receptis ad urbem Solos pervenerat: cuius potitus ducentis talentis multae nomine exactis arci praesidium militum inposuit. [3] Vota deinde pro salute suscepta per ludum atque otium reddens ostendit, quanta fiducia barbaros sperneret: [4] quippe Aesculapio et Minervae ludos celebravit. Spectanti nuntius laetus adfertur Halicarnaso Persas acie a suis esse superatos, Myndios quoque et Caunios et pleraque tractus eius suae facta dicionis. [5] Igitur edito spectaculo ludicro castrisque motis et Pyramo amne ponte iuncto ad urbem Mallum pervenit, inde alteris castris ad oppidum Castabalum. [6] Ibi Parmenio regi occurrit: praemiserat ad explorandum iter saltus, per quem ad urbem Isson nomine penetrandum erat. [7] Atque ille angustiis eius occupatis et praesidio modico relicto Isson quoque desertam a barbaris ceperat. Inde progressus deturbatis, qui interiora montium obsidebant, praesidiis cuncta firmavit occupatoque itinere, sicut paulo ante dictum est, idem et auctor et nuntius venit. [8] Isson deinde rex copias admovit. Ubi consilio habito, utrumne ultra progrediendum foret, an ibi [p. 20] opperendi essent novi milites, quos ex Macedonia adventare constabat, Parmenio non alium locum proelio aptiorem esse censebat. [9] Quippe illic utriusque regis copias numero futuras pares, cum angustiae multitudinem non caperent: planitiem ipsis camposque esse vitandos, ubi circumiri, ubi ancipiti acie opprimi possent. Timere, ne non virtute hostium, sed lassitudine sua vincerentur: [10] Persas recentes subinde successuros. si laxius stare potuissent. Facile ratio tam salubris consilii accepta est. Itaque inter angustias saltus hostem opperiri statuit. [11] Erat in exercitu regis Sisines Perses: quondam a praetore Aegypti missus ad Philippum donisque et omni honore cultus exilium patria sede mutaverat, [12] secutus deinde in Asiam Alexandrum inter fideles socios habebatur. Huic epistulam Cretensis miles obsignatam anulo, cuius signum haud sane notum erat, tradidit. Nabarzanes, praetor Darei, miserat eam horta baturque Sisinem, ut dignum aliquid nobilitate atque moribus suis ederet: [13] magno id ei apud regem honori fore. Has litteras Sisines, utpote

innoxius, ad Alexandrum saepe deferre temptavit, sed cum tot curis apparatuque belli regem videret urgueri, aptius subinde tempus expectans suspicionem initi scelesti consilii praebuilt. [14] Namque epistula, priusquam ei redderetur, in manus Alexandri pervenerat, lectamque eam et ignoti anuli sigillo inpresso Sisini dari iusserat ad aestimandam fidem barbari. [15] Qui quia per conplures dies non adierat regem, scelesto consilio eam visus est suppressisse et in agmine a Cretensibus haud dubie iussu regis occisus. [p. 21]

Iamque Graeci milites, quos Thymondas a Pharnabazo acceperat, praecipua spes et propemodum unica, ad Dareum pervenerant. [2] Hi magnopere suadebant, ut retro abiret spatiososque Mesopotamiae campos repeteret: si id consilium damnaret, at ille divideret saltem innumerabiles copias neu sub unum fortunae ictum totas vires regni cadere pateretur. [3] Minus hoc regi quam purpuratis eius displicebat: ancipitem fidem et mercede venalem proditioni imminere et dividi non ob aliud copias velle, quam ut ipsi in diversa digressi, si quid commissum esset, traderent Alexandro: [4] nihil tutius fore quam circumdatos eos exercitu toto obrui telis, documentum non inultae perfidiae futuros. [5] At Dareus, ut erat sanctus ac mitis, se vero tantum facinus negat esse facturum, ut suam secutos fidem, suos milites iubeat trucidari: quem deinde amplius nationum exterarum salutem suam crediturum sibi, si tot militum sanguine inbuisset manus? [6] Neminem stolidum consilium capite luere debere: defuturos enim, qui suaderent, si suasisse periculosum esset. Denique ipsos cotidie ad se advocari in consilium variasque sententias dicere, nec tamen melioris fidei haberi, qui prudentius suaserit. [7] Itaque Graecis nuntiari iubet, ipsum quidem benivolentiae illorum gratias agere, ceterum, si retro ire pergat, haud dubie regnum hostibus traditurum: fama bella stare et eum, qui recedat, fugere credi. [8] Trahendi vero belli vix ullam esse rationem: tantae enim multitudini, utique cum iam hiems instaret, in regione vasta et invicem a suis atque hoste vexata [p. 22] non suffectura alimenta. [9] Ne dividi quidem copias posse servato more maiorum, qui universas vires discrimini bellorum semper obtulerint. [10] Et, hercule, terribilem antea regem et absentia sua ad vanam fiduciam elatum, postquam adventare se senserit, cautum pro temerario factum delituisse inter angustias saltus ritu ignobilium ferarum, quae strepitu praetereuntium audito silvarum latebris se occulerent. [11] Iam etiam valitudinis simulatione frustrari suos milites. Sed non amplius ipsum esse passurum detrectare certamen: [12] in illo specu, in quem pavidum recessissent, oppressurum esse cunctantes. Haec magnificentius iactata quam verius. Ceterum pecunia omni rerumque pretiosissimis Damascum Syriae cum modico praesidio militum missis reliquis copias in Ciliciam duxit insequentibus more patrio agmen coniuge ac matre. Virgines quoque cum parvo filio comitabantur patrem. [13] Forte eadem nocte et Alexander ad fauces, quibus Syria aditur, et Dareus ad eum locum, quem Amanicas Pylas vocant, pervenit. [14] Nec dubitavere Persae, quin Isso relictis, quam ceperant, Macedones fugerent: nam etiam saucii quidam et invalidi, qui agmen non poterant persequi, excepti erant. [15] Quos omnis

instinctu purpuratorum barbara feritate saevientium praecisis adustisque manibus circumduci, ut copias suas noscerent, satisque omnibus spectatis nuntiare, quae vidissent, [16] regi suo iussit. Motis ergo castris superat Pinarum amnem in tergis, ut credebat, fugientium haesurus. At illi, quorum amputaverat manus, ad castra Macedonum penetrant Dareum, [17] quanto maximo cursu posset, sequi nuntiantes. Vix fides habebatur: itaque [p. 23] speculatores mari in eas regiones praemissos explorare iubet, ipse adesset, an praefectorum aliquis speciem praebuisset universi venientis exercitus. [18] Sed dum speculatores reverterentur, procul ingens multitudo conspecta est. Ignes deinde totis campis conlucer coeperunt, omniaque velut continenti incendio ardere visa, cum incondita multitudo maxime propter iumenta laxius tenderet. [19] Itaque eo ipso loco metari suos castra iusserat, laetus — quod omni expetierat voto — [20] in illis potissimum angustiis decernendum fore. Ceterum, ut solet fieri, cum ultimi discriminis tempus adventat, in sollicitudinem versa fiducia est. Illam ipsam fortunam, qua adspirante res tam prospere gesserat, verebatur nec iniuria ex his, quae tribuisset sibi, quamque mutabilis esset, reputabat: unam superesse noctem, quae tanti discriminis moraretur eventum. [21] Rursus occurrebat, maiora periculis praemia et, sicut dubium esset, an vinceret, ita illud utique certum esse, honeste et cum magna laude moriturum. [22] Itaque corpora milites curare iussit ac deinde tertia vigilia instructos et armatos esse: ipse in iugum editi montis escendit multisque conlucentibus facibus patrio more sacrificium dis praesidibus loci fecit. [23] Iamque tertium, sicut praeceptum erat, signum tuba miles acceperat itineri simul paratus ac proelio, strenueque iussi procedere oriente luce pervenerunt ad angustias, quas occupare decreverant. [24] Dareum XXX inde stadia abesse praemissi indicabant. Tunc consistere agmen iubet armisque ipse sumptis aciem ordinat. Dareo adventum hostium pavidi agrestes nuntiaverunt vix credenti occurrere etiam, quos ut fugientes [p. 24] sequebatur. [25] Invadebat ergo non mediocris omnium animos formido — quippe itineri quam proelio aptiores erant —, raptimque arma capiebant. Sed ipsa festinatio discurrentium suosque ad arma vocantium maiorem metum incussit: [26] alii in iugum montis evaserant, ut hostium agmen inde prospicerent, equos plerique frenabant. Discors exercitus nec ad unum intentus imperium vario tumultu cuncta turbaverat. [27] Dareus initio iugum montis cum parte copiarum occupare statuit, et a fronte et a tergo circumiturus hostem, a mari quoque, quo dextrum eius cornu tegebatur, alios obiecturus, ut undique urgueret. [28] Praeter haec viginti milia praemissa cum sagittariorum manu Pinarum amnem, qui duo agmina interfluebat, transire et obicere sese Macedonum copiis iusserat: si id praestare non possent, retrocedere in montes et occulte circuire ire ultimos hostium. [29] Ceterum destinata salubriter omni ratione potentior fortuna discussit: quippe alii prae metu imperium exequi non audebant, [30] alii frustra exquebantur, quia, ubi partes labant, summa turbatur.

Acies autem hoc modo stetit. Nabarzanes equitatu dextrum cornu tuebatur additis fundi torum sagittariorumque viginti fere milibus. [2] In eodem

Thymondas erat Graecis peditibus mercede conductis, triginta milibus, praepositus. [3] Hoc erat haud dubie robur exercitus, par Macedonicae phalangi acies. In laevo cornu Aristomedes Thessalus xx milia barbarorum peditum habebat. [4] In subsidiis pugnacissimas locaverat gentes. Ipsum regem in eodem cornu dimicaturum tria milia delectorum equitum, adsueta corporis custodia, et pede- [p. 25] stris acies, [5] quadraginta milia sequebantur, Hyrcani deinde Medique equites, his proximi ceterarum gentium ultra eos dextra laevaue dispositi. Hoc agmen, sicut dictum est, instructum vi milia iaculatorum funditorumque antecedeabant. [6] Quidquid in illis angustiis adiri poterat, inpleverant copiae, cornuaque hinc ab iugo, illinc a mari stabant, uxorem matremque regis et alium feminarum gregem in medium agmen acceperant. [7] Alexander phalangem, qua nihil apud Macedonas validius erat, in fronte constituit. Dextrum cornu Nicanor, Parmenionis filius, tuebatur: huic proximi stabant Coenos et Perdiccas et Meleager et Ptolomaeus et Amyntas, sui quisque agminis duces. [8] In laevo, quod ad mare pertinebat, Craterus et Parmenio erant, sed Craterus Parmenioni parere iussus. Equites ab iitroque cornu locati: dextrum Macedones Thessalis adiunctis, laevum Peloponnesii tuebantur. [9] Ante hanc aciem posuerat funditorum manum sagittariis admixtis. Thraces quoque et Cretenses ante agmen ibant, et ipsi leviter armati. [10] At iis, qui praemissi ab Dareo iugum montis insederant, Agrianos opposuit ex Thraecia nuper advectos. Parmenioni autem praeceperat, ut, quantum posset, agmen ad mare extenderet, quo longius abesset acies montibus, quos occupaverant barbari. [11] At illi neque obstare venientibus nec circumire praetergressos ausi funditorum maxime aspectu territi profugerant, eaque res Alexandro tu tum agminis latus, quod ne superne incesseretur, timuerat, praestitit. [12] XXX et duo [p. 26] armatorum ordines ibant: neque enim latins extendi aciem patiebantur angustiae. Paulatim deinde laxare semet sinus montium et maius spatium aperire coeperant, ita ut non pedes solum pluribus in ordinem incedere, sed etiam lateribus circumfundi posset equitatus.

Iam in conspectu, sed extra teli iactum utraque acies erat, cum priores Persae inconditum et trucem sustulere clamorem. [2] Redditur et a Macedonibus, maior exercitus numero, iugis montium vastisque saltibus repercussus: quippe semper circumiecta nemora petraeque, quantamcumque accepere vocem, multiplicato sono referunt. [3] Alexander ante prima signa ibat identidem manu SU08 inhibens, ne suspensi acrius ob nimiam festinationem concitato spiritu capessèrent proelium. [4] Cumque agmini obequitaret, varia oratione, ut cuiusque animis aptum erat, milites adloquebatur. Macedones, tot bellorum in Europa victores, ad subigendam Asiam atque ultima Orientis non ipsius magis quam suo ductu profecti, inveteratae virtutis admonebantur: [5] illos terrarum orbis liberatores emensosque olim Herculis et Liberi patris terminos non Persis modo, sed etiam omnibus gentibus iuposituros iugum. [6] Macedonum provincias Bactra et Indos fore. Minima esse, quae nunc intuerentur, sed omnia victoria aperiri.

Non in praeruptis petris Illyriorum et Thraciae saxis sterilem laborem fore, spolia totius Orientis offerri. gladio futurum opus: totam aciem suo pavore fluctuantem umbonibus posse propelli. [7] Victor ad haec Atheniensium Philippus pater invocabatur, domitaeque nuper Boeotiae et urbis in ea nobilissimae ad solum [p. 27] dirutae species repraesentabatur animis. Iam Granicum alrmem, iam tot urbes aut expugnatas aut in fidem acceptas omniaque, quae post tergum erant, strata et pedibus ipsorum subiecta memorabat. [8] Cum adierat Graecos, admonebat ab his gentibus inlata Graeciae bella Darei prius, deinde Xerxis insolentia, aquam ipsos terramque poscentium, ut ne que fontium haustum nec solitos cibos relinquerent deditis. [9] Ab his templa minis et ignibus esse deleta, urbes eorum expugnatas, foedera divini humanique iuris violata referebat. Illyrios vero et Thracas raptò vivere aduetos aciem hostium auro purpuraque fulgentem intueri iubebat, praedam, non arma gestantem: [10] irent et inbellibus feminis aurum viri eriperent, aspera montium suorum iuga nudasque calles et perpetuo rigentes gelu divitibus Persarum campis agrisque mutarent.

Iam ad teli iactum pervenerant, cum Persarum equites ferociter in laevum cornu hostium invecti sunt: quippe Dareus equestri proelio decernere optabat phalangem Macedonici exercitus robur esse coniectans. Iamque etiam dextrum Alexandri cornu circumibatur. [2] Quod ubi Macedo conspexit, duabus alis equitum ad iugum montis iussis subsistere ceteros in medium belli discrimen strenue transfert. [3] Subductis deinde ex acie Thessalis equitibus praefectum eorum occulte circumire tergum suorum iubet Parmenionique coniungi et, quod is imperasset, inpigre exequi. [4] Iamque immissi in medium Persarum undique circumfusi egregie tuebantur se, sed conferti et quasi cohaerentes tela vibrare non [p. 28] poterant: simul erant emissa in hostem, concurrentia implicabantur levique et vano ictu pauca in hostem, plura in humum innoxia cadebant. Ergo comminus pugnam coacti conserere gladios inpigre stringunt. [5] Tum vero multum sanguinis fusum est: duae quippe acies ita cohaerebant, ut armis arma pulsarent, mucrones in ora dirigerent. Non timido, non ignavo cessare tum licuit: collato pede, quasi singuli inter se dimicarent, in eodem vestigio stabant, donec vincendo locum sibi facerent. [6] Tum demum ergo promovebant gradum, cum hostem prostraverant. At illos novus excipiebat adversarius fatigatos, nec vulnerati, ut alias solent, acie poterant excedere, cum hostis instaret a fronte, a tergo sui urgerent. [7] Alexander non ducis magis quam militis munia exequabatur opimum decus caeso rege expetens: quippe Dareus curru sublimis eminebat, et suis ad se tuendum et hostibus ad incessendum ingens incitamentum. [8] Ergo frater eius Oxathres, cum Alexandrum instare ei cerneret, equites, quibus praeerat, ante ipsum currum regis obiecit. Armis et robore corporis multum super ceteros eminens, animo vero et pietate in paucissimis, illo utique proelio clarus alios inprovidè instantes prostravit, alios in fugam avertit. [9] At Macedones circa regem — et erant mutua adhortatione firmati — cum ipso in equitum agmen inrumpunt. Tum vero similis ruinae strages erat. Circa currum Darei iacebant

nobilissimi duces ante oculos regis egregia morte defuncti, omnes in ora proni, sicut dimicantes procubuerant adverso corpore vulneribus acceptis. [10] Inter hos Atizyes et Rheomithres et [p. 29] Sabaces, praetor Aegypti, magnorum exercituum praefecti, noscitantur: circa eos cumulata erat peditum equitumque obscurior turba. Macedonum quoque non quidem multi, sed promptissimi tamen caesi sunt: inter quos Alexandri dextrum femur leviter mucrone perstrictum est. [11] Iam que, qui Dareum vehebant equi, confossi hastis et dolore efferati iugum quater et regem curru excutere coeperant, cum ille veritus, ne vivus veniret in hostium potestatem, desilit et in equum, qui ad hoc ipsum sequebatur, inponitur insignibus quoque imperii, ne fugam proderent, indecore abiectis. [12] Tum vero ceteri dissipantur metu et, qua cuique ad fugam patebat via, erumpunt arma iacentes, quae paulo ante ad tutelam corporum sumpserant: adeo pavor etiam auxilia formidat. [13] Instabat fugientibus eques a Parmenione emissus, et forte in illud cornu omnes fuga abstulerat. At in dextro Persae Thessalos equites vehementer urgebant, [14] iamque una ala ipso inpetu proculcata erat, cum Thessali strenue circumactis equis dilapsi rursus in proelium redeunt sparsosque et inconpositos victoriae fiducia barbaros ingenti caede prosternunt. [15] Equi pariter equitesque Persarum serie lamnarum obsiti, genus grave tegmine, quod celeritate maxime constat, aegre moliebantur: quippe in circumagendis equis illos Thessali inulti occupaverant. [16] Hac tam prospera pugna nuntiata Alexander, non ante ausus persequi barbaros, utrimque iam victor instare fugientibus coepit. Haud amplius regem quam mille equites sequebantur, [17] cum ingens multitudo hostium cederet: sed quis aut in victoria aut in fuga [p. 30] copias numerat? Agebantur ergo a tam paucis pecorum modo, et idem metus, qui cogebat fugere, fugientes morabatur. [18] At Graeci, qui in Darei partibus steterant, Amynta duce — praetor hic Alexandri fuerat, tunc transfuga — [19] abrupti a ceteris haud sane fugientibus similes evaserant. Barbari longe diversam fugam intenderunt: alii, qua rectum iter in Persidem ducebat, quidam circumitu rupes saltusque montium occultos petivere, pauci castra Darei. [20] Sed iam ilia quoque victor intraverat omni quidem opulentia ditia. Ingens auri argentique pondus, non belli, sed luxuriae apparatus, diripuerant milites, cumque plus raperent, quam capere possent, passim strata erant itinera vilioribus sarcinis, quas in comparatione meliorum avaritia contempserat. [21] Iamque ad feminas perventum erat. Quibus quo cariora ornamenta sunt, violentius detrahebantur: [22] ne corporibus quidem vis ac libido parcebat. Omni planctu tumultuque, prout cuique fortuna erat, castra repleverant, nec ulla facies mali deerat, cum per omnes ordines aetatesque victoris crudelitas ac licentia vagaretur. [23] Tunc vero inpotentis fortunae species conspici potuit, cum ii, qui Dareo tabernaculum exornaverant omni luxu et opulentia instructum, eadem ilia Alexandro, quasi veteri domino, reservabant. Namque id solum intactum omiserant milites ita tradito more, [24] ut victorem victi regis tabernaculo exciperent. Sed omnium oculos animosque in semet averterant captivae mater coniunxque Darei: ilia non maiestate solum, sed etiam aetate venerabilis, haec

formae pulchritudine ne illa quidem sorte corruptae. Receperat in sinum filium nondum sextum annum aetatis egressum, in spem tantae [p. 31] fortunae, quantam pater eius paulo ante amiserat, genitum. [25] At in gremio anus aviae iacebant adultae duae virgines non suo tantum, sed etiam illius maerore confectae. Ingens circa eam nobilium feminarum turba constiterat laceratis crinibus abscissaque veste, pristini decoris inmemores, reginas dominasque veris quondam, tunc alienis nominibus invocantes. [26] Illae suae calamitatis oblitae, in utro cornu Dareus stetisset, quae fortuna discriminis fuisset, requirebant: negabant se captas, si viveret rex. Sed illum equos subinde mutantem longius fuga abstulerat. [27] In acie autem caesa sunt Persarum peditum C milia, decem equitum, at a parte Alexandri ad quattuor milia quingenti saucii fuere, ex peditibus CCC omnino et duo desiderati sunt, equitum centum quinquaginta interfecti. Tantulo incendio ingens victoria stetit.

Rex avidius Dareum persequendo fatigatus, postquam et nox adpetebat et consequendi spes non erat, in castra paulo ante a suis capta pervenit. [2] Invitari deinde amicos, quibus maxime adsueverat, iussit — quippe summa dumtaxat cutis in femine perstricta non prohibebat interesse convivio — , [3] cum repente e proximo tabernaculo lugubris clamor barbaro ululatu planctuque permixtus epulantes conterruit. Cohors quoque, quae excubabat ad tabernaculum regis, verita, ne maioris motus principium esset, armare se coeperat. [4] Causa subiti pavoris fuit, quod mater uxorque Darei cum captivis nobilibus regem, quem interfectum esse [p. 32] [5] credebant, ingenti gemitu eiulatuque deflebant. Unus namque e captivis spadonibus, qui forte ante ipsarum tabernaculum steterat, amiculum, quod Dareus, sicut paulo ante dictum est, ne cultu proderetur, abiecerat, in manibus eius, qui repertum ferebat, agnovit ratusque interfecto detractum esse falsum nuntium mortis eius attulerat. [6] Hoc mulierum errore conperto Alexander fortunae Darei et pietati earum inlacrimasse fertur. Ac primo Mithrenem, qui Sardis tradiderat, peritum linguae Persicae, ire ad consolandas eas iusserat: [7] veritus deinde, ne proditor captivarum iram doloremque renovaret, Leonnatum ex purpuratis suis misit iussum. indicare, falso lamentari eas vivum. Ille cum paucis armigeris in tabernaculum, in quo captivae erant, pervenit missumque se a rege nuntiari iubet. [8] At ii, qui in vestibulo erant, ut armatos conspexere, rati actum esse de dominis in tabernaculum currunt vociferantes, adesse supremam horam missosque, qui occiderent captas. [9] Itaque, ut quae nec prohibere possent nee admittere auderent, [10] nullo responso dato tacitae opperiebantur victoris arbitrium. Leonnatus expectato diu, qui se introduceret, postquam nemo procedere audebat, relictis in vestibulo satellitibus intrat in tabernaculum. Ea ipsa res turbaverat feminas, quod inrupisse, non admissus videbatur: [11] itaque mater et coniunx provolutae ad pedes orare coeperunt, ut, priusquam interficerentur, Darei corpus ipsis patrio more sepelire permetteret, functas supremo in regem officio impigre [p. 33] esse morituras. [12] Leonnatus et vivere Dareum ait et ipsas non incolumes modo, sed etiam apparatu pristina«

fortunae reginas fore. Tum demum Darei mater adlevari se passa est. [13] Alexander postero die cum cura sepultis militibus, quorum corpora invenerat, Persarum quoque nobilissimis eundem honorem haberi iubet matrique Darei permittit, quos vellet, patrio more sepeliret. [14] Illa paucos arta propinquitate coniunctos pro habitu praesentis fortunae humari iussit, apparatus funerum, quo Persae suprema officia celebrarent, invidiosum fore existimans, cum victores haud pretiose cremarentur. [15] Iamque iustis defunctorum corporibus solutis praemittit ad captivas, qui nuntiarent ipsum venire, inhibitaque comitantium turba tabernaculum cum Hephaestione intrat. [16] Is longe omnium amicorum carissimus erat regi: cum ipso pariter eductus, secretorum omnium arbiter libertatis quoque in admonendo eo non alius plus habebat, quod tamen ita usurpabat, ut magis a rege permissum quam vindicatum ab eo videretur. Et sicut aetate par erat regi, ita corporis habitu praestabat: [17] ergo reginae illum esse regem ratae suo more veneratae sunt. Inde ex captivis spadonibus, quis Alexander esset, monstrantibus Sisigambis advoluta est pedibus eius ignorationem numquam antea visi regis excusans. Quam manu adlevans rex: ‘Non errasti,’ inquit, ‘mater: nam et hic Alexander est.’ [18] Equidem hac continentia animi si ad ultimum vitae perseverare potuisset, feliciorem fuisse [p. 34] crederem, quam visus est esse, cum Liberi Patris imitaretur triumphum usque ab Hellesponto ad Oceanum omnes gentes victoria emensus. [19] Sic vicisset profecto superbiam atque iram, mala invicta, sic abstinuisset inter epulas caedibus amicorum egregiosque bello viros et tot gentium secum domitores indicta causa veritus esset occidere. [20] Sed nondum fortuna se animo eius superfuderat: ita, qui orientem tam moderate et prudenter tulit, ad ultimum magnitudinem eius non cepit. [21] Tunc quidem ita se gessit, ut omnes ante eum reges et continentia et dementia vincerentur: virgines reginas excellentis formae tam sancte habuit, quam si eodem quo ipse parente genitae forent, [22] coniugem eandemque sororem, quam nulla aetatis suae pulchritudine corporis vicit, adeo ipse non violavit, ut summam adhibuerit curam, ne quis captivo corpori inluderet. [23] Omnem cultum reddi feminis iussit, nec quicquam ex pristinae fortunae magnificentia captivis praeter fiduciam defuit. [24] Itaque Sisigambis: ‘Rex,’ inquit, ‘mereris, ut ea precemur tibi, quae Dareo nostro quondam precatae sumus, nec nostro odio dignus es, qui tantum regem non felicitate solum, sed etiam aequitate superaveris. [25] Tu quidem matrem me et reginam vocas, sed ego me tuam famulam esse confiteor. Et praeteritae fortunae fastigium capio et praesentis iugum pati possum: tua interest, quantum in nos licuerit, si id potius dementia quam saevitia vis esse testatum.’ [26] Rex bonum animum habere eis iussis Darei filium collo suo admovit, atque nihil ille conspectu tum primum a se visi conterritus cervicem eius manibus amplectitur. Motus ergo [p. 35] rex constantia pueri Hephaestionem intuens: ‘Quam vellem,’ inquit, ‘Dareus aliquid ex hac indole hausisset!’ Tum tabernaculo egressus. [27] Tribus aris in ripa Pinari amnis Iovi atque Herculi Minervaeque sacratis Syriam petit Damascum, ubi regis gaza erat, Parmenione praemisso.

At ille cum praecessisset se et Darei satrapam conperisset cognosset, veritus, ne paucitas suorum sperneretur, accersere maiorem manum statuit. [2] Sed forte in exploratores ab eo praemissos incidit nazione Mardus, qui ad Parmeniona perductus litteras ad Alexandrum a praefecto Damasci missas tradit ei nec dubitare eum, quin omnem regiam supellectilem cum pecunia traderet, adiecit. [3] Parmenio adservari eo iusso litteras aperit, in quis erat scriptum, ut mature Alexander aliquem ex ducibus suis mitteret cum manu exigua, cui, quae rex penes ipsum reliquisset, traderet. Itaque Mardum datis comitibus ad proditorem remittit. [4] Ille e manibus custodientium elapsus Damascum ante lucem intrat. Turbaverat ea res Parmenionis animum insidias timentis, et ignotum iter sine duce non audebat ingredi: felicitati tamen regis sui confisus agrestes, qui duces itineris essent, excipi iussit. Quibus celeriter repertis quarto die ad urbem pervenit iam metuyente praefecto, ne sibi fides habita non esset. [5] Igitur quasi parum munimentis oppidi fidens ante solis ortum pecuniam regiam — [p. 36] gazam Persae vocant — cum pretiosissimis rerum efferri iubet, fugam simulans, re vera, ut praedam hosti offerret. [6] Multa milia virorum feminarumque excedentem oppido sequebantur, omnibus miserabilis turba praeter eum, cuius fidei commissa erat. Quippe, quo maior proditionis merces foret, obicere hosti parabat gratiorem omni pecunia praedam, nobiles viros, praetorum Darei coniuges liberosque, praeter hos Graecarum urbium legatos, [7] quos Dareus, velut in arce tutissima, in proditoris reliquerat manibus. Gaugabas Persae vocant humeris onera portantes: ii cum tempestatis vim tolerare non possent — quippe et procella subito nivem effuderat, et humus rigeat gelu tum adstricta —, vestes, quas cum pecunia portabant, auro et purpura insignes induunt nullo prohibere auso, cum fortuna regis etiam humillimis in ipsum licentiam faceret. [8] Praebuer ergo Parmenioni non spernendi agminis speciem: qui intentiore cura suos quasi ad iustum proelium paucis adhortatus equis calcaria iubet subdere et acri impetu in hostem evehi. [9] At illi, qui sub oneribus erant, omissis his per metum capessunt fugam: armati quoque, qui eos prosequabantur, eodem metu arma iactare ac nota deverticula petere coeperunt. [10] Praefectus, quasi esset ipse conterritus, simulans cuncta pavore conpleverat. Iacebant totis campis opes regiae, illa pecunia stipendio ingenti militum praeparata, ille cultus tot nobilium virorum, tot inlustrium feminarum, [11] aurea vasa, aurei freni, tabernacula regali magnificentia ornata, vehicula quoque a suis destituta [p. 37] ingentis opulentiae plena, facies etiam praedantibus tristis, si qua res avaritiam moraretur. Quippe tot annorum incredibili et fidem excedente fortuna cumulata tunc alia stirpibus lacerata, alia in caenum demersa cernebantur: non sufficebant praedantium manus praedae. [12] Iamque etiam ad eos, qui primi fugerant, ventum erat: feminae pleraeque parvos trahentes liberos ibant. Inter quas tres fuere virgines, Ochi, qui ante Dareum regnaverat, filiae, olim quidem ex fastigio paterno rerum mutatione detractae, sed tum sortem earum crudelius adgravante fortuna. [13] In eodem grege uxor quoque eiusdem Ochi fuit Oxathrisque — frater hie erat Darei — filia et coniunx Artabazi, principis

purpuratorum, filiusque: [14] Hystanes fuit nomen. Pharnabazi quoque, cui summum imperium maritimae orae rex dederat, uxor cum filio excepta est, Mentor filiae tres ac nobilissimi ducis Memnonis coniunx et filius, vixque ulla domus purpurati afuit tantae cladi. [15] Lacedaemonii et Athenienses societatis fide violata Persas secuti: Aristogiton et Dropides et Iphicrates, inter Athenienses genere famaue longe clarissimi, Lacedaemonii Pasippus et Onomastorides cum Onomante et Callicratide, hi quoque domi nobiles. [16] Summa pecuniae signatae fuit talentum n milia et sescenta, facti argenti pondus quingenta aequabat. Praeterea XXX [p. 38] milia hominum cum vn milibus iumentorum dorso onera portantium capta sunt. [17] Ceterum tantae fortunae proditorem dei ultores celeriter debita poena persecuti sunt. Namque unus e consciis eius, credo, regis vicem etiam in ilia sorte reveritus, interfecti proditoris caput ad Dareum tulit, opportunum solacium prodito: quippe et ultus inimicum erat, et nondum in omnium animis memoriam maiestatis suae exolevisse cernebat.

BOOK IV.

Dareus, tanti modo exercitus rex, qui triumphantis magis quam dimicantis more curru sublimis inierat proelium, per loca, quae prope immensis agminibus inpleverat, iam inania et ingenti solitudine vasta fugiebat. [2] Pauci regem sequebantur: nam nec eodem omnes fugam intenderant et deficientibus equis cursum eorum, quos rex subinde mutabat, aequare non poterant. [3] Onchas deinde pervenit, ubi excepere eum Graecorum quattuor milia: non segnius tamen ad Euphraten contendit, id demum credens fore ipsius, quod celeritate praecipere potuisset. [4] At Alexander Parmenionem, per quem apud Damascum recepta erat praeda, iussum eam ipsam et captivos diligenti adservare custodia, Syriae, quam Coelen vocant, praefecit. [5] Novum imperium Syri non- [p. 40] dum belli cladibus satis domiti aspernabantur: sed celeriter subacti oboedienter imperata fecerunt. Aradus quoque insula deditur regi. [6] Maritimam tum oram et pleraque longius etiam a mari recedentia rex eius insulae, Strato, possidebat: [7] quo in fidem accepto castra movit ad urbem Marathon. Ibi illi litterae a Dareo redduntur, quibus ut superbe scriptis vehementer offensus est: praecipue eum movit, quod Dareus sibi regis titulum nec eundem Alexandri nomini adscripserat. [8] Postulabat autem magis quam petebat, ut accepta pecunia, quantamcumque tota Macedonia caperet, matrem sibi et coniugem liberosque restitueret: de regno aequo, si vellet, Marte contenderet. [9] Si saniora consilia tandem pati potuisset, ut contentus patrio cederet alieni imperii finibus, socius amicusque esset. [10] In ea se fidem et dare paratum et accipere. Contra Alexander in hunc maxime modum rescripsit: ‘Rex Alexander Dareo S. Cuius nomen sumpsisti, Dareus Graecos, qui oram Hellesponti tenent, coloniasque Graecorum Ionias omni clade vastavit, [11] cum magno deinde exercitu mare traiecit inlato Macedoniae et Graeciae bello. Rursus Xerxes gentis eiusdem ad oppugnandos nos cum in manium barbarorum copiis venit: qui navali proelio victus Mardonium tamen reliquit in Graecia, ut absens quoque popularetur urbes, agros ureret. [12] Philippum vero, parentem meum, quis ignorat ab iis interfectum esse, quos ingentis pecuniae spe sollicitaverant vestri? Inpia enim bella suscipitis et, cum habeatis arma, licemini hostium capita, sicut tu proxime talentis mille, tanti exercitus rex, percussorem in me emere voluisti. [13] Repello igitur bellum, non infero. Et di [p. 41] quoque pro meliore stant causa: magnam partem Asiae in dicionem redegei meam, te ipsum acie vici. Quem etsi nihil a me inpetrare oportebat, utpote qui ne belli quidem in me iura servaveris, tamen, si veneris supplex, et matrem et coniugem et liberos sine pretio recepturum esse promitto. [14] Et vincere et consulere victis scio. Quodsi te committere nobis times, dabimus fidem inpune venturum. De cetero, cum mihi scribes, memento non solum regi te, sed etiam tuo scribere.’ Ad hanc perferendam Thersippus est missus. [15] In Phoenicen dein descendit et oppidum Byblon traditum recepit. Inde ad Sidona ventum est, urbem vetustate famaue conditorum inclitam. [16]

Regnabat in ea Strato, Darei opibus adiutus: is quia deditionem is magis popularium quam sua sponte fecerat, regno visus indignus, Hephæstionique permissum, ut, quem eo fastigio e Sidoniis dignissimum arbitraretur, [17] constitueret regem. Erant Hephæstioni duo hospites, clari inter suos iuvenes: qui facta ipsis potestate regnandi negaverunt quemquam patrio more in id fastigium recipi nisi regia stirpe ortum. [18] Admiratus Hephæstion magnitudinem animi spernentis, quod alii per ignes ferrumque peterent: ‘Vos quidem macte virtute,’ inquit, ‘estote, qui primi intellexistis, quanto maius esset regnum fastidire quam accipere. Ceterum date aliquem regiae stirpis, qui meminerit a vobis acceptum habere se regnum.’ [19] Atque illi, cum multos imminere tantæ spei cernerent singulis amicorum [p. 42] Alexandri iam ob nimiam regni cupiditatem adulantis, statuunt neminem esse potioem quam Abdalonymum quendam, longa quidem cognatione stirpi regiae adnexum, sed ob inopiam suburbanum hortum exigua colentem stipe. [20] Causa ei paupertatis sicut plerisque probitas erat, intentusque operi diurno strepitum armorum, qui totam Asiam concusserat, non exaudiebat. [21] Subito deinde, de quibus ante dictum est, cum regiae vestis insignibus hortum intrant, quem forte steriles herbas eligens Abdalonymus repurgabat. [22] Tum rege eo salutato alter ex his: ‘Habitus,’ inquit, ‘hic vestis, quem cernis in meis manibus, cum isto squalore permutandus tibi est. Ablue corpus inlue terrenisque sordibus squalidum: cape regis animum et in eam fortunam, qua dignus es, istam continentiam perfer. Et cum in regali solio residebis vitæ necisque omnium civium dominus, cave obliviscaris status, in quo accipis regnum, immo, hercule, propter quem.’ [23] Somnio similis res Abdalonymo videbatur: interdum, satisne sani essent, qui tam proterve sibi inluderent, percontabatur. Sed ut cunctanti squalor ablatus est et iniecta vestis purpura auroque distincta et fides a iurantibus facta, serio iam rex iisdem comitantibus in regiam pervenit. [24] Fama deinde, ut solet, strenue tota urbe discurret: aliorum studium, aliorum indignatio eminebat, divitissimus quisque humilitatem inopiamque eius apud amicos Alexandri criminabatur. [25] Admitti eum rex protinus iussit diuque contemplatus: [p. 43] ‘Corporis,’ inquit, ‘habitus famæ generis non repugnat, sed libet scire, inopiam qua patientia tuleris.’ Tum ille: ‘Utinam,’ inquit, ‘eodem animo regnum pati possim! hæc manus sufficere desiderio meo: nihil habenti nihil deficit.’ [26] Magnæ indolis specimen ex hoc sermone Abdalonymi cepit. Itaque non Stratonis modo regiam suppellectilem attribui ei iussit, sed pleraque etiam ex Persica præda: regionem quoque urbi adpositam ditioni eius adiecit. [27] Interea Amyntas, quem ad Persas ab Alexandro transfugisse diximus, cum quattuor milibus Graecorum ipsius ex acie persecutis fugam Tripolin pervenit. Inde in naves militibus inpositis Cyprum transmisit et, cum in illo statu rerum id quemque, quod occupasset, habiturum arbitraretur velut certo iure possessum, Aegyptum petere decrevit, utrique regi hostis et semper ex ancipiti mutatione temporum pendens. [28] Hortatusque milites ad spem tantæ rei docet Sabacen, prætorem Aegypti, cecidisse in acie: Persarum præsidium et sine duce esse et invalidum,

Aegyptios semper praetoribus eorum infestos pro sociis ipsis, non pro hostibus aestimatos. [29] Omnia experiri necessitas cogebat: quippe cum primas spes fortuna destituit, futura praesentibus videntur esse potiora. Igitur conclamant, duceret, quo videretur. Atque ille utendum animis, dum spe calerent, ratus ad Pelusium ostium penetrat, simulans a Dareo se esse praetorem missum. [p. 44] [30] Potitus ergo Pelusii Memphim copias promovit. Ad cuius famam Aegyptii, vana gens et novandis quam gerendis aptior rebus, ex suis quisque vicis urbibusque huc ipsi concurrunt ad delenda praesidia Persarum. [31] Qui territi tamen spem retinendi Aegyptum non omiserunt. Sed eos Amyntas proelio superatos in urbem conpellit castrisque positos victores ad populandos agros. Velut in medio positus bonis hostium cuncta agebantur: [32] itaque Mazaces, quamquam infelici proelio suorum animos territos esse cognoverat, tamen palantes et victoriae fiducia incautos ostentans perpulit, ne dubitarent ex urbe erumpere et res amissas recipere. [33] Id consilium non ratione prudentius quam eventu felicius fuit: ad unum omnes cum ipso duce occisi sunt. Has poenas Amyntas utrique regi dedit, nihilo magis ei, ad quem transfugerat, fidus quam illi, quem deseruerat. [34] Darei praetores, qui proelio apud Isson superfuerant, cum omni manu, quae fugientes secuta erat, [35] adsumpta etiam Cappadocum et Paphlagonum iuventute Lydiam recipere temptabant. Antigonus, praetor Alexandri, Lydiae praeerat: qui quamquam plerosque militum ex praesidiis ad regem dimiserat, tamen barbaris spretis in aciem suos eduxit. Eadem illic quoque fortuna partium fuit: [36] tribus proeliis alia atque alia regione commissis Persae funduntur. Eodem [p. 45] tempore classis Macedonum ex Graecia accita Aristomenen, qui ad Hellesponti oram recipiendam a Dareo erat missus, captis eius aut eversis navibus superat. [37] A Milesiis deinde Pharnabazus, praefectus Persicae classis, pecunia exacta et praesidio in urbem Chium introducto centum navibus Andrum et inde Siphnum petiit. Has quoque insulas praesidiis occupat, pecunia multat. [38] Magnitudo belli, quod ab opulentissimis Europae Asiaeque regibus in spem totius orbis occupandi gerebatur, Graeciae quoque et Cretae arma commoverat. [39] Agis, Lacedaemoniorum rex, octo milibus Graecorum, qui ex Cilicia profugi domos repetierant, contractis bellum Antipatro, Macedoniae praefecto, moliebatur. [40] Cretenses has aut illas partes secuti nunc Spartanorum, nunc Macedonum praesidiis occupabantur. Sed leviora inter illos fuere discrimina unum certamen, ex quo cetera pendebant, intuente fortuna.

Iam tota Syria, iam Phoenice quoque excepta Tyro Macedonum erat, habebatque rex castra in continenti, a qua urbem angustum fretum dirimit. [2] Tyros, et magnitudine et claritate ante omnes urbes Syriae Phoenicesque memorabilis, facilius societatem Alexandri acceptura videbatur quam imperium. Coronam igitur auream donum legati adferebant commeatusque large et hospitaliter ex oppido advexerant. Ille dona ut ab amicis accipi iussit benigneque legatos adlocutus Herculi, quem praecipue Tyrii colerent, sacrificare velle se dixit: [3] Macedonum reges credere ab illo deo ipsos genus

ducere, se vero, ut id faceret, etiam oraculo [p. 46] monitum. [4] Legati respondent esse templum Herculis extra urbem in ea sede, quam Palaetyron ipsi vocent: [5] ibi regem deo sacrum rite facturum. Non tenuit iram, cuius alioqui potens non erat. Itaque: ‘Vos quidem,’ inquit, ‘fiducia loci, quod insulam incolitis, pedestrem hunc exercitum spernitis, sed brevi ostendam in continent vos esse. Proinde sciatis licet, aut intraturum me urbem aut oppugnaturum.’ [6] Cum hoc responso dimissi suos monere coeperunt, ut regem, quem Syria, [7] quem Phoenice recepisset, ipsi quoque urbem intrare paterentur. At illi loco satis fisi obsidionem ferre decreverant. Namque urbem a continenti quattuor stadiorum fretum dividit Africo maxime obiectum crebros ex alto fluctus in litus evolventi. [8] Nec accipiendo operi, quo Macedones continenti insulam iungere parabant, quicquam magis quam ille ventus obstabat. Quippe vix leni et tranquillo mari moles agi possunt, Africus vero prima quaeque congesta pulsu inlisi maris subruit, nec ulla tam firma moles est, quam non exedant undae et per nexus operum manantes et, ubi acrior flatus existit, summi operis fastigio superfusae. [9] Praeter hanc difficultatem haud minor alia erat. Muros turresque urbis praealtum mare ambiebat: non tormenta nisi e navibus procul excussa mitti, non scalae moenibus adplicari poterant, praeceps in salum murus pedestre interceperat iter: naves nec habebat rex et, si admovisset, pendentes et instabiles missilibus arceri poterant. [10] Inter quae parva dictu res Tyrionum fiduciam accendit. Carthaginensium legati ad celebrandum [p. 47] sacrum anniversarium more patrio tunc venerant: quippe Carthaginem Tyrii condiderunt semper parentum loco culti. [11] Hortari ergo Poeni coeperunt, ut obsidionem forti animo paterentur: brevi Carthagine auxilia ventura. Namque ea tempestate magna ex parte Puni eis classibus maria obsidebantur. [12] Igitur bello decreto per muros turresque tormenta disponunt, arma iunioribus dividunt, opifices, quorum copia urbs abundabat, in officinas distribuunt. Omnia belli apparatu strepunt: ferreae quoque manus — harpagonas vocant — , quas operibus hostium inicerent, corvique et alia tuendis urbibus excogitata praeparabantur. [13] Sed cum fornacibus ferrum, quod excudi oportebat, inpositum esset, admotisque follibus ignem flatu accenderent, sanguinis rivi sub ipsis flammis exitisse dicuntur: idque omen in Macedonum interitum verterunt Tyrii. [14] Apud Macedonas quoque cum forte panem quidam militum frangerent, manantis sanguinis guttas notaverunt, territoque rege Aristander, peritissimus vatum, si extrinsecus cruor fluxisset, Macedonibus id triste futurum ait: contra, cum ab interiore parte manaverit, urbi, quam obsidere destinassent, exitium portendere. [15] Alexander cum et classem procul haberet et longam obsidionem magno sibi ad cetera impedimento videret fore, caduceatores, qui ad pacem eos compellerent, misit: quos Tyrii contra ius gentium occisos praecipitaverunt in altum. Atque ille suorum tam indigna morte commotus urbem obsidere statuit. [p. 48] [16] Sed ante iacienda moles erat, quae continenti urbem committeret. Ingens ergo animis militum desperatio incessit cernentibus profundum mare, quod vix divina ope posset inpleri: quae saxa

tam vasta, quas tam proceras arbores posse reperiri? exhaustas esse regiones, ut illud spatium exaggeraretur: exaestare semper fretum, quoque artius volutetur inter insulam et continentem, hoc acrius furere. [17] At ille haudquaquam rudis pertractandi militares animos speciem sibi Herculis in somno oblatam esse pronuntiat dextram porrigentis: illo duce, illo aperiente in urbem intrare se visum. Inter haec caduceatores interfectos, gentium iura violata referebat: unam esse urbem, quae cursum victoris morari ausa esset. [18] Ducibus deinde negotium datur, ut suos quisque castiget, satisque omnibus stimulis opus orsus est. Magna vis saxorum ad manum erat Tyro Vetere praebente, materies ex Libano monte ratibus et turribus faciendis advehebatur. [19] Iamque a fundo maris in altitudinem modicam opus creverat, [20] nondum tamen aquae fastigium aequabat, cum Tyrii parvis navigiis admotis per ludibrium exprobrabant, illos armis inclitos dorso sicut iumenta onera gestare: interrogabant etiam, num maior Neptuno Alexander esset. Haec ipsa insectatio alacritatem militum accendit. [21] Iamque paulum moles aqua eminebat, et simul aggeris latitudo crescebat ubique admovebatur, cum Tyrii magnitudine molis, cuius incrementum eos antea fefellerat, conspecta levibus navigiis nondum commissum [p. 49] opus circumire coeperunt, missilibus quoque eos, qui pro opere stabant, incessere. [22] Multis ergo inpune vulneratis, cum et remove et adpellere scaphas in expedito esset, ad curam semet ipsos tuendi ab opere converterant. Et, quo longius moles agebatur a litore, hoc magis, quidquid ingerebatur, praealtum absorbebat mare. [23] Igitur rex munientibus coria velaque iussit obtendi, ut extra teli iactum essent, duasque turres ex capite molis erexit, e quibus in subeuntes scaphas tela ingeri possent. [24] Contra Tyrii navigia procul a conspectu hostium litori adpellunt expositisque militibus eos, qui saxa gestabant, obtruncant. In Libano quoque Arabum agrestes inconpositos Macedonas adorti xxx fere interficiunt paucioribus captis.

Ea res Alexandrum dividere copias coegit et, ne segniter adsidere uni urbi videretur, operi Perdiccan Crateronque praefecit, ipse cum expedita manu Arabiam petiit. [2] Inter haec Tyrii navem magnitudine eximia saxis harenaque a puppi oneratam, ita ut multum prora emineret, bitumine ac sulphure inlitam remis concitaverunt, et, cum magnam vim venti vela quoque concepissent, celeriter ad molem successit. [3] Tum prora eius accensa remiges desiluere in scaphas, quae ad hoc ipsum praeparatae sequebantur, navis autem igne concepto latius fundere incendium coepit, quod, priusquam posset occurri, turres et cetera opera in capite molis posita comprehendit. [4] At qui desiluerant in parva navigia, faces et, quidquid alendo igni aptum erat, in eadem opera ingerunt. Iamque non imae modo Macedonum turres, sed etiam summa tabulata conceperant [p. 50] ignem, cum ii, qui in turribus erant, partim haurirentur incendio, partim armis omissis in mare semet ipsi inmitterent. [5] At Tyrii, qui capere eos quam interficere mallent, natantium manus stipitibus saxisque lacerabant, [6] donec debilitati inpune navigiis excipi possent. Nec incendio solum opera consumpta, sed forte eodeni die vehementior ventus

motum ex profundo mare inlisis in molem, crebrisque fluctibus conpages operis verberatae laxavere se, saxaque interfluens unda medium opus rupit. [7] Prorutis igitur lapidum cumulis, quibus iniecta terra sustinebatur, praeceps in profundum ruit, tantaeque molis vix ulla vestigia invenit Arabia rediens Alexander. Hic, quod in adversis rebus solet fieri, alius in alium culpam referebant, cum omnes verius de saevitia maris queri possent. [8] Rex novi operis molem orsus in adversum ventum non latere, sed recta fronte direxit: ea cetera opera velut sub ipsa latentia tuebatur: latitudinem quoque aggeri adiecit, ut turres in medio excitatae procul teli iactu abessent. [9] Totas autem arbores cum ingentibus ramis in altum iaciebant, deinde saxis onerabant rursusque cumulo eorum alias arbores iniciebant, tum humus aggregabatur: superque alia strue saxorum arborumque cumulate velut quodam nexu continens opus iunxerant. Nee Tyrii, [10] quidquid ad inpediendam molem excogitari poterat, segniter exequiebantur. Praecipuum auxilium erat, qui procul hostium conspectu subibant aquam occultoque lapsu ad molem usque penetrabant, falcibus palmites arborum eminentium ad se trahentes. Quae ubi secutae erant, pleraque secum in profundum [p. 51] dabant: tum levatos onere stipites trunosque arborum haud aegre moliebantur, deinde totum opus, quod stipitibus fuerat innixum, fundamento lapso sequebatur. [11] Aegro animi Alexandro nec, perseveraret an abiret, satis certo classis Cypro advenit eodemque tempore Cleander cum Graecis militibus in Asiam nuper advectis. e et XC navigia in duo dividit cornua: laevum Pnytagoras, rex Cypriorum, cum Cratere tuebatur, Alexandrum in dextro quinqueregis regia vehebat. [12] Nee Tyrii, quamquam classem habebant, ausi navale inire certamen: tris omnino ante ipsa moenia opposuerunt, quibus rex invectus ipse eas demersit. [13] Postera die classe ad moenia admota undique tormentis et maxime arietum pulsu muros quatit: quos Tyrii raptim obstructis saxis refecerunt, interiorum quoque murum, ut, si prior fefellisset, illo se tuerentur, munire orsi. [14] Sed undique vis mali urgebat: mole intra teli iactum erant, classis moenia circumibat, terrestri simul navalique clade obruebantur. Quippe binas quadriremes Macedones inter se ita iunxerant, ut prorae cohaerent, puppes intervallo, quantum capere poterant, distarent: [15] hoc puppium intervallum antennis asseribusque validis deligatis superque eos pontibus stratis, qui militem sustinerent, inpleverant. Sic instructas quadriremes ad urbem agebant: inde missilia in propugnantes ingerebantur tuto, quia proris miles tegebatur. [16] Media nox erat, cum classem sic, uti [p. 52] dictum est, paratam circumire muros iubet. Iamque naves urbi undique admovebantur, et Tyrii desperatione torpebant, cum subito spissae nubes intendere se caelo et, quidquid lucis internitebat, offusa caligine extinctum est. [17] Tum inhorrescens mare paulatim levare, deinde acriore vento concitatum fluctus cedere et inter se navigia collidere. Iamque scindi coeperunt vincula, quibus conexae quadriremes erant, ruere tabulata et cum ingenti fragore in profundum secum milites trahere. [18] Neque enim conserta navigia ulla ope in turbido regi poterant: miles ministeria nautarum, remex militis officia turbabat, et, quod in eiusmodi

casu accidit, periti ignaris parebant. Quippe gubernatores alias imperare soliti metu mortis iussa exequabantur. Tandem remis pertinacius everberatum mare veluti eripientibus navigia classicis cessit, adpulsaque sunt litori lacerata pleraque. [19] Isdem forte diebus Carthaginiensium legati XXX superveniunt, magis obsessis solacium quam auxilium. [20] Quippe domestico bello Poenos impediri nec de imperio, sed pro salute dimicare nuntiabant. Syracusani tum Africam urebant et haud procul Carthaginis muris locaverant castra. Non tamen defecere animis Tyrii, quamquam ab ingenti spe destituti erant, sed coniuges liberosque devehendos Carthaginem tradiderunt, fortius, quidquid accideret, laturo, si carissimam sui partem extra sortem communis periculi habuissent. [21] Cumque unus e civibus in contione indicasset, oblatam esse per somnum sibi speciem Apollinis, quem eximia religione colerent, urbem deserentis molemque a Mace- [p. 53] donibus in salo iactam in silvestrem saltum esse mutatam, [22] quamquam auctor levis erat, tamen ad deteriora credenda proni metu aurea catena devinxere simulacrum araeque Herculis, cuius numini urbem dicaverant, inseruere vinculum quasi illo deo Apollinem retenturo. Syracusis id simulacrum devexerant Poeni et in maiore locaverant patria multisque aliis spoliis urbium a semet captarum non Carthaginem magis quam Tyrum ornaverant. [23] Sacrum quoque, quod equidem dis minime cordi esse crediderim, multis saeculis intermissum repetendi auctores quidam erant, ut ingenuus puer Saturno immolaretur — quod sacrilegium verius quam sacrum Carthaginienses a conditoribus traditum usque ad excidium urbis suae fecisse dicuntur — , ac nisi seniores obstitissent, quorum consilio cuncta agebantur, humanitatem dira superstitio vicisset. [24] Ceterum efficacior omni arte necessitas non usitata modo praesidia, sed quaedam etiam nova admovit. Namque ad implicanda navigia, quae muros subibant, validos asseres funibus inligaverant, ut, cum tormento asseres promovissent, subito laxatis funibus inicerent. [25] Unci quoque et falces ex isdem asserebus dependentes aut propugnatores aut ipsa navigia lacerabant. Clipeos vero aereos multo igne torrebant, quos repletos fervida harena caenoque decocto e muris subito devolvebant. [26] Nec ulla pestis magis timebatur: quippe ubi inter loricam corpusque fervens harena penetraverat, nec ulla vi excuti poterat [p. 54] et, quidquid attigerat, perurebat, iacentesque arma laceratis omnibus, quis protegi poterant, vulneribus inulti patebant. Corvi vero et ferreae manus tormento remissae plerosque rapiebant.

Hic rex fatigatus statuerat soluta obsidione Aegyptum petere. [2] Quippe cum Asiam ingenti velocitate percucurrisset, circa muros unius urbis haerebat tot maximarum rerum opportunitate dimissa. Ceterum tam discedere inritum quam morari pudebat, famam quoque, qua plura quam armis everterat, ratus leviolem fore, si Tyrum quasi testem, se posse vinci, reliquisset. Igitur ne quid inexpertum omitteret, plures naves ad moveri iubet delectosque militum inponi. [3] Et forte belua invisitatae magnitudinis super ipsos fluctus dorso eminens ad molem, quam Macedones iecerant, ingens corpus adplicuit diverberatisque fructibus adlevans semet utrimque conspecta est: [4] deinde a

capite molis rursus alto se inmersit ac modo super undas eminens magna sui parte, modo superfusus fluctibus condita haud procul munimentis urbis se mersit. [5] Utrisque laetus fuit beluae aspectus: Macedones iter iaciendo operi monstrassee eam augurabantur, Tyrii Neptunum, occupati maris vindicem, abripuisse beluam ac molem brevi profecto ruituram. Laetique omine eo ad epulas dilapsi oneravere se vino, quo graves orto sole navigia conscendunt redimita floribus coronisque: adeo victoriae non omen modo, sed etiam gratulationem praeceperant. [6] Forte rex classem in diversam partem agi iusserat xxx minoribus navigiis relictis in litore: (??) quibus Tyrii duobus captis cetera ingenti terruerunt [p. 55] metu, donec suorum clamore audito Alexander classem litori, a quo fremitus acciderant, admovit. [7] Prima e Macedonum navibus quinqueremis velocitate inter ceteras eminens occurrit: quam ut conspexere Tyriae, duae ex diverso in latera eius invectae sunt, in quarum alteram quinqueremis eadem concitata et ipsa rostro icta est et illam invicem tenuit. [8] Iamque ea, quae non cohaerebat, libero impetu est vecta in aliud quinqueremis latus. Invehebatur tum opportunitate mira triremis e classe Alexandri in eam ipsam, quae quinqueremi imminebat, tanta vi, ut Tyrius gubernator in mare excuteretur e puppi. [9] Plures deinde Macedonum naves superveniunt, et rex quoque aderat, cum . Tyrii inhibentes remis aegre evellere navem, quae haerebat, portumque omnia simul navigia repetunt. Confestim rex insecutus portum quidem intrare non potuit, cum procul e muris missilibus summoveretur, naves autem omnes fere aut demersit aut cepit. [10] Biduo deinde ad quietem dato militibus iussisque et classem et machinas pariter admove, ut undique territis instaret, ipse in altissimam turrem ascendit ingenti animo, periculo maiore: quippe regio insigni et armis fulgentibus conspicuus unus praecipue telis petebatur. [11] Et digna prorsus spectaculo edidit: multos e muris propugnantes hasta transfixit, quosdam etiam comminus gladio clipeoque impulsos praecipitavit. Quippe turris, ex qua dimicabat, muris hostium propemodum cohaerebat. [12] Iamque crebris arietibus saxo- [p. 56] rum conpage laxata munimenta defecerant et classis intraverat portum et quidam Macedonum in turres hostium desertas evaserant, cum Tyrii tot simul malis victi alii supplices in templa confugiunt, alii foribus aedium obseratis occupant liberum mortis arbitrium, nonnulli ruunt in hostem haud inulti tamen perituri, [13] magna pars summa tectorum obtinebat saxa et, quidquid fors in manus dederat, ingerentes subeuntibus. Alexander exceptis, qui in templa confugerant, omnes interfici ignemque tectis inici iubet. [14] His per praecones pronuntiatis nemo tamen armatus opem a dis petere sustinuit: pueri virginesque templa conpleverant, viri in vestibulo suarum quisque aedium stabant, [15] parata saevientibus turba. Multis tamen saluti fuere Sidonii, qui intra Macedonum praesidia erant. Hi urbem quidem inter victores intraverant, sed cognationis cum Tyriis memores — quippe utramque urbem Agenorem condidisse credebant — multos Tyrionum clam protegentes ad sua perduxere navigia: quibus occultatis Sidona devecti sunt. [16] XV milia hoc furto subducta saevitiae sunt. Quantumque sanguinis fusum sit, vel ex hoc

aestimari potest, quod intra munimenta urbis vi milia armatorum trucidata sunt. [17] Triste deinde spectaculum victoribus ira praebuit regis: II milia, [18] in quibus occidendis defecerat rabies, crucibus adfixi per ingens litoris spatium pependerunt. Carthaginensium legatis pepercit addita denuntiatione belli, quod praesentium rerum necessitas moraretur. [19] Tyros septimo mense, quam oppugnari coepta erat, capta est, urbs et vetustate originis et crebra fortunae varietate ad memoriam posteritatis insignis. Conditā [p. 57] ab Agenore diu mare non vicinum modo, sed, quodcumque classes eius adierunt, dicionis suae fecit. Et, si famae libet credere, haec gens litteras prima aut docuit aut didicit. Coloniae certe eius paene orbe toto diffusae sunt: Carthago in Africa, in Boeotia Thebae, Gades ad Oceanum. [20] Credo libero conmeantes mari saepiusque adeundo ceteris incognitas terras elegerisse sedes iuventuti, qua tunc abundabant, sive quia crebris motibus terrae — nam hoc quoque traditur — cultores eius fatigati nova et externa domicilia armis sibimet quaerere cogebantur. [21] Multis ergo casibus defuncta et post excidium renata nunc tandem longa pace cuncta refovente sub tutela Romanae mansuetudinis adquiescit.

Isdem ferme diebus Darei litterae adlatae sunt tandem ut regi scriptae. Petebat, uti filiam suam — Statirae erat nomen — nuptiis Alexander sibi adiungeret: dotem fore omnem regionem inter Hellespontum et Halyn amnem sitam, inde orientem spectantibus terris contentum se fore. [2] Ne dubitaret, quod offerretur, accipere: numquam diu eodem vestigio stare fortunam, semperque homines, quantamcumque felicitatem habeant, invidiam tamen sentire maiorem. [3] Vereri se, ne avium modo, quas naturalis levitas ageret ad sidera, inani ac puerili mente se efferret: nihil difficilius esse quam in illa aetate tantam capere fortunam. [4] Multas se adhuc reliquias habere nee semper inter angustias posse deprehendi: transeundum esse Alexandro Euphraten Tigrimque et Araxen et Choaspen, magna munimenta [p. 58] regni sui, veniendum in campos, ubi paucitate suorum erubescendum sit, in Mediam, Hyrcaniam, Bactra: [5] et Indos, Oceani accolas, quando aditurum, ne Sogdianos et Arachosios nominem ceterasque gentes ad Caucasum et Tanain pertinentes? [6] Senescendum fore tantum terrarum vel sine proelio obeunti. Se vero ad ipsum vocare desineret: [7] namque illius exitio se esse venturum. Alexander iis, qui litteras attulerant, respondit, Dareum sibi aliena promittere et, quod totum amiserit, velle partiri. Doti sibi dari Lydiam, Ionas, Aeolidem, Hellesponti oram, victoriae suae praemia. Leges autem a victoribus dici, accipi a victis: in utro statu ambo essent, si solus ignoraret, quam primum Marte decerneret. [8] Seque, cum transiret mare, non Ciliciam aut Lydiam — quippe tanti belli exiguum hanc esse mercedem —, sed Persepolim, caput regni eius, Bactra deinde et Ecbatana ultimique Orientis oram imperio destinasse. Quocumque ille fugere potuisset, ipsum sequi posse: desineret terrere fluminibus, quem sciret maria transisse. [9] Reges quidem haec invicem scripserant. Sed Rhodii urbem suam portusque dedebant Alexandro. Ille Ciliciam Socrati tradiderat Philota regioni circa Tyrum iusso praesidere.

Syriam, quae Coele appellatur, [10] Andromacho Parmenio tradiderat bello, quod supererat, interfuturus. Rex Hephaestione Phoenices [p. 59] oram classe praetervehi iusso ad urbem Gazam cum omnibus copiis venit. [11] Isdem fere diebus sollemne erat ludicrum Isthmiorum, quod conventu totius Graeciae celebratur: in eo concilio Graeci, ut sunt temporaria ingenia, decernunt, ut xv legarentur ad regem, qui ob res pro salute ac libertate Graeciae gestas coronam auream donum victoriae ferrent. [12] Idem paulo ante incertae famae captaverant auram, ut, quocumque pendentes animos tulisset fortuna, sequerentur. [13] Ceterum non ipse modo rex obibat urbes adhuc iugum imperii recusantes, sed praetores quoque ipsius, egregii duces, pleraque invaserant, Calas Paphlagoniam, Antigonus Lycaoniam: Balacrus Hydarne, Darei praetore, [14] superato denuo Miletum cepit, Amphoterus et Hegelochus clx navium classe insulas inter Achaiam atque Asiam in dicionem Alexandri redegerunt. Tenedo quoque recepta Chium incolis ultro vocantibus statuerant occupare, [15] sed Pharnabazus, Darei praetor, comprehensis, qui res ad Macedones trahebant, rursus Apollonidi et Athenagorae, suarum partium viris, urbem cum modico praesidio militum tradit. [16] Praefecti Alexandri in obsidione urbis perseverabant non tam suis fisci viribus quam ipsorum, qui obsidebantur, voluntate. Nec fefellit opinio: namque inter et duces militum orta seditio inrumpendi in urbem [p. 60] occasionem dedit, [17] cumque porta effracta cohors Macedonum intrasset, oppidani olim consilio proditionis agitato adgregant se Amphotero et Hegelochi, Persarumque praesidio caeso Pharnabazus cum Apollonide et Athenagora vincti traduntur, [18] XII triremes cum suo milite ac remige, praeter eas XXX inanes et piratici lembi Graecorumque in milia a Persis mercede conducta. His in supplementum copiarum suarum distributis piratisque supplicio adfectis captivos remiges adiecere classi suae. [19] Forte Aristonicus, Methymnaeorum tyrannus, cum piraticis navibus ignarus omnium, quae apud Chium acta erant, prima vigilia ad portus claustra successit interrogatusque a custodibus, quis esset, Aristonicum ad Pharnabazum venire respondit. [20] Illi Pharnabazum quidem iam quiescere et non posse tum adiri, ceterum patere socio atque hospiti portum et postero die Pharnabazi copiam fore adfirmant. [21] Nec dubitavit Aristonicus primus intrare, secuti sunt ducem piratici lembi, ac, dum adplicant navigia crepidini portus, obicitur a vigilibus claustrum, et, qui proximi excubabant, ab isdem excitantur. Nullo ex iis auso repugnare omnibus catenae iniectae sunt, Amphotero deinde Hegelochoque traduntur. [22] Hinc Macedones transiere Mytilenen. Quam Chares Atheniensis nuper occupatam II milium Persarum praesidio tenebat, sed, cum obsidionem tolerare non posset, urbe tradita pactus, ut incolumi abire liceret, Imbrum petit. Deditis Macedones pepercerunt. [p. 61]

Dareus desperata pace, quam per litteras legatosque inpetrari posse crediderat, ad reparandas vires bellumque inipigre renovandum intendit animum. [2] Duces ergo copiarum Babylon iam convenire, Bessum quoque, Bactrianorum praetorem, quam maximo posset exercitu coacto, descendere ad

se iubet. [3] Sunt autem Bactriani inter illas gentes promptissimi horridis ingeniis multumque a Persarum luxu abhorrentibus : siti haud procul Scytharum bellicosissima gente et rapto vivere adsueta semper in armis erant. [4] Sed Bessus suspecta perfidia haud sane aequo animo in secundo se continens gradu regem terrebat: nam cum regnum adfectaret, proditio, quo sola id adsequi poterat, timebatur. [5] Ceterum Alexander, quam regionem Dareus petisset, omni cura vestigans tamen explorare non poterat more quodam Persarum arcana regum mira celantium fide: [6] non metus, non spes elicit vocem, qua prodantur occulta. Vetus disciplina regum silentium vitae periculo sanxerat : lingua gravius castigatur quam ullum probrum, nec magnam rem Magi sustineri posse credunt ab eo, cui tacere grave sit, quod homini facillimum voluerit esse natura. [7] Ob hanc causam Alexander omnium, quae apud hostem gererentur, ignarus urbem Gazam obsidebat. Praeerat urbi Betis eximiae in regem suum fidei modicoque praesidio muros ingentis operis tuebatur. [8] Alexander aestimato locorum situ agi cuniculos iussit facili ac levi humo acceptante occultum opus: quippe multam harenam vicinum mare [p. 62] evomit, nec saxa cotesque, quae interpellent specus, [9] obstant. Igitur ab ea parte, quam oppidani conspiceri non possent, opus orsus, ut a sensu eius averteret, turres muris admoveri iubet. Sed eadem humus movendis inutilis turribus desidente sabulo agilitatem rotarum morata etiam tabulata turrium perfringebat, multique vulnerabantur inpune, cum idem recipiendis qui admovendis turribus labor eos fatigaret. [10] Ergo receptui signo dato postero die muros corona circumdari iussit. Ortoque sole, priusquam admoveret exercitum, opem deum exposcens sacrum patrio more faciebat. [11] Forte praetervolans corvus glebam, quam unguibus ferebat, subito amisit: quae cum regis capiti incidisset, resoluta defluxit, ipsa autem avis in proxima turre consedit. Inlita erat turris bitumine ac sulphure, in qua alis haerentibus frustra se adlevare conatus a circumstantibus capitur. [12] Digna res visa, de qua vates consuleret: et erat non intactae a superstitione mentis. Ergo Aristander, cui maxima fides habebatur, urbis quidem excidium ait augurio illo portendi: [13] ceterum periculum esse, ne rex vulnus acciperet. Itaque monuit, ne quid eo die inciperet. Ille quamquam unam urbem sibi, quo minus securus Aegyptum intraret, obstare aegre ferebat, tamen paruit vati signumque receptui dedit. Hinc animus crevit obsessis, egressisque porta recedentibus inferant signa cunctationem hostium [14] suam fore occasionem rati. Sed acrius quam constantius proelium inierunt: quippe ut Macedonum signa circumagi videre, repente sistunt gradum. Iamque ad regem proeliantium clamor pervenerat, cum denuntiati periculi haud sane memor lorica tamen, quam raro induebat, amicis orantibus sumpsit et ad prima signa [p. 63] pervenit. [15] Quo conspecto Arabs quidam, Daiei miles, maius fortuna sua facinus ausus, gladium clipeo tegens quasi transfuga genibus regis advolvitur. Ille adsurgere supplicem recipique inter suos iussit. [16] At barbarus gladio strenue i(?) dextram translato cervicem adpetiit regis. Qui exigua corporis declinatione evitato ictu in vanum manum barbari lapsam amputat gladio, denuntiato in

illum diem periculo, ut arbitrabatur ipse, defunctus. [17] Sed, ut opinor, inevitabile est fatum: quippe dum inter primores promptius dimicat, sagitta ictus est, quam per lorica[m] adactam, stantem in humero medicus eius Philippus evellit. [18] Plurimus deinde sanguis manare coepit omnibus territis, quia non, quam alte penetrasset telum, lorica obstante cognoverant. Ipse ne oris quidem colore mutato suppressi sanguinem et vulnus obligari iussit. [19] Diu ante ipsa signa vel dissimulato vel victo dolore perstiterat, cum suppressus paulo ante sanguis labente ligamento, quo retentus erat, manare largius coepit, et vulnus, quod tepens adhuc dolorem non moverat, frigente sanguine intumuit. [20] Linqui deinde animo et submitti genu coepit, quem proximi exceptum in castra receperunt. Et Betis interfectum ratus urbem ovans victoria repetit. [21] At Alexander nondum percurato vulnere aggerem, quo moenium altitudinem aequaret, extruxit pluribusque cuniculis muros subru[i] iussit. [22] Oppidani ad pristinum fastigium moenium novum extrudere munimentum, sed ne id quidem turres aggeri inpositas poterat aequare. [23] Itaque interiora quoque urbis infesta telis erant. Ultima pestis urbis fuit cuniculo subrutus munis, per cuius [p. 64] ruinas hostis intravit. [24] Ducebat ipse rex antesignanos, et, dum incautius subit, saxo crus eius adfligitur. Innixus tamen telo nondum prioris vulneris obducta cicatrice inter primores dimicat, ira quoque accensus, [25] quod duo in obsidione urbis eius vulnera acceperat. Betim egregia edita pugna multisque vulneribus confectum deseruerunt sui, nec tamen segnius proelium capescebat lubricis armis suo pariter atque hostium sanguine. [26] Sed cum undique telis peteretur, ad postremum exhaust is viribus vivus in potestatem hostium pervertit. Quo adducto insolenti gaudio iuvenis elatus, alias virtutis etiam in hoste mirator: ‘Non, ut voluisti,’ inquit, ‘mories, sed, quidquid in captivum inveniri potest, passurum esse te cogita.’ [27] Ille non interrito modo, [28] sed contumaci quoque vultu intuens regem nullam ad minas eius reddidit vocem. Tum Alexander: ‘Videtisne obstinatum ad tacendum?’ inquit, ‘num genu posuit? num vocem supplicem misit? Vincam tamen silentium et, si nihil aliud, certe gemitu interpellabo.’ [29] Ira deinde vertit in rabiem iam tum peregrinos ritus nova subiciente fortuna. Per talos enim spirantis lora traiecta sunt, religatumque ad currum traxere circa urbem equi gloriant[ur] rege, Achullen, a quo genus ipse deduceret, imitatum se esse poena in hostem capienda. [30] Cecidere Persarum Arabumque circa X milia, nec Macedonibus incruenta victoria fuit. Obsidio certe non tam claritate urbis nobilitata est quam geminato periculo regis. Qui Aegyptum adire festinans Amyntan cum X triremibus in Macedoniam adquisitionem novorum militum misit. [31] Nam quae etiam secundis atterebantur tamen copiae, [p. 65] devictarumque gentium militi minor quam domestico fides habebatur.

Aegyptii olim Persarum opibus infensi — quippe avare et superbe imperitatum sibi esse credebant — ad spem adventus eius erexerant animos, utpote qui Amyntam quoque transfugam et cum precario imperio venientem laeti recepissent. [2] Igitur ingens multitudo Pelusium, qua intraturus videbatur,

convenerat. Atque ille septimo die, postquam a Gaza copias moverat, in regionem Aegypti, quam nunc Castra Alexandri vocant, pervenit. [3] Deinde pedestribus copiis Pelusium petere iussis ipse cum expedita delectorum manu Nilo amne vectus est. Nec sustinere adventum eius Persae defectione quoque perterriti. [4] Iamque haud procul Memphi erat: in cuius praesidium Mazaces, praetor Darei, relictus sponte amne superato octingenta talenta Alexandro omnemque regiam suppellectilem tradidit. [5] A Memphi eodem flumine vectus ad interiora Aegypti penetrat compositisque rebus ita, ut nihil ex patrio Aegyptiorum more mutaret, adire Iovis Hammonis oraculum statuit. [6] Iter expeditis quoque et paucis vix tolerabile ingrediendum erat: terra caeloque aquarum penuria est, steriles harenae iacent. Quas ubi vapor solis accendit, fervido solo exurente vestigia intolerabilis aestus existit, [7] luctandumque est non solum cum ardore et siccitate regionis, sed etiam cum tenacissimo sabulo, quod praealtum et vestigio cedens aegre moliuntur pedes. [8] Haec Aegyptii vero maiora iactabant: sed ingens cupido animum stimulabat adeundi Iovem, quem generis sui auctorem haud contentus mortali [p. 66] fastigio aut credebatur esse aut credi volebat. [9] Ergo cum iis, quos ducere secum statuerat, secundo amne descendit ad Mareotin paludem. Eo legati Cyrenensium dona attulere pacem et, ut adiret urbes suas, petentes. [10] Ille donis acceptis amicitiaque coniuncta destinata exequi pergit. Ac primo quidem et sequente die tolerabilis labor visus nondum tam vastis nudisque solitudinibus aditis, iam tamen sterili et emoriens terra. [11] Sed ut aperuere se campi alto obruti sabulo, haud secus quam profundum aequor ingressi terram oculis requirebant: [12] nulla arbor, nullum culti soli occurrebat vestigium. Aqua etiam defecerat, quam utribus cameli vexerant, et in arido solo ac fervido sabulo nulla erat. [13] Ad hoc sol omnia incenderat, siccaque et adusta erant ora, cum repente — sive illud deorum munus sive casus fuit — obductae caelo nubes condidere solem, ingens aestu fatigatis, etiam si aqua deficeret, [14] auxilium. Idem vero, ut largum quoque imbrem excusserunt procellae, pro se quisque excipere eum, [15] quidam ob sitim inpotentes sui ore quoque hianti captare coeperunt. Quadriduum per vastas solitudines absumptum est. Iamque haud procul oraculi sede aberant, cum complures corvi agmini occurrunt: modico volatu prima signa antecedentes et modo humi residebant, [16] cum lentius agmen incederet, modo se pennis levabant ducentium iterque monstrantium ritu. Tandem ad sedem consecratam deo ventum est. Incredibile dictu, inter vastas solitudines sita undique ambientibus ramis vix in densam umbram cadente sole contexta est, [17] multique fontes dulcibus aquis passim manantibus alunt silvas. Caeli quoque mira temperies, verno [p. 67] tepori maxime similis, omnes anni partes pari salubritate percurrit. [18] Accolae sedis sunt ab oriente proximi Aethiopum. In meridiem versam Arabes spectant — Trogodytis cognomen est — : horum regio usque ad Rubrum mare excurrit. [19] At qua vergit ad occidentem, alii Aethiopes colunt, quos Simos vocant. A septentrione Nasamones sunt, gens Syrtica, navigiorum spoliis quaestuosa: quippe obsident litora et aestu destituta navigia notis sibi vadis occupant. [20] Incolae nemoris,

quos Hammonios vocant, dispersis tuguriis habitant: medium nemus pro arce habent, triplici muro circumdatum. [21] Prima munitio tyrannorum veterem regiam clausit, in proxima coniuges eorum cum liberis et pelicibus habitabant — hic quoque dei oraculum est — , ultima munimenta satellitum armigerorumque sedes erant. [22] Est et aliud Hammonis nemus: in medio habet fontem — Solis aquam vocant — : sub lucis ortum tepida manat, medio die, cuius vehementissimus est calor, frigida eadem fluit, inclinato in vesperam calescit, media nocte fervida exaestuat, quoque nox propius vergit ad lucem, multum ex nocturno calore decrescit, donec sub ipsum diei ortum adsueto tepore languescat. [23] Quod pro deo colitur, non eandem effigiem habet, quam vulgo diis artifices accommodaverunt: umbilico maxime similis est habitus zmaragdo et gemmis coagmentatus. [24] Hunc, cum responsum petitur, navigio aurato gestant sacerdotes multis argenteis pateris ab utroque navigii latere pendentibus: [p. 68] sequuntur matronae virginesque patrio more inconditum quoddam carmen canentes, quo propitiari Iovem credunt, ut certum edat oraculum. [25] Ac tum quidem regem propius adeuntem maximus natu e sacerdotibus filium appellat, hoc nomen illi parentem Iovem reddere adfirmans. Ille se vero et accipere ait et agnoscere humanae sortis oblitus. [26] Consuluit deinde, an totius orbis imperium fati sibi destinaretur. Pater aequae in adulationem conpositus terrarum omnium rectorem fore ostendit. [27] Post haec institit quaerere, an omnes parentis sui interfectores poenas dedissent. Sacerdos parentem eius negat ullius scelere posse violari, Philippi autem omnes luisse supplicia: [28] adiecit, invictum fore, donec excederet ad deos. Sacrificio deinde facto dona et sacerdotibus et deo data sunt, permissumque amicis, ut ipsi quoque consulerent Iovem. Nihil amplius quaesierunt quam, an auctor esset sibi divinis honoribus colendi suum regem. Hoc quoque acceptum fore Iovi vates respondent. [29] Vera et salubri aestimatione fidem oraculi vana profecto responsa eludere potuissent, sed fortuna, quos uni sibi credere coegit, magna ex parte avidos gloriae magis quam capaces facit. [30] Iovis igitur filiuni se non solum appellari passus est, sed etiam iussit rerumque gestarum famam, dum augere vult tali appellatione, [31] corrumpit. Et Macedones, adsueti quidem regio imperio, sed in maiore libertatis umbra quam ceteri degentes, immortalitatem adfectantem contumacius, [32] quam aut ipsis expediebat aut regi, aversati sunt. Sed haec suo quaeque tempori reserventur: nunc cetera exequi pergam. [p. 69]

Alexander ab Hammone rediens ad Mareotin paludem haud procul insula Pharo sitam venit. Contemplatus loci naturam primum in ipsa insula statuerat urbem novam condere: [2] inde ut adparuit magnae sedis insulam haud capacem esse, elegit urbi locum, ubi nunc est Alexandria, appellationem trahens ex nomine auctoris. Complexus, quidquid soli est inter paludem ac mare, octoginta stadiorum muris ambitum destinat et, qui exaedificandae urbi praeessent, relictis Memphin petit. [3] Cupido haud iniusta quidem, ceterum intempestiva incesserat non interiora modo Aegypti, sed etiam Aethiopiam invisere: Memnonis Tithonique celebrata regia cognoscendae vetustatis

avidum trahebat paene extra terminos solis. [4] Sed imminens bellum, cuius multo maior supererat moles, otiosae peregrinationi tempora exemerat. Itaque Aegypto praefecit Aeschylum Rhodium et Peucesten Macedonem quattuor milibus militum in praesidium regionis eius datis, claustra Nili fluminis Polemonem tueri iubet: XXX ad hoc triremes datae. [5] Africae deinde, quae Aegypto iuncta est, praepositus Apollonius, vectigalibus eiusdem Africae Aegyptique Cleomenes. Ex finitimis urbibus commigrare Alexandream iussis novam urbem magna multitudo inplevit. [6] Fama est, cum rex orbem futuri muri polenta, ut Macedonum mos est, destinasse!, avium greges advolasse et polenta esse pastas: [p. 70] cumque id omen pro tristi a plerisque esset acceptum, respondisse vates, magnam illam urbem advenarum frequentiam culturam, multisque eam terris alimenta praebituram. [7] Regem, cum secundo amni deflueret, adsequi cupiens Hector, Parmenionis filius, eximio aetatis flore, in paucis Alexandro carus, parvum navigium conscendit pluribus, [8] quam capere posset, inpositis. Itaque mersa navis omnes destituit. Hector diu flumini obluctatus, cum madens vestis et adstricti crepidis pedes natare prohiberent in ripam tamen semianimis evasit et, ut primum fatigatus spiritum laxavit, quem metus et periculum intenderat, nullo adiuvante — quippe in diversum evaserant alii — [9] exanimatus est. Amissi eius desiderio vehementer adflictus est repertumque corpus magnifico extulit funere. Oneravit hunc dolorem nuntius mortis Andromachi, quem praefecerat Syriae: [10] vivum Samaritae cremaverant. Ad cuius interitum vindicandum, quanta maxima celeritate potuit, [11] contendit, advenientique sunt traditi tanti sceleris auctores. Andromacho deinde Menona substituit adfectisque supplicio, qui praetorem interemerant, tyrannos, inter quos Methymnaeorum Aristonicum et Stesilaum, popularibus suis tradidit: quos illi ob iniurias tortos necaverunt. [12] Atheniensium deinde, Rhodiorum et Chiorum legatos audit: Athenienses victoriam gratulabantur et, ut captivi Graecorum suis restituerentur, orabant, Rhodii et Chii de praesidio querebantur. [13] Omnes aequa [p. 71] desiderare visi inpetraverunt. Mytilenaeis quoque ob egregiam in partes fidem et pecuniam, quam in bellum inpenderant, reddidit et magnam regionem finitimam adiecit. [14] Cypriorum quoque regibus, qui et a Dareo defecerant ad ipsum et oppugnanti Tyrum miserant classem, pro merito honos habitus est. [15] Amphoterus deinde, classis praefectus, ad liberandam Cretam missus — namque et Persarum et Spartanorum armis pleraque eius insulae obsidebantur — ante omnia mare a piraticis classibus vindicare iussus: quippe obnoxium praedonibus erat bello utrumque in regem converse. [16] His compositis Herculi Tyrio ex auro crateram cum XXX pateris dicavit inminensque Dareo ad Euphraten iter pronuntiari iussit.

At Dareus, cum Aegypto devertisse in Africam hostem conperisset, dubitaverat, utrumme circa Mesopotamiam subsisteret an interiora regni sui peteret, haud dubie potentior auctor praesens futurus ultimis gentibus inipigre bellum capessendi, quas aegre per praefectos suos moliebatur. [2] Sed ut idoneis auctoribus fama vulgavit Alexandrum cum omnibus copiis,

quancumque ipse adisset regionem, petiturum, haud ignarus, quam cum strenuo res esset, omnia longinquarum gentium auxilia Babyloniam contrahi iussit. Bactriani Scythaeque et Indi convenerant iam, et ceterarum gentium copiae partibus simul adfuerunt. [3] Ceterum cum dimidio ferme maior esset exercitus, quam in Cilicia fuerat, multis arma deerant. Quae summa cura [p. 72] comparabantur: equitibus equisque tegumenta erant ex ferreis lamminis serie inter se conexis, quis antea praeter iacula nihil dederat, scuta gladiique adiciebantur, [4] equorumque greges peditibus distributi sunt, ut maior pristino esset equitatus. [5] Ingensque, ut credebat, hostium terror ducentae falcatae quadrigae, unicum illarum gentium auxilium, secutae sunt: ex summo temone hastae praefixae ferro eminebant, utrimque a iugo ternos direxerat gladios, inter radios rotarum plura spicula eminebant in adversum, aliae deinde falces summissae e rotarum orbibus haerebant et aliae in terram demissae, quidquid obvium concitatis equis fuisset, amputaturae. [6] Hoc modo instructo exercitu ac perarmato Babylone copias movit. A parte dextra erat Tigris, nobilis fluvius, laevam tegebat Euphrates, agmen Mesopotamiae campos inpleverat. [7] Tigri deinde superato cum audisset haud procul abesse hostem, Satropaten, equitum praefectum, cum mille delectis praemisit. [8] Mazaeo praetori sex milia data, quibus hostem transitu amnis arceret: eidem mandatum, ut regionem, quam Alexander esset aditurus, popularetur atque ureret. Quippe credebat inopia debellari posse nihil habentem, nisi quod rapiendo occupasset: ipsi autem commeatus alii terra, alii Tigri amne subvehebantur. [9] Iam pervenerat Arbela, vicum ignobilem, nobilem sua clade facturus. Hic [p. 73] commeatum sarcinarumque maiore parte deposita Lycum amnem ponte iunxit et per dies quinque sicut ante Euphraten traiecit exercitum. [10] Inde octoginta fere stadia progressus ad alterum amnem — Boumelo nomen est — castra posuit. Opportuna explicandis copiis regio erat, equitabilis et vasta planities: ne stirpes quidem et brevia virgulta operiunt solum, liberque prospectus oculorum etiam ad ea, quae procul recessere, pennittitur: atque, si qua campi eminebant, iussit aequari totumque fastigium extendi. [11] Alexandro, qui numerum copiarum eius, quantum procul coniectari poterat, aestimabant, vix fecerunt fidem tot milibus caesis maiores copias esse reparatas. [12] Ceterum omnis periculi et maxime multitudinis contemptor undecimis castris ad Euphraten pervenit. Quo pontibus iuncto equites primos ire, phalangem sequi iubet Mazaeo, qui ad inhibendum transitum eius cum sex milibus equitum occurrerat, non auso periculum sui facere. [13] Paucis deinde non ad quietem, sed ad praeparandos animos diebus datis militi strenue hostem insequi coepit metuens, ne interiora regni sui peteret sequendusque esset per loca omni solitudine atque inopia vasta. [14] Igitur quarto decimo die praeter Armeniam penetrat ad Tigrin. Tota regio ultra amnem recenti fumabat incendio: quippe Mazaeus, quaecumque adierat, haud secus quam hostis urebat. [15] Ac primo caligine, quam fumus effuderat, obscurante lucem insidiarum metu substitit, deinde ut speculatores praemissi tuta omnia nuntiaverunt, paucos equitum ad [p. 74] temptandum vadum fluminis praemisit.

Cuius altitude primo summa equorum pectora, mox, ut in medium alveum ventum est, cervices quoque aequabat. [16] Nee sane alius amnis ad Orientis plagam tam violentus invehitur multorum torrentium non aquas solum, sed etiam saxa secum trahens. Itaque a celeritate, qua defluit, Tigri nomen est inditum, quia Persica lingua tigrin sagittam appellant. [17] Igitur pedes velut divisus in cornua circumdato equitatu, levatis super capita armis haud aegre ad ipsum alveum penetrat. [18] Primus inter pedites rex egressus in ripam vadum militibus manu, quando vox exaudiri non poterat, ostendit. Sed gradum firmare vix poterant, cum modo saxa lubrica vestigium fallerent, [19] modo rapidior unda subduceret. Praecipuus erat labor eorum, qui humeris onera portabant: quippe cum semetipsos regere non possent, in rapidos gurgites incommodo onere auferebantur, et dum sua quisque spolia consequi studet, maior inter ipsos quam cum amni orta luctatio est, cumulique sarcinarum passim fluitantes plerosque perculerant. [20] Rex monere, ut satis haberent arma retinere: cetera se redditurum. Sed neque consilium neque imperium accipi poterat: obstrepebat hinc metus, praeter hunc invicem luctantium mutuus clamor. [21] Tandem, qua leniore tractu amnis aperit vadum, [22] emersere, nec quicquam praeter paucas sarcinas desideratum est. Deleri potuit exercitus, si quis vincere ausus esset, sed perpetua fortuna regis avertit inde hostem. Sic Granicum tot milibus equitum peditumque in ulteriore stantibus ripa superavit. sic angustis in Ciliciae callibus tantam multitudinem [p. 75] hostium: [23] audaciae quoque, qua maxime viguit, ratio minui potest, quia numquam in discrimen venit, an temere fecisset. Mazaeus, qui, si transeuntibus flumen supervenisset, haud dubie oppressurus fuit inconpositos, in ripa demum ad iam perarmatos adequitare coepit. [24] Mille admodum equites praemiserat: quorum paucitate Alexander explorata, deinde contempta praefectum Paeonum equitum Aristona laxatis habenis invehit iussit. [25] Insignis eo die pugna equitum et praecipue Aristonis fuit: praefectum equitatus Persarum Satropaten directa in guttur hasta transfixit fugientemque per medios hostes consecutus ex equo praecipitavit et obluctanti gladio caput dempsit. Quod relatum magna cum laude ante regis pedes posuit.

Biduo ibi stafiva rex habuit: in proximum deinde pronuntiari iter iussit. [2] Sed prima fere vigilia luna deficiens primum nitorem sideris sui condidit, deinde sanguinis colore suffuso lumen omne foedavit, sollicitisque sub ipsum tanti discriminis casum ingens religio et ex ea formido quaedam incussa est. [3] Dis invitis in ultimas terras trahi se querebantur: iam nec flumina posse adiri nec sidera pristinum servare fulgorem, vastas terras, deserta omnia occurrere: in unius hominis iactationem tot milium sanguinem inpendi, [p. 76] fastidio esse patriam, abdicari Philippum patrem, caelum vanis cogitationibus petere regem. [4] Pro seditione res erat, cum ad omnia interritus duces principesque militum frequentes adesse praetorio iubet Aegyptiosque vates, [5] quos caeli ac siderum peritissimos esse credebat, quid sentirent, expromere iubet. At illi, qui satis scirent temporum orbis implere destinatas vices lunamque deficere, cum aut terram subiret aut sole premeretur, rationem quidem ipsis perceptam

non edocent valguis: [6] ceterum adfirmant solem Graecorum, lunam esse Persarum, quotiensque illa deficiat, ruinam stragemque illis gentibus portendi, veteraque exempla percensent Persidis regum, quos adversis dis pugnasse lunae ostendisset defectio. [7] Nulla res multitudinem efficacius regit quam superstitio: alioqui inpotens, saeva, mutabilis, ubi vana religione capta est, melius vatibus quam ducibus suis paret. Igitur edita in vulgus Aegyptiorum responsa rursus ad spem et fiduciam erexere torpentes. [8] Rex impetu animorum utendum ratus secunda vigilia castra movit: [9] dextra Tigrim habebat, a laeva montes, quos Gordyaeos vocant. Hoc ingressis iter speculatores, qui praemissi erant, sub lucis ortum Dareum adventare nuntiaverunt. Instructo igitur milite et composito agmine antecedebat. [10] Sed Persarum moratores erant, mille ferme, qui speciem magni agminis fecerant: quippe ubi explorari vera non possunt, falsa per metum augentur. [11] His cognitis rex cum paucis suorum adsecutus agmen refugientium [p. 77] ad suos alios cecidit, cepit alios: equitesque praemisit speculatum, simul ut ignem, quo barbari cremaverant vicos, extinguerent. [12] Quippe fugientes raptim tectis acervisque frumenti iniecerant flammam, quae cum in summo haesissent, ad inferiora nondum penetraverant. [13] Extincto igitur igne plurimum frumenti repertum est: copia aliarum quoque rerum abundare coeperunt. Ea res ipsa militi ad persequendum hostem animum incendit: quippe urente et populante eo terram festinandum erat, ne incendio cuncta praeciperet. [14] In rationem ergo necessitas versa est: quippe Mazaeus, qui antea per otium vicos incenderat, iam fugere contentus pleraque inviolata hosti reliquit. [15] Alexander haud longius CL stadiis Dareum a se abesse conpererat: itaque ad satietatem quoque copia commeatuum instructus quadriduo in eodem loco substitit. [16] Interceptae deinde Darei litterae sunt, quibus Graeci milites sollicitabantur, ut regem aut interficerent aut proderent, dubitavitque, an eas pro contione recitaret, satis confisus Graecorum quoque erga se benivolentiae ac fidei. [17] Sed Parmenio deterruit non esse talibus promissis inbuendas aures militum adfirmans: patere vel unius insidiis regem, nihil nefas esse avaritiae. [18] Secutus consilii auctorem castra movit. Iter facienti spado e captivis, qui Darei uxorem comitabantur, deficere eam nuntiat et vix spiritum ducere. [19] Itineris continui labore animique aegritudine fatigata inter socrus et virginum filiarum manus conlapsa erat, deinde [p. 78] et extincta. [20] Id ipsum nuntians alius supervenit. Et rex haud secus, quam si parentis mors nuntiata esset, crebros edidit gemitus lacrimisque obortis, qualis Dareus profudisset, in tabernaculum, in quo mater erat Darei defuncto adsidens corpori, venit. [21] Hic vero renovatus est maeror, ut prostratam humi vidit. Recenti malo priorum quoque admonita receperat in gremium adultas virgines, magna quidem mutui doloris solacia, sed quibus ipsa deberet esse solacio. [22] In conspectu erat nepos parvulus, ob id ipsum miserabilis, quod nondum sentiebat calamitatem ex maxima parte ad ipsum redundantem. [23] Crederes Alexandrum inter suas necessitudines flere et solacia non adhibere, sed quaerere. Cibo certe abstinuit omnemque honorem funeri patrio Persarum more servavit, dignus hercule, qui

nunc quoque tantae et mansuetudinis et continentiae ferat fructum. [24] Semel omnino eam viderat, quo die capta est, nec ut ipsam, sed ut Darei matrem videret, eximiamque pulchritudinem formae eius non libidinis habuerat invitamentum, sed gloriae. [25] E spadonibus, qui circa reginam erant, Tyriotes inter trepidationem lugentium elapsus per eam portam, quae, quia ab hoste aversa erat, levius custodiebatur, ad Darei castra pervenit exceptusque a vigilibus in tabernaculum regis perducitur gemens et veste lacerata. [26] Quem ut conspexit Dareus, multiplici doloris expectatione commotus et, quid potissimum timeret, incertus: ‘Vultus,’ inquit, ‘tuus nescio quod ingens malum praefert, sed cave miseri hominis auribus parcas: didici esse infelix, et saepe calamitatis solacium [p. 79] est nosse sortem suam. [27] Num, quod maxime suspicor, eloqui timeo, ludibria meorum nuntiaturus es mihi et, [28] ut credo, ipsis quoque omni tristiora supplicio?’ Ad haec Tyriotes: ‘Istud quidem procul abest,’ inquit: ‘quantuscumque enim reginis honos ab his, qui parent, haberi potest, tuis a victore servatus est. Sed uxor tua paulo ante excessit e vita.’ [29] Tunc vero non gemitus modo, sed etiam eiulatus totis castris exaudiebatur. Nec dubitavit Dareus, quin interfecta esset, quia nequisset contumeliam perpeti, exclamatque alnens dolore: ‘Quod ego tantum nefas commisi, Alexander? quem tuorum propinquorum necavi, ut hanc vicem redderes saevitiae meae? Odisti me non quidem provocatus: sed finge iustum intulisse te bellum, cum feminis ergo agere debueras?’ [30] Tyriotes adfirmare per deos patrios nihil in eam gravius esse consultum: ingemuisse etiam Alexandrum morti et non parcius flevisse, quam ipse lacrimaret. [31] Ob haec ipsa amantis animus in sollicitudinem suspicionemque revolutus est, desiderium captivae profecto a consuetudine stupri ortum esse coniectans. [32] Summotis igitur arbitris, uno dumtaxat Tyriote retento iam non flens, sed suspirans: ‘Videsne,’ inquit, ‘Tyriote, locum mendacio non esse? tormenta iam hic erunt, sed ne expectaveris per deos, si quid tibi tui regis reverentiae est: num, quod et scire expeto et quaerere pudet, ausus est et dominus et iuvenis?’ Ille quaestioni corpus offer re, [33] deos testes [p. 80] [34] invocare, caste sancteque habitam esse reginam. Tandem ut fides facta est vera esse, quae adfirmaret spado, capite velato diu flevit manantibusque adhuc lacrimis, veste ab ore reiecta ad caelum manus tendens: ‘Di patrii,’ inquit, ‘primum mihi stabilitate regnum, deinde, si de me iam transactum est, precor, ne quis potius Asiae rex sit quam iste tam iustus hostis, tam misericors victor.’

Itaque quamquam frustra pace bis petita omnia in bellum consilia converterat, victus tamen continentia hostis ad novas pacis condiciones ferendas legatos, cognatorum principes, misit: quos Alexander consilio advocato introduci iussit. [2] E quibus maximus natu: ‘Dareum,’ inquit, ‘ut pacem a te iam hoc tertio peteret, [3] nulla vis subegit, sed iustitia tua et continentia expressit. Matrem, coniugem, liberos eius, nisi quod sine illo sunt, captos esse non sensimus: pudicitiae earum, quae supersunt, curam haud secus quam parens agens reginas appellas, speciem pristinae fortunae retinere pateris. [4] Vultum tuum video, qualis Darei fuit, cum dimitteremur ab eo: et

ille tamen uxorem, tu hostem luges. Iam in acie stares, nisi cura te sepulturae eius moraretur. Ecquid mirum est, si tam ab amico animo pacem petit? [5] Quid opus est armis, inter quos odia sublata sunt? Antea imperio tuo finem destinabat Halym amnem, qui Lydiam terminat: nunc, quidquid inter Hellespontum et Euphraten est, in dotem filiae offert, quam tibi tradit. [6] Ochum filium, quem habes, pacis et fidei obsidem retine, matrem et duas virgines filias redde: [7] pro tribus corporibus milia talentum auri precatur accipias. Nisi [p. 81] moderationem animi tui notam haberem, non dicerem hoc esse tempus, quo pacem non dare solum, sed etiam occupare deberes. [8] Respice, quantum post te reliqueris: intueri, quantum petas. Periculosum est praegrave imperium: difficile est enim continere, quod capere non possis. Videsne, ut navigia, quae modum excedunt, regi nequeant? Nescio, an Dareus ideo tam multa amiserit, quia nimiae opes magnae iacturae locum faciunt. [9] Facilius quidem vincere quam tueri: quam, hercule, expeditius manus nostrae rapiunt quam continent! Ipsa mors uxoris Darei admonere te potest, minus iam misericordiae tuae licere, quam licuit.’ [10] Alexander legatis excedere tabernaculo iussis, quid placeret, ad consilium refert. Diu nemo, quid sentiret, ausus est dicere incerta regis voluntate: [11] tandem Parmenio antea suasisse ait, ut captivos apud Damascum redimentibus redderet: ingentem pecuniam potuisse redigi ex his, qui multi vincti virorum fortium occuparent manus. [12] Et nunc magnopere censere, ut unam anum et duas puellas, itinerum agminumque impedimenta, [13] XXX milibus talentum auri permutaret. Opimum regnum occupare posse condicione, non bello, nec quemquam alium inter Histrum et Euphraten possedisse terras ingentiore spatio intervalloque discretas. Macedoniam quoque potius respiceret, quam Bactra et Indos intueretur. [14] Ingrata oratio regi fuit: itaque ut finem dicendi fecit: ‘Et ego,’ inquit, [p. 82] ‘pecuniam quam gloriam mallet, si Parmenion essem: nunc Alexander de paupertate securus sum et me non mercatorem memini esse, sed regem. [15] Nihil quidem habeo venale, sed fortunam meam utique non vendo. [16] Captivos si placet reddi, honestius dono dabimus, quam pretio remitteremus.’ Introductis deinde legatis ad hunc modum respondit: ‘Nuntiate Dareo me, quae fecerim clementer et liberaliter, non amicitiae eius tribuisse, sed naturae meae. [17] [18] Bellum cum captivis et feminis gerere non soleo: armatus sit oportet, quem oderim. Quodsi saltem pacem bona fide peteret, deliberarem forsitan, an darem. Verum enimvero, cum modo milites meos litteris ad prodicionem, modo amicos ad perniciem meam pecunia sollicitet, ad internecionem mihi persequendus est, non ut iustus hostis, sed ut percussor veneficus. Condiçiones vero pacis, quas adfertis, si accepero, victo rem eum faciunt. [19] Quae post Euphraten sunt, liberaliter donat. Ubi igitur me adeatis, nempe obliti estis: nempe ultra Euphraten sum. Liberalissimum ergo dotis, quam promittit, terminum castra mea transeunt. [20] Hinc me depellite, ut sciam vestrum esse, quo ceditis. Eadem liberalitate dat mihi filiam suam: nempe quam scio alicui servorum eius nupturam. [21] Multum vero mihi praestat, si me Mazaeo generum praeposit! Ite, nuntiate regi vestro et, quae amisit, [p. 83]

et, quae adhuc habet, praemia esse belli: hoc regente utriusque terminos regni, id quemque habiturum, quod proximae lucis adsignatura fortuna est.’ [22] Legati respondent, cum bellum in animo sit, facere eum simpliciter, quod spe pacis non frustraretur. Ipsos petere, ut quam primum dimittantur ad regem: eum quoque bellum parare debere. Dimissi nuntiant adesse certamen.

Ille quidem confestim Mazaeum cum tribus equitum milibus ad itinera, quae hostis petiturus erat, occupanda praemisit. [2] Alexander corpori uxoris eius iustis persolutis omni que graviore comitatu intra eadem munimenta cum modico praesidio relicto ad hostem contendit. [3] In duo cornua diviserat peditem utrique lateri equite circumdato: iupedimenta sequebantur agmen. [4] Praemisum deinde cum suis equitibus Menidan iubet explorare, ubi Dareus esset. At ille, cum Mazaeus haud procul consedisset, non ausus ultra procedere, nihil aliud quam fremitum hominum hinnitumque equorum exaudisse nuntiat. [5] Mazaeus quoque conspectis procul exploratoribus in castra se recepit, adventus hostium nuntius. Igitur Dareus, qui in patentibus campis decernere optabat, armari militem iubet aciemque disponit. [6] In laevo cornu Bactriani ibant equites, mille admodum, Dahae totidem, et Arachosii Susianique quattuor milia explebant. Hos centum falcati currus sequebantur. Proximus quadrigis erat Bessus cum VIII milibus, equitibus item Bactrianis. [p. 84] [7] Massagetae duobus milibus agmen eius claudebant. Pedites his plurium gentium non inmixtos, sed suae cuiusque nationis iunxerat copias. Persas deinde cum Mardis Sogdianisque Ariobarzanes et Orontobates ducebant. [8] Illi partibus copiarum, summae Orsines praeerat, a septem Persis oriundus, ad Cyrum quoque, nobilissimum regem, originem sui referens. [9] Hos aliae gentes ne sociis quidem satis notae sequebantur. Post quas L quadrigas Phradates magno Caspiorum agmine antecedebat. [10] Indi ceterique Rubri maris accolae, nomina verius quam auxilia, post currus erant. Claudebatur hoc agmen aliis falcatis curribus, quis peregrinum militem adiunxerat. Hunc Armenii, quos minores appellant, Armenios Babylonii, utrosque Belitae et, qui montes Cossaeorum incolebant, sequebantur. [11] Post hos ibant Gortuae, gentis quidem Euboicae, Medos quondam secuti, sed iam degeneres et patrii moris ignari. Adplicuerat his Phrygas et Cataonas. Parthyaeorum deinde gens incolentium terras, quas nunc Parthi Scythia profecti tenent, claudebant agmen. [12] Haec sinistri cornus facies fuit. Dextrum tenebant natio Maioris Armeniae Cadusiique et Cappadoces et Syri ac Medi. [13] His quoque falcati currus L erant. Summa totius exercitus, equites XLV milia, pedestris acies CC milia expleverat. Hoc modo instructi X stadia procedunt iussique subsistere armati hostem expectabant. [14] Alexandri exercitum pavor, cuius causa non sub- [p. 85] erat, invasit: quippe lymphati trepidare coeperunt omnium pectora occulto metu percurrente. Caeli fulgor tempore aestivo ardenti similis internitens ignis praeuit speciem, flammisque ex Darei castris splendere velut inlati temere praesidiis credebant. [15] Quodsi percussis Mazaeus, qui praesidebat itineri, supervenisset, ingens clades accipi potuit: nunc, dum ille segnus in eo, quem occupaverat, tumulto sedet, contentus non lacessi, [16]

Alexander cognito pavore exercitus signum, ut consisterent, dari, ante ipsos arma deponere ac levare corpora iubet, admonens nullam subiti causam esse terroris, hostem procul stare. [17] Tandem compotes sui pariter arma et animos recepere. Nec quicquam ex praesentibus tutius visum est quam eodem loco castra munire. [18] Postero die Mazaeus — cum delectis equitum in edito colle, ex quo Macedonum prospiciebantur castra, consederat — sive metu sive, quia speculari modo iussus erat, ad Dareum rediit. [19] Macedones eum ipsum collem, quem deseruerat, occupaverunt: nam et tutior planitie erat, et inde acies hostium, quae in campo explicabatur, conspici poterat. [20] Sed caligo, quam circa humidi effuderant montes, universae quidem rei faciem non abstulit, ceterum agminum discrimina atque ordinem prohibuit perspicere. Multitudo inundaverat campos, fremitusque tot milium etiam procul stantium aures inpleverat. [21] Fluctuari animo rex et modo suum, modo Parmenionis consilium sera aestimatione perpendere: quippe eo ventum erat, unde [p. 86] [22] recipi exercitus nisi victor sine clade non posset. Itaque dissimulato animo mercennarium equitem ex Paeonia praecedere iubet. [23] Ipse phalangem, sicut antea dictum est, in duo cornua extenderat: utrumque cornu equites tegebant. Iamque liquidior lux discussa caligine aciem hostium ostenderat, et Macedones sive alacritate sive taedio expectationis ingentem pugnantium more edidere clamorem. Redditus et a Persis nemora vallesque circumiectas terribili sono inpleverat, [24] nec iam contineri Macedones poterant, quin cursu quoque ad hostem contenderent. Rex melius adhuc ratus in eodem tumultu castra munire, vallum iaci iussit strenueque opere perfecto in tabernaculum, ex quo tota acies hostium conspiciebatur, secessit.

Tum vero universa futuri discriminis facies in oculis erat: armis insignibus equi virique splendebant, et omnia intentiore cura praeparari apud hostem sollicitudo praetorum agmina sua interequantium ostendebat, [2] ac pleraque inania, sicut fremitus hominum, [3] equorum hinnitus, armorum internitentium fulgor, sollicitam expectatione mentem turbaverant. Igitur sive dubius animi sive, ut suos experiretur, consilium adhibet, quid optimum factu esset, exquirens. [4] Parmenio, peritissimus inter duces artium belli, furto, non proelio opus esse censebat. Intempesta nocte opprimi posse hostes: discordis moribus, linguis, ad hoc somno et [p. 87] inproviso periculo territos quando in nocturna trepidatione coituros? [5] At interdiu primum terribiles occursuras facies Scytharum Bactrianorumque : hirta illis ora et intonsas comas esse, praeterea eximiam vastorum magnitudinem corporum. Vanis et inanibus militem magis quam iustis formidinis causis moveri. [6] Deinde tantam multitudinem circumfundi paucioribus posse, cum non in Ciliciae angustiis et inviis callibus, sed in aperta et lata planitie dimicarent. [7] Omnes ferme Parmenioni adsentiebantur: Polypercon haud dubie in eo consilio positam victoriam arbitrabatur. [8] Quem intuens rex — namque Parmenionem nuper acrius, quam vellet, increpitum rursus castigare non sustinebat — : ‘Latrunculorum,’ inquit, ‘et furum ista sollertia est, quam praecipitis mihi: quippe illorum votum unicum est fallere. [9] Meae vero gloriae semper aut

absentiam Darei aut angustias locorum aut furtum noctis obstare non patiar. Palam luce adgredi certum est: malo me meae fortunae paeniteat, quam victoriae pudeat. [10] Ad haec illud quoque accedit: vigilias agere barbaros et in armis stare, ut ne decipi quidem possint, conpertum habeo. Itaque ad proelium vos parate.’ Sic incitatos ad corpora curanda dimisit. [11] Dareus id, quod Parmenio suaserat, hostem facturum esse coniectans frenatos equos stare magnamque exercitus partem in armis esse ac vigilias intentiore cura servari iusserat: ergo ignibus tota eius castra fulgebant. [12] Ipse cum ducibus propinquisque agmina in armis stantium circumibat, Solem et Mithrem sacrumque et aeternum invocans ignem, ut illis dignam [p. 88] vetere gloria maiorumque monumentis fortitudinem inspirarent. [13] Et profecto, si qua divinae opis auguria humana mente concipi possent, deos stare secum. Illos nuper Macedonum animis subitam incussisse formidinem, adhuc lymphatos ferri agique arma iacentes, expetere praesides Persarum imperii debitas e vaecordibus poenas. [14] Nec ipsum ducem saniozem esse: quippe ritu ferarum praedam modo, quam expeteret, intuentem in perniciem, quae ante praedam posita esset, incurrere. Similis apud Macedones quoque sollicitudo erat, noctemque velut in eam certamine edicto metu egerunt. [15] Alexander non alias magis territus ad vota et preces Aristandrum vocari iubet. Ille in candida veste verbenas manu praeferens capite velato praeibat preces regi Iovem Minervamque Victoriā propitianti. [16] Tunc quidem sacrificio rite perpetrato reliquum noctis adquieturus in tabernaculum rediit. Sed nec somnum capere nec quietem pati poterat: modo e iugo montis aciem in dextrum Persarum cornu demittere agitabat, modo recta fronte concurrere hosti, interdum haesitare, [17] an potius in laevum detorqueret agmen. Tandem gravatum animi anxietate corpus altior somnus oppressit. Iamque luce orta duces ad accipiēda imperia convenerant insolito circa praetorium silentio attoniti: [18] quippe alias accersere ipsos et interdum morantes castigare adsueverat, tunc ne ultimo quidem rerum discrimine excitatum esse mirabantur et non somno quiescere, [19] sed pavore marcere credebant. Non tamen quisquam [p. 89] ex custodibus corporis intrare tabernaculum audebat. Et iam tempus instabat, nec miles iniussu ducis aut arma capere poterat aut in ordines ire. [20] Diu Parmenio cunctatus, cibum ut caperent, ipse pronuntiat. Iamque exire necesse erat: tunc demum intrat tabernaculum saepiusque nomine conpellatum, cum voce non posset, tactu excitavit. [21] ‘Multa lux,’ inquit, ‘est: instructam aciem hostis admovit, tuus miles adhuc inermis expectat imperium. Ubi est vigor ille animi tui? nempe excitare vigiles soles.’ [22] Ad haec Alexander: ‘Credisne me prius somnum capere potuisse, quam exonerarem animum sollicitudine, quae quietem morabatur?’ signumque pugnae tuba dari iussit. Et cum in eadem admiratione Parmenio perseveraret, [23] quod solutum se curis somnum cepisse dixisset: ‘Minime,’ inquit, ‘mirum est: ego enim, cum Dareus terram ureret, vicos excinderet, alimenta corrumperet, potens mei non eram: [24] nunc vero quid metuum, cum acie decernere paret? Hercule, votum meum inplevit. Sed huius consilii postea quoque ratio reddetur: vos ite ad copias, quibus quisque

praeest, ego iam adero et, quid fieri velim, exponam.’ [25] Raro admodum, admonitu magis amicorum quam metu discriminis adeundi, thorace uti solebat: tunc utique nranimento corporis sumpto processit ad milites. Haud alias tam alacrem viderant regem et ex vultu eius interrito certam spem victoriae augurabantur. [26] Atque ille proruto vallo exire copias iubet aciemque disponit. In dextro cornu locati sunt equites, quos agema appellabant: praeerat his Clitus, cui [p. 90] iunxit Philota(??) turmas, ceterosque praefectos equitum lateri eius adplicuit. [27] Ultima Meleagri ala stabat, quam phalanx sequebatur. Post phalangem Argyraspides erant: [28] his Nicanor, Parmenionis films, praeerat. In subsidiis cum manu sua Coenos, post eum Orestae Lyncestaeque sunt positi, post illos Polypercon, mox peregrini milites. Huius agminis princeps Amyntas aberat: Philippus Balacri eos regebat in societatem nuper adscitus. [29] Haec dextri cornus facies erat. In laevo Craterus Peloponnesium equites habebat Achaeorum et Locrensium et Malieon turmis sibi adiunctis. Hos Thessali equites claudebant Philippo duce. Peditum acies equitatu tegebatur. Frons laevi cornus haec erat. [30] Sed ne circumiri posset a multitudine, ultimum agmen valida manu cinxerat. Cornua quoque subsidiis firmavit non recta fronte, sed a latere positis, ut, si hostis circumvenire aciem temptasset, parata pugnae forent. [31] Hic Agriani erant, quibus Attalus praeerat, adiunctis sagittariis Cretensibus. Ultimos ordines avertit a fronte, ut totam aciem orbe muniret. Illyrii hic erant adiuncto milite mercede conducto, Thracas quoque simul obiecerat leviter armatos. [32] Adeoque aciem [p. 91] versabilem posuit, ut, qui ultimi stabant, ne circumirentur, verti tamen et in frontem circumagi possent. Itaque non prima quam latera, non latera munitiora fuere quam terga. [33] His ita ordinatis praecipit, ut, si falcatos currus cum fremitu barbari emitterent, ipsi laxatis ordinibus impetum incurrentium silentio exciperent, haud dubius sine noxa transcurso, si nemo se opponeret: sin autem sine fremitu inmisissent, eos ipsi clamore terrerent pavidosque equos telis utrimque suffoderent. [34] Qui cornibus praeerant, extendere ea iussi ita, ut nec circumvenirentur, si artius starent, nee tamen ultimam aciem exinanirent. [35] Inpedimenta cum captivis, inter quos mater liberique Darei custodiebantur, haud procul acie in edito colle constituit modico praesidio relicto. Laevum cornu, sicut alias, Parmenioni tuendum datum, ipse in dextro stabat. [36] Nondum ad iactum teli perventum erat, cum Bion quidam transfuga, quanto maximo cursu poterat, ad regem pervenit nuntians, murices ferreos in terram diffudisse Dareum, qua hostem equites emissurum esse credebat, notatumque certo signo locum, ut fraus evitari a suis posset. [37] Adservari transfuga iusso duces convocat expositoque, quod nuntiatum erat, monet, ut regionem monstratam declinent equitemque periculum edoceant. [38] Ceterum hortantem exercitus exaudire non poterat usum aurium intercipientem fremitu duorum agminum, sed in conspectu omnium duces et proximum quemque [p. 92]

interequitans adloquebatur: Emensis tot terras in spem victoriae, de qua dimicandum foret, hoc unum superesse discrimen. Granicum hic amnem

Ciliciaeque montes et Syriam Aegyptumque praefereuntibus raptas, [2] ingentia spei gloriaeque incitamenta, referebat. Reprehensos ex fuga Persas pugnatuos, quia fugere non possent. Tertium iam diem metu exangues, armis suis oneratos in eodem vestigio haerere. Nullum desperationis illorum maius indicium esse, quam quod urbes, [3] quod agros suos urerent, quidquid non corripissent, hostium esse confessi. Nomina modo vana gentium ignotarum ne extimescerent: neque enim ad belli discrimen pertinere, qui ab iis Scythae quive Cadusii appellarentur. Ob id ipsum, quod ignoti essent, ignobiles esse: [4] numquam ignorari viros fortes, at inbelles ex latebris suis erutos nihil praeter nomina adferre. Macedonas virtute adsecutos, ne quis toto orbe locus esset, qui tales viros ignoraret. [5] Intuerentur barbarorum inconditum agmen: alium nihil praeter iaculum habere, alium funda saxa librare, paucis iusta arma esse. Itaque illinc plures stare, hinc plures dimicatuos. [6] Nec postulare se, ut fortiter capesserent proelium, ni ipse ceteris fortitudinis fuisset exemplum: se ante prima signa dimicaturum. Spondere pro se tot cicatrices, totidem corporis decora: [7] scire ipsos unum paene se praedae communis exortem in illis colendis ornandisque usurpare victoriae praemia Haec se fortibus viris dicere. Si qui dissimiles eorum [p. 93] essent, illa fuisse dicturum: pervenisse eos, unde fugere non possent. Tot terrarum spatia emensis, tot omnibus montibusque post tergum obiectis iter in patriam ad penates manu esse faciendum. Sic duces, sic proximi militum instincti sunt. [8] Dareus in laevo cornu erat magno suorum agmine, delectis equitum peditumque, stipatus contempseratque paucitatem hostis vanam aciem esse extentis cornibus ratus. [9] Ceterum, sicut curru eminebat, dextra laevaue ad circumstantia agmina oculos manusque circumferens: ‘Terrarum,’ inquit, ‘quas Oceanus hinc adluit, illinc claudit Hellespontus, paulo ante dominis iam non de gloria, sed de salute et, quod saluti praeponitis, libertate pugnandum est: [10] hic dies imperium, quo nulla amplius vidit aetas, aut constituet aut finiet. Apud Granicum minima virium parte cum hoste certavimus, in Cilicia victos Syria poterat excipere, magna munimenta regni Tigris atque Euphrates erant. [11] Ventum est eo, unde pulsus ne fugae quidem locus est. Omnia tam diutino bello exhausta post tergum sunt: non incolae suos urbes, non cultores habent terrae. Coniuges quoque et liberi sequuntur hanc aciem, parata hostibus praeda, nisi pro carissimis pignoribus corpora opponimus. [12] Quod mearum fuit partium, exercitum, quem paene immensa planities vix caperet, comparavi: equos, arma distribui, commeatus ne tantae multitudini [p. 94] deessent, providi, locum, in quo acies explicari posset, [13] elegi. Cetera in vestra potestate sunt: audete modo vincere famamque, infirmissimum adversus fortes viros telum, contemnite. Temeritas est, quam adhuc pro virtute timuistis: [14] quae ubi primum impetum effudit, velut quaedam animalia emisso aculeo, torpet. Hi vero campi deprehendere paucitatem, quam Ciliciae montes absconderant. Videtis ordines raros, cornua extenta, mediam aciem vanam exhaustam: nam Ultimi, quos locavit aversos, terga iam praebent. Obteri, mehercule, equorum ungulis possunt, etiam si nihil praeter falcatos currus emisero. [15] Et bello vicerimus, si vicimus proelio. Nam

ne illis quidem ad fugam locus est: [16] hinc Euphrates, illinc Tigris prohibet inclusos. Et, quae antea pro illis erant, in contrarium versa sunt. Nostrum mobile et expeditum agmen est, illud praeda grave. Inplicatos ergo spoliis nostris trucidabimus, eademque res et causa erit victoriae et fructus. [17] Quodsi quem e vobis nomen gentis movet, cogitet Macedonum illic arma esse, non corpora. Multum enim sanguinem invicem hausimus, et semper gravior in paucitate iactura est. [18] Nam Alexander, quantuscumque ignavis et timidus videri potest, unum animal est et, si quid mihi creditis, temerarium et vaecors, adhuc nostro pavore quam sua virtute felicius. [19] Nihil autem potest esse diuturnum, cui non subest ratio. Licet felicitas adspirare videatur, tamen ad ultimum temeritati non sufficit. Praeterea breves et mutabiles vices rerum sunt, et fortuna numquam simpliciter indulget. [20] Forsitan ita dii fata ordinaverint, ut Persarum impe- [p. 95] rium, quod secundo cursu per CCXXX annos ad summum fastigium evexerant, magno motu concuterent magis quam adfligerent admonerentque nos fragilitatis humanae, cuius nimia in prosperis rebus oblivio est. [21] Modo Graecis ultro bellum inferebamus: nunc in sedibus nostris propulsamus inlatum. Iactamur invicem varietate fortunae. Videlicet imperium, quia mutuo adfectamus, una gens non capit. [22] Ceterum, etiam si spes non subesset, necessitas tamen stimulare deberet. Ad extrema perventum est. Matrem meam, duas filias, Ochum in spem huius imperii genitum, principes, illam subolem regiae stirpis, duces vestros reorum instar victos habet: nisi quid in vobis spei est, ego maiore mei parte captivus sum. Eripite viscera mea ex vinculis, restituite mihi pignora, pro quibus ipsi mori non recusatis, parentem, liberos: nam coniugem in illo carcere amisi. [23] Credite nunc omnes hos tendere ad vos manus, inplorare patrios deos, opem vestram, misericordiam, fidem exposcere, ut compedibus, ut Servitute, ut precario victu ipsos liberetis. An creditis aequo animo iis servire, quorum reges esse fastidiunt? [24] Video admoveri hostium aciem: sed, quo propius discrimen accedo, hoc minus iis, quae dixi, possum esse contentus. Per ego vos deos patrios aeternumque ignem, qui praefertur altaribus, fulgor em que solis intra fines regni mei orientis, per aeternam memoriam Cyri, qui ademptum Medis Lydisque imperium primus in Persidem intulit, vindicate ab ultimo dedecore nomen gentemque Persarum. [25] Ite alacres et spiritus pleni, ut, quam gloriam accepistis a maioribus vestris, posteris [p. 96] relinquatis. In dextris vestris iam libertatem, opem, spem futuri temporis geritis. Effugit mortem, quisquis contempserit: [26] timidissimum quemque consequitur. Ipse non patrio more solum, sed etiam, ut conspici possim, curru vehor nec recuso, quo minus imitemini me, sive fortitudinis exemplum sive ignaviae fuero.'

Interim Alexander, ut et demonstratum a transfuga insidiarum locum circumiret et Dareo, qui cornu tuebatur, occurreret, agmen obliquum incedere iubet. [2] Dareus quoque eodem suum obvertit Besso admonito, ut Massagetarum equites in laevum Alexandri cornu a latere invehi iuberet. [3] Ipse ante se falcatos currus habebat: quos signo dato universos in hostem effudit. Ruebant laxatis habenis aurigae, quo plures nondum satis proviso impetu obtererent. [4]

Alios ergo hastae multum ultra temonem eminentes, alios ab utroque latere demissae falces laceravere. Nec sensim Macedones cedebant, sed effusa fuga turbaverant ordines. [5] Mazaeus quoque percussis metum incussit mille equitibus ad diripienda hostis impedimenta circumvehi iussis, ratus captivos quoque, qui simul adservabantur, rupturos vincula, cum suos adpropinquantem vidissent. [6] Non fefellerat Parmenionem, qui in laevo erat: propere igitur Polydamanta mittit qui regi et periculum ostenderet et, quid fieri iuberet, consuleret. [7] Ille audito Polydamante: ‘Abi, nuntia,’ inquit, ‘Parmenioni, si acie vicerimus, non nostra solum nos recuperaturos, [p. 97] sed etiam, quae hostium sunt, occupaturos. [8] Proinde non est, quod virium quicquam subducat ex acie, sed, ut me, ut Philippo patre dignum est, contempto sarcinarum damno fortiter dimicet.’ [9] Interim barbari impedimenta turbaverant caesisque plerisque custodum captivi vinculis ruptis, quidquid obvium erat, quo armari possent, arripiunt et adgregati suorum equitibus Macedonas ancipiti circumventos malo invadunt. [10] Laeti, qui circa Sisigambim erant, vicisse Dareum, ingenti caede prostratos hostis, ad ultimum etiam impedimentis exutos esse nuntiant: quippe eandem fortunam ubique esse credebant et victores Persas ad praedam discurrens. [11] Sisigambis hortantibus captivis, ut animum a maerore adlevaret, in eodem, quo antea fuit, perseveravit. Non vox ulla excidit ei, non oris color vultusve mutatus est: sedit immobilis — credo, praecoqui gaudio verita inritare fortunam — , adeo ut, quid mallet, intuentibus eam fuerit incertum. [12] Inter haec Menidas, praefectus equitum Alexandri, cum paucis turmis opem impedimentis laturus advenerat — est incertum, suone consilio an regis imperio — , sed non sustinuit Cadusiorum Scytharumque impetum: quippe vix temptato certamine refugit ad regem, amissorum impedimentorum testis magis quam vindex. [13] Iam consilium Alexandri dolor vicerat, et, ne cura recuperandi sua militem a proelio averteret, non inmerito verebatur: itaque Areten, ducem hastatorum — sarisophoros vocabant — [14] adversus Scythas mittit. Inter haec currus, qui circa prima signa turbaverant aciem, in phalangem invecti erant : Macedones confirmatis [p. 98] animis in medium agmen accipiunt. [15] Vallo similis acies erat: iunxerant hastas et ab utroque latere temere incurrentium ilia suffodiebant. Circumire deinde et currus et propugnatores praecipitare coeperunt. Ingens ruina equorum aurigarumque aciem compleverat: [16] hi territos regere non poterant, qui crebra iactatione cervicum non iugum modo excusserant, sed etiam currus everterant, vulnerati interfectos trahebant, nec consistere territi nec progredi debiles poterant. [17] Paucae tamen evasere quadrigae in ultimam aciem iis, quibus inciderunt, miserabili morte consumptis: quippe amputata virorum membra humi iacebant, et, quia calidis adhuc vulneribus aberat dolor, trunci quoque et debiles quidam arma non omittebant, donec multo sanguine effuso exanimati procumberent. [18] Interim Aretes Scytharum qui impedimenta diripiebant, duce occiso gravius territis instabat. Supervenere deinde a Dareo Bactriani pugnaeque vertere fortunam. Multi ergo Macedonum primo impetu obtriti sunt, plures ad Alexandrum

refugerunt. [19] Tum Persae clam ore sublato, qualem victores solent edere, ferociter in hostem quasi ubique profligatum incurrerunt. Alexander territos castigare, adhortari, proelium, quod iam elanguerat, solus accendere: confirmatisque tandem animis ire in hostem iubet. [20] Rarior acies erat in dextro cornu Persarum: namque inde Bactriani discesserant ad opprimenda impedimenta. Itaque Alexander laxatos ordines invadit et multa caede hostium invehitur. [21] At qui in laevo cornu erant Persae, spe posse eum includi agmen suum a tergo dimicantis opponunt: ingensque pericu- [p. 99] lum in medio haerens adisset, ni equites Agriani calcaribus subditis circumfusos regi barbaros adorti essent aversosque caedendo in se obverti coegissent. Turbata erat utraque acies. Alexander et a fronte et a tergo hostem habebat ... [22] Qui averso ei instabant, et ipsi ab Agrianis equitibus premebantur. Bactriani impedimentis hostium direptis reversi ordines suos recuperare non poterant, plura simul abrupta a ceteris agmina, ubicumque alium alii fors miscuerat, dimicabant. [23] Duo reges iunctis prope agminibus proelium accenderant. Plures Persae cadebant, par ferme utrimque numerus vulnerabatur. Curru Dareus, Alexander equo vehebatur. [24] Utrumque delecti tuebantur sui immemores: quippe amisso rege nec volebant salvi esse nec poterant. Ante oculos sui quisque regis mortem occumbere ducebat egregium. [25] Maximum tamen periculum adibant, quos maxime tuebantur: quippe sibi quisque caesi regis expetebat decus. [26] Ceterum, sive ludibrium oculorum sive vera species fuit, qui circa Alexandrum erant, vidisse se crediderunt paulum super caput regis placide volantem aquilam, non sono armorum, non gemitu morientium territam, diu que circa equum Alexandri pendenti magis quam volanti similis adparuit. [27] Certe vates Aristander alba veste indutus et dextra praeferens lauream militibus in pugnam intentis avem monstrabat haud dubium victoriae auspiciu[m]. [28] Ingens ergo alacritas et fiducia paulo ante territos accendit ad pugnam, utique postquam auriga Darei, qui ante [p. 100] ipsum sedens equos regebat, hasta transfixus est. Nec aut Persae aut Macedones dubitavere, quin ipse rex esset occisus. [29] Ergo lugubri ululatu et incondito clamore gemituque totam fere aciem adhuc aequo Marte pugnantium turbavere cognati Darei et armigeri. Laevumque cornu in fugam effusum destituerat currum, quem a dextra parte stipati in medium agmen receperunt. [30] Dicitur acinace stricto Dareus dubitasse, an fugae dedecus honesta morte vitaret: sed eminens curru nondum omnem suorum aciem proelio excedentem destituere erubescibat, [31] dumque inter spem et desperationem haesitat, sensim Persae cedebant et laxaverant ordines. Alexander mutato equo — quippe plures fatigaverat — resistentium adversa ora fodiebat, fugientium terga. [32] Iamque non pugna, sed caedes erat, cum is Dareus quoque currum suum in fugam vertit. Haerebat in tergis fugientium victor, sed prospectum oculorum nubes pulveris, quae ad caelum efferebatur, abstulerat: [33] ergo haud secus quam in tenebris errabant ad sonum notae vocis aut signum subinde coeuntes. Exaudiebant tamen strepitus habenarum, quibus equi currum vehentes identidem verberabantur: haec sola fugientis vestigia excepta sunt.

At in laevo Macedonum cornu — Parmenio, sicut ante est dictum, tuebatur — longe alia fortuna utriusque partis res gerebatur. Mazaeus cum omni suorum equitatu vehementer invecus urgebat Macedonum [p. 101] alas. [2] Iamque abundans multitudine aciem circumvehi coeperat, cum Parmenio equites nuntiare iubet Alexandro, in quo discrimine ipsi essent: ni mature subveniretur, non posse sisti fugam. [3] Iam multum viae praeceperat rex imminens fugientium tergis, cum a Parmenione tristis nuntius venit. Refrenare equos iussi, qui vehebantur, agmenque constitit frendente Alexandro, eripi sibi victoriam e manibus et Dareum felicius fugere quam se sequi. [4] Interim ad Mazaeum superati regis fama pervenerat: itaque, quamquam validior erat, tamen fortuna partium territus percussis languidius instabat. Parmenio ignorabat quidem causam sua sponte pugnae remissae, sed occasione vincendi strenue est usus. Thessalos equites ad se vocari iubet: [5] ‘Ecquid videtis,’ inquit, ‘istos, qui ferociter modo instabant, pedem referre subito pavore perterritos? Nimirum nobis quoque regis nostri fortuna vicit. [6] Omnia Persarum caede strata sunt. Quid cessatis? an ne fugientibus quidem pares estis?’ Vera dicere videbatur, et spes languentis quoque erexerat: subditis calcaribus prorupere in hostem. Et illi iam non sensim, sed citato gradu recedebant, nec quicquam fugae, nisi quod nondum terga verterant, deerat. Parmenio tamen ignarus, quatenam in dextro cornu fortuna regis esset, repressit suos. [7] Mazaeus dato pugnae spatio non recto itinere, sed maiore et ob id tutiore circuitu [p. 102] Tigrin superat et Babylona cum reliquiis devicti exercitus intrat. [8] Dareus paucis fugae comitibus ad Lycum amnem contenderat : quo traiecto dubitavit, an solveret pontem. Quippe hostem iam adfore nuntiabatur. Sed tot milia suorum, quae nondum ad amnem pervenerant, ponte rescisso videbat hostis praedam fore. [9] Abeuntem, cum intactum sineret pontem, dixisse constat malle se sequentibus iter dare quam auferre fugientibus. Ipse ingens spatium fuga emensus media fere nocte Arbela pervenit. [10] Quis tot ludibria fortunae, ducum, agminum caedem multiplicem, devictorum fugam, clades nunc singulorum, nunc universorum, aut animo adsequi queat aut oratione conplecti? [11] Propemodum saeculi res in unum illum diem, pro! fortuna cumulavit. Alii, qua brevissimum patebat iter, alii devios saltus et ignotas sequentibus calles petebant. Eques pedesque confusi sine duce, armatis inermes, integris debiles implicabantur. [12] Deinde misericordia in metum versa, qui sequi non poterant, inter mutuos gemitus deserebantur. Sitis praecipue fatigatos et saucios perurebat, passimque omnibus rivis prostraverant corpora praeterfluentem aquam hianti ore captantes. [13] Quam cum avide turbidam hausissent, tendebantur extemplo praecordia premente limo resolutisque et torpentibus membris, cum supervenisset hostis, no vis vulneribus excitabantur. [14] Quidam occupatis proximis rivis deverterant longius, [p. 103] ut, quidquid occulti humoris usquam manaret, exciperent, nec ulla adeo avia et sicca lacuna erat, ut vestigantium sitim falleret. [15] E proximis vero itineri vicis ululatus senum feminarumque exaudiebantur barbaro ritu Dareum adhuc regem clamantium. [16] Alexander,

ut supra dictum est, inhibito suorum impetu ad Lycum amnem pervenerat, ubi ingens multitudo fugientium oneraverat pontem, et plerique, cum hostis urgeret, in flumen se praecipitaverant gravesque armis et proelio ac fuga defetigati gurgitibus hauriebantur. [17] Iamque non pons modo fugientes, sed ne amnis quidem capiebat agmina sua inprovide subinde cumulantis: quippe ubi intravit animos pavor, id solum metuunt, quod primum formidare coeperunt. [18] Alexander instantibus suis, ne inpune abeuntem hostem intermitteret sequi, hebetia esse tela et manus fatigatas tantoque cursu corpora exhausta et praeceps in noctem diei tempus causatus est, [19] re vera de laevo cornu, quod adhuc in acie stare credebat, sollicitus reverti ad ferendam opem suis statuit. Iamque signa converterat, cum equites a Parmenione missi illius quoque partis victoriam nuntiant. [20] Sed nullum hoc die maius periculum adiit quam, dum copias reducit in castra. Pauci eum et inconpositi sequebantur ovantes victoria — quippe omnes hostes aut in fugam effusos [p. 104] aut in acie cecidisse credebant — [21] : cum repente ex adverso apparuit agmen equitum, qui primo inhibuere cursum, deinde Macedonum paucitate conspecta turmas in obvios concitaverunt. [22] Ante signa rex ibat dissimulato magis periculo quam spreto. [23] Nec demit ei perpetua in dubiis rebus felicitas. Namque praeffectum equitatus avidum certaminis et ob id ipsum incautius in se ruentem hasta transfixit: quo ex equo lapso proximum ac dein plures eodem telo confodit. [24] Invasere turbatos amici quoque. Nec Persae inulti cadebant: quippe non universae acies quam hae tumultuariae manus vehementius iniere certamen. [25] Tandem barbari, cum obscura luce tutior fuga videretur esse quam pugna, dispersis agminibus abiere. Rex extraordinario periculo defunctus incolumis suos reduxit in castra. [26] Cecidere Persarum, quorum numerum victores finire potuerunt, milia XL, Macedonum minus quam CCC desiderati sunt. [27] Ceterum hanc victoriam rex maiore ex parte virtuti quam fortunae suae debuit: [28] animo, non, ut antea, loco vicit. Nam et aciem peritissime instruxit et promptissime ipse pugnavit et magno consilio iacturam sarcinarum impedimentorumque contempsit, cum in ipsa acie summae rei videret esse discrimen, [29] dubioque adhuc pugnae eventu pro victore se gessit. Perculsos deinde hostis ut fudit, fugientes, quod in illo ardore animi vix credi potest, prudentius quam avidius persecutus est. [30] Nam si parte exercitus adhuc in acie stante instare cedentibus perseverasset, [p. 105] aut culpa sua victus esset aut aliena virtute vicisset. Iam si multitudinem equitum occurrentium extimuisset, victori aut foede fugiendum aut miserabiliter cadendum fuit. [31] Ne duces quidem copiarum sua laude fraudandi sunt. Quippe vulnera, quae quisque excepit, indicia virtutis sunt: [32] Hephaestionis brachium hasta ictum est, Perdicca et Coenos et Menidas sagittis prope occisi. [33] Et, si vere aestimare Macedonas, qui tunc erant, volumus, fatebimur et regem talibus ministris et illos tanto rege fuisse dignissimos.

BOOK V.

Quae interim ductu imperioque Alexandri vel in Graecis vel Illyriis ac Thraecia gesta sunt, si suis quaeque temporibus reddere voluero, interrumpendae sunt res Asiae, [2] quas utique ad fugam mortemque Darei universas in conspectum dari et, sicut inter se cohaerent, ita opere ipso coniungi haud paulo aptius videri potest. Igitur, quae proelio apud Arbela coniuncta sunt, ordiar dicere. [3] Dareus media fere nocte Arbela pervenerat, [4] eodemque magnae partis amicorum eius ac militum fugam fortuna compulerat. Quibus convocatis exponit haud dubitare se, quin Alexander celeberrimas urbes agrosque omni copia rerum abundantes petiturus esset: [p. 107] praedam opimam paratamque ipsum et milites eius spectare. [5] Id suis rebus tali in statu saluti fore: quippe se deserta cum expedita manu petiturum. Ultima regni sui adhuc intacta esse: inde bello vires haud aegre reparaturum. [6] Occuparet sane gazam avidissima gens et ex longa fame satiaret se auro, mox futura praedae sibi: usu didicisse pretiosam supellectilem pelicesque et spadonum agmina nihil aliud fuisse quam onera et impedimenta. Eadem trahentem Alexandrum, quibus rebus antea vicisset, inferiorem fore. [7] Plena omnibus desperationis videbatur oratio: quippe Babylona, urbem opulentissimam, dedi cernentibus: iam Susa, iam cetera ornamenta regni, causam belli, victorem occupaturum. [8] At ille docere pergit non speciosa dictu, sed usu necessaria in rebus adversis sequenda esse: ferro geri bella, non auro, viris, non urbium tectis. Omnia sequi armatos: sic maiores suos percussos in principio rerum celeriter pristinam reparasse fortunam. [9] Igitur sive confirmatis eorum animis sive imperium magis quam consilium sequentibus Mediae fines ingressus est. [10] Paulo post Alexandro Arbela traduntur regia supellectile ditique gaza repleta: mi milia talentum fuere, praeterea pretiosae vestes, totius, ut supra dictum est, exercitus opibus in illam sedem congestis. [11] Ingruentibus deinde morbis, quos odor cadaverum totis iacentium campis vulgaverat, maturius castra movit. [p. 108] Euntibus a parte laeva Arabia, odorum fertilitate nobilis regio: [12] campestre iter est in terra inter Tigrin et Euphraten iacenti tam uberi et pingui, ut a pastu repelli pecora dicantur, ne satietas perimat. Causa fertilitatis est humor, [13] qui ex utroque amne manat, toto fere solo propter venas aquarum resudante. Ipsi amnes ex Armeniae montibus profluunt ac magno deinde aquarum divortio iter, quod coeperunt, percurrunt: 11 milia et quingenta stadia emensi sunt, qui amplissimum intervallum circa Armeniae montes notaverunt. [14] Idem cum Mediam et Gordyaeorum terram secare coeperunt, paulatim in artius coeunt et, quo longius manant, hoc angustius inter se spatium terrae relinquunt. [15] Vicini maxime sunt in campis, quos incolae Mesopotamiam appellant: mediam nam que ab utroque latere cludunt. Tandem per Babyloniorum fines in Rubrum mare inrumpunt. [16] Alexander quartis castris ad Mennim urbem pervenit. Caverna ibi est, ex qua fons ingentem bituminis vim effundit, adeo ut satis constet Babylonios muros ingentis operis huius

fontis bitumine interlitos esse. [17] Ceterum Babylona procedenti Alexandro Mazaeus, qui ex acie in eam urbem confugerat, cum adultis [p. 109] liberis supplex occurrit urbem seque dedens. Gratus adventus eras regi fuit: quippe magni operis obsidio futura erat tam munitae urbis. [18] Ad hoc vir inlustris et manu promptus famaue etiam proximo proelio Celebris et ceteros ad deditionem suo incitaturus exemplo videbatur. Igitur hunc quidem benigne cum liberis excipit: [19] ceterum quadrato agmine, quod ipse ducebat, velut in aciem irent, ingredi suos iubet. Magna pars Babyloniorum constiterat in muris avida cognoscendi novum regem, plures obviam egressi sunt. [20] Inter quos Bagophanes, arcis et regiae pecuniae custos, ne studio a Mazaeo vinceretur, totum iter floribus coronisque constraverat argenteis altaribus utroque latere disposais, quae non ture modo, sed omnibus odoribus cumulaverat. [21] Dona eum sequebantur greges pecorum equorumque, leones quoque et pardales caveis praeferebantur. [22] Magi deinde suo more carmen canentes, post hos Chaldaei Babyloniorumque non vates modo, sed etiam artifices cum fidibus sui generis ibant: laudes hi regum canere soliti, Chaldaei siderum motus et statas vices temporum ostendere. [23] Equites deinde Babylonii suo equorumque cultu ad luxuriam magis quam ad magnificentiam exacto ultimi ibant. Rex armatis stipatus oppidanorum turbam post ultimos [p. 110] pedites ire iussit: ipse cum curru urbem ac deinde regiam intravit. Postero die suppellectilem Darei et omnem pecuniam recognovit. [24] Ceterum ipsius urbis pulchritudo ac vetustas non regis modo, sed etiam omnium oculos in semet haud inmerito convertit. Samiramis eam condiderat, non, ut plerique credere, Belus, cuius regia ostenditur. [25] Murus instructus laterculo coctili bitumine interlito spatium XXX et duorum pedum in latitudinem amplectitur: [26] quadrigae inter se occurrentes sine periculo commeare dicuntur. Altitudo muri L cubitorum eminet spatio: turres denis pedibus quam murus altiores sunt. Totius operis ambitus CCCLXV stadia conplectitur: singulorum stadiorum structuram singulis diebus perfectam esse memoriae proditum est. [27] Aedificia non sunt admota muris, sed fere spatium iugeri unius absunt. Ac ne totam quidem urbem tectis occupaverunt — per LXXX stadia habitabatur —, nec omnia continua sunt, credo, quia tutius visum est pluribus locis spargi. [28] Cetera serunt coluntque, ut, si externa vis ingruat, obsessis alimenta ex ipsius urbis solo subministrentur. Euphrates interfluit magnaeque molis crepidinibus coercetur. Sed omnium operum magnitudinem circumveniunt cavernae ingentem in altitudinem pressae ad accipiendum impetum fluminis: quod ubi adpositae crepidinis fastigium excessit, urbis tecta corriperet, nisi essent specus lacusque, qui exciperent. [29] Coctili laterculo structi sunt, totum opus bitumine adstringitur. Pons lapideus flumini inpositus iungit [p. 111] urbem. Hic quoque inter mirabilia Orientis opera numeratus est. Quippe Euphrates altum limum vehit, quo penitus ad fundamenta iacienda egesto vix suffulciendo operi firmum reperiunt solum: [30] harenae autem subinde cumulatae et saxis, quis pons sustinetur, adnexae morantur amnem, qui retentus acrius, quam si libero cursu mearet, inluditur. [31] Arcem quoque

ambitu XX stadia complexam habent. XXX pedes in terram turrium fundamenta demissa sunt, ad LXXX summu munimenti fastigium pervenit. [32] Super arcem, vulgatum Graecorum fabulis miraculum, pensiles horti sunt, summam murorum altitudinem aequantes multarumque arborum umbra et proceritate amoeni. [33] Saxo pilae, quae totum onus sustinent, instructae sunt: super pilas lapide quadrato solum stratum est patiens terrae, quam altam iniciunt, et humoris, quo rigant terras: adeoque validas arbores sustinet moles, ut stipites earum VIII cubitorum spatium crassitudine aequent, in L pedum altitudinem emineant frugiferaeque sint, ut si terra sua alerentur. [34] Et, cum vetustas non opera solum manu facta, sed etiam ipsam naturam paulatim exedendo perimat, haec moles, quae tot arborum radicibus premitur tantique nemoris pondere onerata est, [p. 112] inviolata durat: quippe XX pedes lati parietes sustinent XI pedum intervallo distantes, ut procul visentibus silvae montibus suis imminere videantur. [35] Syriae regem Babylone regnantem hoc opus esse molitum memoriae proditum est, amore coniugis victum, quae desiderio nemorum silvarumque in campestribus locis virum compulit amoenitatem naturae genere huius operis imitari. [36] Diutius in hac urbe quam usquam constitit rex, nec alio loco disciplinae militari magis nocuit. Nihil urbis eius corruptius moribus, nihil ad inritandas inliciendasque inmodicas cupiditates instructius. [37] Liberos coniugesque cum hospitibus stupro coire, modo pretium flagitii detur, parentes maritique patiuntur. Convivales ludi tota Perside regibus purpuratisque cordi sunt, Babylonii maxime in vinum et, quae ebrietatem sequuntur, [38] effusi sunt. Feminarum convivia ineuntium in principio modestus est habitus, dein summa quaeque amacula exuunt paulatimque pudorem profanant, ad ultimum — honos auribus habitus sit — ima corporum velamenta proiciunt. Nec meretricum hoc dedecus est, sed matronarum virginumque, apud quas comitas habetur vulgati corporis vilitas. [39] Inter haec flagitia exercitus ille domitor Asiae per XXIII dies saginatus ad ea, quae sequebantur, discrimina haud dubie debilior futurus fuit, si hostem habuisset. [p. 113] Ceterum, quo minus damnum sentiret, identidem incremento renovabatur. [40] Namque Amyntas Andromeni ab Antipatro Macedonum peditum VI milia adduxit, [41] D praeterea eiusdem generis equites, cum his DC Thracas adiunctis peditibus suae gentis in milibus D, et ex Peloponneso mercennarius miles ad III milia advenerat cum trecentis octoginta equitibus. [42] Idem Amyntas adduxerat L principum Macedoniae liberos adultos ad custodiam corporis. Quippe inter epulas hi sunt regibus ministri idemque equos ineuntibus proelium admovent venantesque comitantur et vigiliarum vices ante cubiculi fores servant: magnorumque praefectorum et ducum haec incrementa sunt et rudimenta. [43] Igitur rex arcis Babylone Agathone praesidere iusso cum septingentis Macedonum trecentisque mercede conductis praetores, qui regioni Babyloniae ac Ciliciae praeessent, Meneta et Apollodorum relinquit. n milia his militum cum mille talentis data: utrique praeceptum, ut in supplementum milites legerent. [44] Mazaeum transfugam satrapea Babylone donat, Bagophanem, qui arcem tradiderat, se sequi iussit, Armenia Mithreni,

Sardium proditori, data est. [45] Ex pecunia deinde Ba- [p. 114] bylone tradita Macedonum equitibus sesceni denarii tributi: peregrinus eques quingenos accepit, ducenos pedes domesticus, mercennarius duorum Stipendium mensum.

His ita conpositis in regionem, quae Sittacene vocatur, pervenit: fertilis terra copia rerum et omni commeatu abundans. [2] Itaque diutius ibi substitit ac, ne desides otio demitterent animos, iudices dedit praemiaque proposuit de virtute militari certantibus nova: [3] qui fortissimi iudicati essent, singulis militum milibus praefuturi erant — chiliarchas vocabant — tunc primum in nunc numerum copiis distributis: namque antea quingenariae cohortes fuerant nec fortitudini praemia cesserant. [4] Ingens militum turba convenerat egregio interfutura certamini, testis eadem cuiusque factorum et de iudicibus latura sententiam: quippe verone an falso honos cuique haberetur, ignorari non poterat. [5] Primus omnium virtutis causa donatus est Atarrhias senior, qui omissum apud Halicarnason a iunioribus proelium unus maxime accenderat, proximus ei Antigenes visus est, tertium locum Philotas Augaeus obtinuit, quartus Amyntae datus, post hos Antigonus et ab eo Lyncestes Amyntas fuit, septimum locum Theodotus, [6] ultimum obtinuit Hellanicus. In disciplina quoque militari relictis a maioribus pleraque summa utilitate [p. 115] mutavit. Nam cum ante equites in suam quisque gentem discriberentur seorsus a ceteris, exempto nationum discrimine praefectis non utique suarum gentium, sed delectis attribuit. [7] Tuba, cum castra movere vellet, signum dabat, cuius sonus plerumque tumultuantium fremitu ex oriente haud satis exaudiebatur: ergo perticam, quae undique conspici posset, supra praetorium statuit, ex qua signum eminens pariter omnibus conspicuum observabatur ignis noctu, fumus interdiu. [8] Iamque Susa ei adituro Abulites, regionis eius praefectus, sive Darei iussu, ut Alexandrum praeda retineret, sive sua sponte filium obviam misit, traditurum se urbem promittens. [9] Benigne iuvenem excepit rex et eodem duce ad Choaspin amnem pervenit, delicatam, ut fama est, vehementem aquam. Hic Abulites cum donis regalis opulentiae occurrit. [10] Dromades cameli inter dona erant velocitatis eximiae, XII elephantum a Dareo ex India acciti, iam non terror, ut speraverat, Macedonum, sed auxilium, opes victi ad victorem transferente fortuna. [11] Ut vero urbem intravit, incredibilem ex thesauris summam pecuniae egressit, L milia talentum argenti non signati forma, sed rudi pondere. [12] Multi reges tantas opes longa aettur: quas una hora in externi regis manus intulit. [13] Consedit deinde in regia sella multo excelsiore quam pro habitu corporis. Itaque, cum pedes imum gradum non contingerent, unus [p. 116] ex regiis pueris mensam subdidit pedibus. [14] Et cum spadonem, qui Darei fuerat, ingemiscentem conspexisset rex, causam maestitiae requisivit. Ille indicat Da reum vesci in ea solitum, seque sacram eius mensam ad ludibrium recidentem sine lacrimis conspici non posse. [15] Subiit ergo regem verecundia violandi hospitales deos, iamque subduci iubebat, cum Philotas: ‘Minime vero haec feceris, rex, sed omen quoque accipe, mensam, ex qua libavit hostis epulas, tuis pedibus esse subiectam.’ [16]

Rex Persidis finem aditurus Susa urbem Archelao et praesidium III milium tradidit, Xenophilo arcis cura mandata est mille Macedonum aetate gravibus praesidere arcis custodiae iussis, [17] thesaurorum Callicrati tutela permissa, satrapea regionis Susianae restituta Abulitae. Matrem quoque et liberos Darei in eadem urbe deponit. [18] Ac forte Macedonicas vestes multamque purpuram dono ex Macedonia sibi missam cum iis, quae confecerant, tradi Sisigambi iubet — omni namque honore eam et filii quoque pietate prosequeretur — [19] admonerique iussit, ut, si cordi ei quoque vestis esset, conficere eam neptes suas adsuefaceret, donoque se, quae docerent, dare. Ad hanc vocem lacrimae obortae prodidere animum aspernantis id munus: quippe non aliud magis in contumeliam Persarum feminae [p. 117] accipiunt quam admovere lanae manus. [20] Nuntiant, qui dona tulerant, tristem esse Sisigambim, dignaque res et excusatione et solacio visa. Ipse ergo pervenit ad eam et: ‘Mater,’ inquit, ‘hanc vestem, qua indutus sum, sororum non donum solum, sed etiam opus vides: [21] nostri decipere me mores. Cave, obsecro, in contumeliam acceperis ignorationem meam. Quae tui moris esse cognovi, ut spero, abunde servata sunt. [22] Scio apud vos filio in conspectu matris nefas esse considerare, nisi cum ilia permisit: quotienscumque ad te veni, donec, ut considerem, adnueres, ipse steti. Procumbens venerari me saepe voluisti: inhibui. Dulcissimae matri Olympiadi nomen debitum tibi reddo.’

Mitigato animo eius rex quartis castris pervenit ad Tigrim fluvium: Pasitigrim incolae vocant. Oritur in montibus Uxiorum et per I, stadia silvestribus ripis praeceps inter saxa devolvitur. [2] Accipiunt deinde eum campi, quos clementiore alveo praeterit, iam navium patiens. DC sunt stadia mollioris soli, per quod leni tractu aquarum Persico mari se insinuat. [3] Amne superato cum vnn milibus peditum et Agrianis sagittariisque atque Graecorum mercennariorum tribus milibus additis mille Thracum in regionem Uxiorum pervenit. Finitima Susis est et in primam Persidem excurrit [p. 118] artum inter se et Susianos aditum relinquens. [4] Medates erat regionis praefectus, haud sane temporum homo: [5] quippe ultima pro fide experiri decreverat. Sed periti locorum Alexandrum docent occultum iter esse per calles et aversum ab urbe: [6] si paucos misisset leviter armatos, super capita hostium evasuros. Cum consilium placuisset, idem itinerum fuerunt duces. M et D mercede conducti et Agriani fere M Tauroni praefecto dati ac post solis occasum iter ingredi iussi. [7] Ipse tertia vigilia castris motis circa lucis ortum superat angustias caesaeque materia cratibus et pluteis faciundis, ut, qui turres admovent, extra teli iactum essent, urbem obsidere coepit. [8] Praerupta erant omnia saxis et cotibus impedita. Multis ergo vulneribus depulsi, [9] ut quibus non cum hoste solum, sed etiam cum loco dimicandum esset, subibant tamen, quia rex inter primos constiterat interrogans, tot urbium victores an erubescerent haerere in obsidione castelli exigui et ignobilis, simul admonens Tauronem mox auxilium esse laturum. Inter haec eminus petebatur: quem testudine obiecta milites — ut recederet, erpellere nequiant — [10] tuebantur. Tandem Tauron super arcem urbis se cum suo agmine ostendit. Ad cuius conspectum et

hostium animi labare et Macedones acrius proelium inire coeperunt. [11] Anceps oppidanos malum urgebat, nec sisti vis hostium poterat. Paucis ad moriendum, pluribus ad fugam animus fuit, magna pars in arcem concessit. Inde XXX oratoribus missis ad deprecandum triste responsum a rege [p. 119] redditur, non esse veniae locum. [12] Itaque suppliciorum quoque metu perculsi ad Sisigambim, Darei matrem, occulto itinere ignotoque hostibus mittunt, qui peterent, ut ipsa regem mitigaret, haud ignari, parentis eam loco diligere colique. Et Medates sororis eius filiam secum matrimonio iunxerat, Dareum propinqua cognatione contingens. [13] Diu Sisigambis supplicum precibus repugnavit abnuens deprecationem pro illis non convenire fortunae, in qua esset, adiecitque metuere sese, ne victoris indulgentiam fatigaret, saepiusque cogitare, captivam esse se quam reginam fuisse. [14] Ad ultimum victa litteris Alexandrum ita deprecata est, ut ipsum excusaret, quod deprecaretur: petere se, ut illis quoque, si minus, sibi ignosceret: pro necessario ac propinquo suo, iam non hoste, sed supplice, tantum vitam precari. [15] Moderationem clementiamque regis, quae tunc fuit, vel una haec res possit ostendere: non Medati modo ignovit, sed omnes et deditos et captivos et libertate atque immunitate donavit, urbem reliquit intactam, agros sine tributo colere permisit. A victore Dareo plura mater non inpetrasset. [16] Uxiorum dein gentem subactam Susianorum satrapae contribuit divisisque cum Parmenione copiis illum campestri itinere procedere iubet, ipse cum expedito agmine iugum montium cepit, quorum perpetuum dorsum in Persidem excurrit. [17] Omni hac regione vastata tertio die Persidem, quinto angustias, quas illi Susidas pylas vocant, intrat. Ariobarzanes has cum XXV [p. 120] milibus peditum occupaverat, rupes undique praeruptas et abscisas, in quarum cacuminibus extra teli iactum barbari stabant de industria quieti et paventibus similes, [18] donec in artissimas fauces penetraret agmen. Quod ubi contemptu sui pergere vident, tum vero ingentis magnitudinis saxa per montium prona devolvunt, quae incussa saepius subiacentibus petris maiore vi incidebant nec singulos modo, sed agmina proterebant. [19] Fundis quoque excussi lapides et sagittae undique ingerebantur. Nec id miserrimum fortibus viris erat, sed quod inulti, quod ferarum ritu veluti in fovea deprehensi caederentur. [20] Ira igitur in rabiem versa eminentia saxa complexi, ut ad hostem pervenirent, alius alium levantes conabantur ascendere: ea ipsa multorum simul manibus convolsa in eos, [21] qui commoverant, recidebant. Nec stare ergo poterant nec niti, ne testudine quidem protegi, cum tantae molis onera propellerent barbari. Regem non dolor modo, sed etiam pudor temere in illas angustias coniecti exercitus angebat. [22] Invictus ante eam diem fuerat nihil frustra ausus, inpune Ciliciae fauces intraverat, mare quoque novum in Pamphyliam iter aperuerat: tunc haesitabat deprehensa felicitas, [23] nec aliud remedium erat quam reverti, qua venerat. Itaque signo receptui dato densatis ordinibus scutisque super capita consertis retro evadere ex angustiis iubet. XXX fuere stadia, quae remensi sunt.

Tum castris undique aperto loco positis non con- [p. 121] sultare modo, quid

agendum esset, sed vates quoque adhibere coepit a superstitione animi. [2] Sed quid tunc praedicere Aristander, cui tum plurimum credebat ex vatibus, poterat? Itaque damnatis intempestivis sacrificiis peritos locorum convocari, iubet: per Mediam iter ostendebant tutum apertumque. [3] Sed rex deserere milites insepultos erubescibat ita tradito more, ut vix ullum militiae tam sollemne esset munus quam humandi suos. Captivos ergo, quos nuper exceperat, vocari iubet. [4] Inter quos erat quidam Graecae Persicaeque linguae peritus, qui frustra eum in Persidem montium dorso exercitum ducere adfirmat, silvestres esse calles vix singulis pervios, omnia contegi frondibus inplexosque arborum ramos silvas committere. [5] Namque Persis ab altero latere perpetuis montium iugis clauditur. Hoc dorsum, quod in longitudinem MDC, in latitudinem CLXX stadia procurrit, a Caucaso monte ad Rubrum mare pertinet, quaque defecit mons, aliud munimentum, fretum, obiectum est. [6] Planities deinde sub radicibus montium spatiosa procumbit, fertilis terra multisque vicis atque urbibus frequens. [7] Araxes amnis per hos campos multorum aquas torrentium evolvit in Medum: Medus ad mare ad meridiem versus — minor amnis eo, quem accepit — [8] evehitur, gignendaeque herbae non alius est aptior, quidquid adluit, floribus vestiens. Platani quoque et populi contegunt ripas, ita ut procul visentibus continuata videantur montibus nemora riparum. Quippe [p. 122] obumbratus amnis presso in solum alveo delabitur, imminentque colles, ipsi quoque frondibus laeti, radices eorum humore subeunte. [9] Regio non alia tota Asia salubrior habetur: temperat caelum hinc perpetuum iugum opacum et umbrosum, quod aestus levat, illinc mare adiunctum, quod modico tepore terras fovet. [10] His captivus expositis interrogatus a rege, auditune an oculis conperta haberet, quae diceret, pastorem se fuisse et omnes eas calles percurrisse respondit: [11] bis captum, semel a Persis in Lycia, iterum ab ipso. Subit animum regis memoria oraculo editae sortis: quippe consulenti responsum erat, ducem in Persidem ferentis viae Lycium civem fore. [12] Igitur promissis, quanta et praesens necessitas exigebat et ipsius fortuna capiebat, oneratum armari iubet Macedonum more et, quod bene verteret, monstrare iter quamvis arduum et praeceps: evasurum se esse cum paucis, nisi forte crederet, qua ipse pecoris causa isset, Alexandrum pro gloria et perpetua laude ire non posse. [13] Etiam atque etiam docere captivus, quam difficile iter esset, maxime armatis. [14] Tum rex: ‘Praedem,’ inquit, ‘me accipe neminem eorum, qui secuntur, recusaturum ire, qua duces.’ Cratero igitur ad custodiam castrorum relicto cum peditibus, quis adsueverat, et iis copiis, quas Meleager ducebat, et sagittariis equitibus M praecipit, ut castrorum specie manente plures de industria ignes fieri imperet, quo magis barbari credant ipsum regem in castris esse. [15] Ceterum, si forte Ariobarzanes cognovisset per callium anfractus intrare se et ad occupandum iter suum partem copiarum temptasset opponere, Craterus eum inlato [p. 123] terrore retineret ad propius periculum conversurum agmen: [16] sin autem ipse hostem fefellisset saltum occupasset, cum trepidantium barbarorum tumultum exaudisset, persequens tum regem id ipsum iter, quo pridie pulsi

fuert, ne dubitaret ingredi: quippe vacuum fore hostibus in semet aversis. [17] Ipse tertia vigilia silenti agmine ac ne tuba quidem dato signo pergit ad demonstratum iter callium : tridui alimenta portare militem iusserat leviter armatum. [18] Sed praeter invias rupes ac praeupta saxa vestigium subinde fallentia nix cumalata vento ingredientis fatigabat: quippe velut in foveas delati hauriebantur et, cum a commilitonibus adlevarentur, trahebant magis adiuvantes quam sequebantur. [19] Nox quoque et ignota regio ac dux — incertum an satis fidus — multiplicabant metum: si custodes fefellisset, quasi feras bestias ipsos posse deprehendi. Ex unius captivi vel fide vel anima pendere et regis salutem et suam. [20] Tandem venere in iugum. A dextra iter ad ipsum Ariobarzanen erat: hic Philotam et Coenon cum Amynta et Polyperconte expeditam habentes manum relinquit, monitos, ut, quia et eques pediti iret mixtus et quam pinguissimum esset solum et pabuli fertile, sensim procederent: duces erant itineris de captivis dati. [21] Ipse cum armigeris et ala, quam agema appellabant, ardua semita, sed longius a stationibus hostium remota multa cum vexatione processit. [22] Medius erat dies et fatigatis necessaria quies — quippe tantundem itineris supererat, quantum emensi erant, sed [p. 124] minus praecipitis atque ardui — : [23] itaque reffectis cibo somnoque militibus secunda vigilia surgit. Et cetera quidem haud aegre praeterit, ceterum, qua se montium iugum paulatim ad planiora demittit, ingens vorago concursu cavata torrentium iter ruperat. [24] Ad hoc arborum rami alius alio implicati et cohaerentes ut perpetuam obiecerant saepem. [25] Desperatio igitur ingens, adeo ut vix lacrimis abstinerent, incesserat. Praecipue obscuritas terrori erat : nam etiam si qua sidera internitebant, continenti fronde tectae arbores conspiciere prohibebant. Ne aurium quidem usus supererat silvas quatiente vento, qui concurrentibus ramis maiorem quam pro flatu sonum edebat. [26] Tandem expectata lux omnia, quae terribiliora nox fecerat, minuit: circumiri brevi spatio poterat eluvies, [27] et sibi quisque dux itineris coeperat fieri. Evadunt ergo in editum verticeni: ex quo hostium statione conspecta strenue armati a tergo se ostendunt nihil tale metuentibus. [28] Quorum pauci, qui congredi ausi erant, caesi sunt. Itaque hinc morientium gemitus, hinc ad suos recurrentium miserabilis facies integros quoque, antequam discrimen experirentur, [29] in fugam avertit. Fremitu deinde in castra, quis Craterus praesidebat, inlato ad occupandas angustias, in quibus pridie haeserant, miles educitur. [30] Simul et Philotas cum Polyperconte Amyntaque et Coeno diversum iter ingredi iussus alium terrorem intulit barbaris. [31] Undique ergo Macedonum armis fulgentibus ancipiti malo oppressi memorabile tamen proelium edunt. Ut opinor, ignaviam quoque necessitas acuit, et saepe desperatio spei causa est. [32] Nudi [p. 125] conplectebantur armatos et ingenti corporum mole secum ad terram detrahentes ipsorum telis plerosque fodiebant. [33] Ariobarzanes tamen XL ferme equitibus et v milibus peditum stipatus per mediam aciem Macedonum cum multo suorum atque hostium sanguine erupit, Persepolim urbem, caput regionis, occupare festinans. [34] Sed a custodibus urbis exclusus consecutis

strenue hostibus cum omnibus fugae comitibus renovato proelio cecidit. Craterus quoque raptim agmine acto supervenit.

Rex eodem loco, quo hostium copias fuderat, castra communit. Quamquam enim undique fugati hostes victoriam concesserant, tamen praealtae praecipitesque fossae pluribus locis obiectae abruperant iter, sensimque et caute progrediendum erat iam non hostium, sed locorum fraude suspecta. [2] Procedenti ei litterae redduntur a Tiridate, custode pecuniae regiae, indicantes eos, qui in urbe essent, audito eius adventu diripere velle thesauros: properaret occupare thesauros dimissos: expeditum iter esse, quamquam Araxes amnis interfluat. [3] Nullam virtutem regis iustius quam celeritatem laudaverim: relictis pedestribus copiis tota nocte vectus cum equitibus itineris tanto spatio fatigatis ad Araxen prima luce pervenit. [4] Vici erant in propinquo: quibus dirutis pontem ex materia eorum subditis saxis strenue induxit. [5] Iamque haud procul urbe erant, cum miserabile agmen inter pauca fortunae exempla memorandum regi occurrit. Captivi erant Graeci ad nonnulla milia fere, quos Persae vario suppliciorum modo adfecerant. [6] Alios pedibus, quosdam manibus auribusque amputatis inustisque barbararum litterarum notis in longum sui ludibrium reservaverant et, cum se quoque alienae dicionis esse cernerent, volentes regi occurrere non prohibuerant. [7] Invisitata simulacra, non homines videbantur, nec quicquam in illis praeter vocem poterat agnosci. Plures igitur lacrimas commovere, quam profuderant ipsi: quippe in tam multiplici variaque fortuna singulorum intuentibus similes quidem, sed tamen dispares poenas, [8] quis maxime miserabilis esset, liquere non poterat. Ut vero Iovem illi tandem, Graeciae ultorem, aperuisse oculos conclamavere, omnes pari supplicio adfecti sibi videbantur. Rex abstersis, quas profuderat, lacrimis bonum habere animum iubet, [9] visuros urbes suas coniugesque, et castra ibi duo ab urbe stadia communit. Graeci excesserant vallo deliberaturi, quid potissimum a rege peterent: cumque aliis sedem in Asia rogare, alius reverti domos placeret, Euctemon Cymaeus ita locutus ad eos fertur: [10] ‘Ii, qui modo etiam ad opem petendam ex tenebris et carcere procedere erubuimus, ut nunc est, supplicia nostra — quorum nos pudeat magis an paeniteat, incertum est — ostentare Graeciae velut laetum spectaculum cupimus. [11] Atqui optime miseras ferunt, qui abscondunt, nec ulla tam familiaris est infelicibus patria quam solitudo et status prioris oblivio. Nam qui multum in suorum misericordia ponunt, ignorant, quam celeriter lacrimae inarescant. [12] Nemo fideliter diligit, quem fastidit: nam et calamitas querula est et superba felicitas. Ita suam quisque fortunam in consilio habet, cum de aliena [p. 127] deliberat. Nisi mutuo miseri essemus, olim alius alii potuissemus esse fastidio: quid mirum et fortunatos semper parem quaerere? [13] Obsecro vos, olim vita defuncti quaeramus locum, in quo haec semesa obruamus. Grati prorsus coniugibus, quas iuvenes duximus, revertemur ! Liberi in flore et aetatis et rerum agnoscent patres ergastuli detrimenta! [14] Et quota pars nostri tot obire terrae potest? Procul Europa in ultima Orientis relegati, senes debiles, maiore membrorum parte mulcati tolerabimus scilicet, quae armatos et victores

fatigarunt! [15] Coniuges deinde, quas captis fors et necessitas unicum solacium adplicuit, parvosque liberos trahimus nobiscum an relinquimus? [16] Cum his venientes nemo agnoscere volet: relinquemus ergo extemplo praesentia pignora, cum incertum sit, an visuri simus ilia, quae petimus? Inter hos latendum est, qui nos miseros nosse coeperunt.’ Haec Euctemon. [17] Contra Theaetetus Atheniensis orsus est dicere: Neminem pium habitu corporis suos aestimaturum, utique saevitia hostis, non natura calamitosos. Dignum esse omni malo, qui erubesceret fortuito: tristem enim de mortalitate ferre sententiam et desperare misericordiam, quia ipse alteri denegaturus sit. [18] Deos, quod ipsi numquam optare ausi forent, offerre: patriam, coniuges, liberos et, quidquid homines vel vita aestimant vel morte redimunt. [19] Quin illi ex hoc carcere erumperent? alium domi esse caeli haustum, alium lucis aspectum. Mores, sacra, [p. 128] linguae commercium etiam a barbaris expeti, quae ingenta ipsi omisuri sint sua sponte, non ob aliud tam calamitosi, quam quod illis carere coacti essent. [20] Se certe rediturum ad penates et in patriam tantoque beneficio regis usurum : [21] si quos contubernii liberorumque, quos servitus coegisset agnoscere, amor detineret, relinquerent, quibus nihil patria carius esset. Pauci huius sententiae fuere, ceteros consuetudo natura potior vicit. Consenserunt petendum esse a rege, ut aliquam ipsis attribueret sedem. [22] C ad hoc electi sunt. Quos Alexander ratus, quod ipse praestare cogitabat, petituros: ‘Iumenta,’ inquit, ‘adsignari, quae vos veherent, et singulis vestrum milia denarium dari iussi. Cum redieritis in Graeciam, praestabo, ne qui statum suum, [23] si haec calamitas absit, vestro credat esse meliorem.’ Illi obortis lacrimis terram intuebantur nec aut erigere vultus aut loqui audebant: tandem rege tristitiae causam exigente Euctemon similia iis, quae in consilio dixerat, respondit. [24] Atque ille non fortunae solum eorum, sed etiam paenitentiae miseritis terna milia denariorum singulis dari iussit: denae vestes adiectae sunt et armenta cum pecoribus ac frumento data, ut coli serique attributus iis ager posset.

Postero die convocatos duces copiarum docet nullam infestiores urbem Graecis esse quam regiam veterum [p. 129] Persidis regum: hinc illa inmensa agmina infusa, hinc Dareum prius, dein Xerxem Europae inpium intulisse bellum: excidio illius parentandum esse maioribus. [2] Iamque barbari deserto oppido, qua quemque metus agebat, diffugerant, cum rex phalangem nihil cunctatus inducit. Multas urbes refertas opulentia regia partim expugnaverant, partim in fidem acceperat, sed urbis huius divitiae vicere praeterita. [3] In hanc totius Persidis opes congesserant barbari: aurum argentumque cumulatum erat, vestis ingens modus, supellex non ad nsum, sed ad ostentationem luxus comparata. [4] Itaque inter ipsos victores ferro dimicabatur: pro hoste erat, qui pretiosiores occupaverat praedam. Et cum omnia, quae reperiebant, capere non possent, iam res non occupabantur, sed aestimabantur. [5] Lacerabant regias vestes ad se quisque partem trahentes, dolabris pretiosae artis vasa caedebant, nihil neque intactum erat neque integrum ferebatur, abrupta simulacrorum membra, ut quisque avellerat, trahebat. [6] Neque avaritia solum,

sed etiam crudelitas in capta urbe grassata est : auro argentoque onusti vilia captivorum corpora trucidabant, passimque obvii caedebantur,. quos antea pretium sui miserabilis fecerat. [7] Multi ergo hostium manus voluntaria morte occupaverunt pretiosissima vestium induti e muris semetipsos cum coniugibus ac liberie in praecipites iacentes. Quidam ignes, quod paulo post facturus [p. 130] hostis videbatur, subiecerant aedibus, ut cum suis vivi cremarentur. [8] Tandem suos rex corporibus et cultu feminarum abstinere iussit. Ingens captivae pecuniae modus traditur, prope ut fidem excedat. [9] Ceterum aut de aliis quoquo dubitabimus aut credemus in huius urbis gaza fuisse C et XX milia talentum. Ad quae vehenda — namque ad usus belli secum portare decreverat — iumenta et camelos et a Susis et a Babylone contrahi iussit. [10] Accessere ad hanc pecuniae summam captis Parsagadis sex milia talentum. Cyrus Parsagada urbem condiderat, quam Alexandro praefectus eius Gobares tradidit. [11] Rex arcem Persepolis tribus milibus Macedonum praesidio relictis Nicarchiden tueri iubet. Tiridati quoque, qui gazam tradiderat, servatus est honos, quem is apud Dareum habuerat. Magnaque exercitus parte et impedimentis ibi relictis Parmenion Craterumque praefecit. [12] Ipse cum mille equitibus peditumque expedita manu interiorem Persidis regionem sub ipsum Vergiliarum sidus petiit multisque imbribus et prope intolerabili tempestate vexatus procedere tamen, quo intenderat, perseveravit. [13] Ventum erat ad iter perpetuis obsitum nivibus, quas frigoris vis gelu adstrinxerat, locorumque squalor et solitudines inviae fatigatum militem terrebant humanarum rerumque sine ullo [p. 131] humani cultus vestigio attoniti intuebantur et, antequam lux quoque et caelum ipsos deficerent, reverti iuebant. [14] Rex castigare territos supersedit, ceterum ipse equo desiluit pedesque per nives et concretam glaciem ingredi coepit. Erubuerunt non sequi primum amici, deinde copiarum duces, ad ultimum milites. Primusque rex dolabra glaciem perfringens iter sibi fecit: [15] exemplum regis ceteri imitati sunt. Tandem propemodum invias silvas emensi humani cultus rara vestigia et passim errantes pecorum greges repperere: et incolae, qui sparsis tuguriis habitabant, cum se callibus inviis saeptos esse credidissent, ut conspexere hostium agmen, interfectis, qui comitari rugientes non poterant, devios montes et nivibus obsitos petiverunt. [16] Inde per colloquia captivorum paulatim feritate mitigata tradidere se regi. Nec in deditos gravius consultum. [17] Vastatis inde agris Persidis vicisque conpluribus redactis in potestatem ventum est in Mardorum gentem bellicosam et multum a ceteris Persis cultu vitae abhorrentem. Specus in montibus fodiunt, in quos seque ac coniuges et liberos condunt, pecorum aut ferarum carne vescuntur. [18] Ne feminis quidem pro naturae habitu molliora ingenia sunt: comae prominent hirtae, vestis super genua est, funda vinciunt frontem: hoc et ornamentum capitis et telum est. [19] Sed hanc quoque gentem idem fortunae impetus domuit. Itaque tricesimo die, postquam a Persepoli profectus erat, eodem redit. [20] Dona deinde amicis ceterisque pro cuiusque merito dedit. Propemodum omnia, quae in ea urbe ceperat, distributa.

Ceterum ingentia animi bona, illam indolem, qua omnes reges antecessit,

illam in subeundis periculis [p. 132] constantiam, in rebus moliendis efficiendisque velocitatem, in deditos fidem, in captivos clementiam, in voluptatibus permissis quoque et usitatis temperantiam haud tolerabili vini cupiditate foedavit. [2] Hoste et aemulo regni reparante cum maxime bellum, nuper subactis, quos vicerat, novumque imperium aspernantibus de die inibat convivia, quibus feminae intererant, non quidem quas violari nefas esset, quippe pelices licentius, quam decebat, cum armato vivere adsuetae. [3] Ex his una, Thais, et ipsa temulenta maximam apud omnes Graecos initurum gratiam adfirmat, si regiam Persarum iussisset incendi: expectare hoc eos, quorum urbes barbari delessent. [4] Ebrio scorto de tanta re ferente sententiam unus alter, et ipsi mero onerati, adsentiantur. [5] Rex quoque avidior vini quam patientior: 'Quin igitur ulciscimur Graeciam et urbi faces subdimus?' Omnes incaluerant mero: itaque surgunt temulenti ad incendendam urbem, cui armati pepercerant. Primus rex ignem regiae iniecit, tum convivae et ministri pelicesque. [6] Multa cedro aedificata erat regia, quae celeriter igne concepto late fudit incendium. Quod ubi exercitus, qui haud procul urbe tendebat, conspexit, fortuitum ratus ad opem ferendam concurrit. [7] Sed ut ad vestibulum regiae ventum est, vident regem ipsum adhuc aggerentem faces. Omissa igitur, quam portaverant, aqua ipsi aridam materiem in incendium iacere coeperunt. [8] Hunc exitum habuit regia totius Orientis, unde tot gentes antea iura petebant, patria tot regum, unicus quondam Graeciae terror, molita mille navium [p. 133] classem et exercitus, quibus Europa inundata est, contabulato mari molibus perfossisque montibus, in quorum specus fretum inmissum est. [9] Ac ne tam longa quidem aetate, quae excidium eius secuta est, resurrexit. Alias urbes vastare Macedonum reges, quas nunc habent Parthi: huius vestigium non inveniretur, nisi Araxes amnis ostenderet. Haud procul moenibus fluxerat: inde urbem fuisse XX stadiis distantem credunt magis quam sciunt accolae. [10] Pudebat Macedones tam praeclaram urbem a commissabundo rege deletam esse: itaque res in serium versa est, et imperaverunt sibi, ut crederent illo potissimum modo fuisse delendam. [11] Ipsum, ut primum gravato ebrietate mentem quies reddidit, paenituisse constat et dixisse. maiores poenas Graecis Persas idaturos fuisse, si ipsum in solio regiaeque Xerxis conspiciere coacti essent. [12] Postero die Lycio, itineris, quo Persidem intraverat, duci, XXX talenta dono dedit. Hinc in regionem Mediae transiit: ubi supplementum novorum e Cilicia militum occurrit. Peditum erant V milia, equites M: utrisque Platon Atheniensis praeerat. His copiis auctus Dareum persequi statuit.

Ille iam Ecbatana pervenerat. Caput Mediae urbs haec: nunc tenent Parthi, eaque aestiva agentibus sedes est. Adire deinde Bactra decreverat, sed veritus, ne celeritate Alexandri occuparetur, consilium iterque mutavit. [2] Aberat ab eo Alexander stadia MD, sed iam nullum intervallum adversus velocitatem eius satis longum videbatur: itaque proelio magis quam fugae [p. 134] se praeparabat. [3] XXX milia peditum sequebantur, in quibus Graecorum erant MI milia fide vetere erga re gem ad ultimum invicta. [4] Funditorum quoque et sagittariorum

manus III milia expleverat: praeter hos III milia et CCC equites erant, [5] maxime Bactrianorum. Bessus praeerat, Bactrianae regionis praefectus. Cum hoc agmine paulum declinavit via militari iussis praecedere lixis impedimentorumque custodibus. [6] Consilio deinde advocato: ‘Si cum ignavis,’ inquit, ‘et pluris qualemcumque vitam quam honestam mortem aestimantibus fortuna me iunxisset, tacerem potius quam frustra verba consumerem. [7] Sed maiore, quam vellem, documento et virtutem vestram et fidem expertus magis etiam coniti debeo, ut dignus talibus amicis sim, quam dubitare, an vestri similes adhuc sitis. [8] Ex tot milibus, quae sub imperio fuerunt meo, bis me victum, bis fugientem persecuti estis. [9] Fides vestra et constantia, ut regem me esse credam, facit. Proditores et transfugae in urbibus meis regnant, non, hercule, quia tanto honore digni habentur, sed ut praemiis eorum vestri sollicitentur animi. Meam fortunam tamen quam victoris maluistis sequi, dignissimi, quibus, si ego non possim, dii pro me gratiam referant. [10] Et, mehercule, referent. Nulla erit tam surda posteritas, nulla tam ingrata fama, quae non in caelum vos debitis laudibus ferat. Itaque etiam si consilium fugae, a qua multum abhorret animus, agitassem, vestra tamen virtute fretus obviam issem hosti. [11] Quo usque enim in regno exulabo et per fines imperii mei fugiam externum et [p. 135] advenam regem, cum liceat experto belli fortunam aut reparare, [12] quae amisi, aut honesta morte defungi? Nisi forte satius est expectare victoris arbitrium et Mazaei et Mithrenis exemplo precarium accipere regnum nationis unius, ut iam malit ille gloriae suae quam irae obsequi. [13] Nec di siverint, ut hoc decus mei capitis aut demere mihi quisquam audeat aut condonare, nec imperium vivus amittam, idemque erit regni mei, qui spiritus finis. [14] Vobis si hic animus, si haec lex, nulli non parta libertas est. Nemo e vobis fastidium Macedonum, nemo vultum superbum ferre cogetur: sua cuique dextera aut ultionem tot malorum pariet aut finem. [15] Equidem, quam versabilis fortuna sit, documentum ipse sum nec inmerito mitiores vices eius expecto. Sed si iusta ac pia bella di aversantur, fortibus tamen viris licebit honeste mori. [16] Per ego vos decora maiorum, qui totius Orientis regna cum memorabili laude tenuerunt, per illos viros, quibus stipendium Macedonia quondam tulit, per tot navium classes in Graeciam missas, per tot tropaea regum oro et obtestor, ut nobilitate vestra gentisque dignos spiritus capiat, [17] ut eadem constantia animorum, qua praeterita tolerastis, experiamini, quidquid deinde fors tulerit: me certe in perpetuum aut victoria egregia nobilitabit aut ruina.’

Haec dicente Dareo praesentis periculi species omnium simul corda animosque horrore perstrinxerat, nec [p. 136] aut consilium suppetebat aut vox, cum Artabazus, vetustissimus amicorum, quem hospitem fuisse Philippi supra diximus: ‘Nos vero,’ inquit, ‘pretiosissimam vestem induti armisque, quanto maximo cultu possumus, adornati regem in aciem sequemur, ea quidem mente, ut victoriam speremus, mortem non recusemus.’ [2] Adsensu excepere ceteri hanc vocem, sed Nabarzanes, qui in eodem consilio erat, cum Besso inauditi antea facinoris societate inita regem suum per milites, quibus ambo

praeerant, comprehendere et vincere decreverant, ea mente, ut, si Alexander ipsos insecutus foret, tradito rege vivo inirent gratiam victoris, magni profecto cepisse Dareum aestimaturi, sin autem eum effugere potuissent, interfecto Dareo regnum ipsi occuparent bellumque renovarent. [3] Hoc parricidium cum diu volutassent, Nabarzanes aditum nefariae spei praeparans: ‘Scio me,’ inquit, ‘sententiam esse dicturum prima specie haudquaquam auribus tuis gratam: sed medici quoque graviore morbos asperis remediis curant, [4] et gubernator, ubi naufragium timet, iactura, quidquid servari potest, redimit. Ego tamen, non ut damnum quidem facias, suadeo, sed ut te ac regnum tuum salubri ratione conserves. Dis adversis bellum inimus, et pertinax fortuna Persas urgere non desinit: novis initiis et ominibus opus est. Auspiciu[m] et im-
[p. 137] periu[m] interim alii trade, qui tam diu rex appelletur, donec Asia decedat hostis, victor deinde regnum tibi reddat. [5] Hoc autem brevi futurum ratio promittit: Bactra intacta sunt, Indi et Sacae in tua potestate, tot populi, tot exercitus, tot equitum peditumque milia ad res novandas vires paratas habent, ut maior belli moles supersit quam exhausta sit. [6] Quid ruimus beluarum ritu in perniciem non necessariam? Fortium virorum est magis mortem contemnere quam odisse vitam: [7] saepe taedio laboris ad vilitatem sui compelluntur ignavi. At nihil virtus inexpertum omittit. Utique ultimum omnium mors est, ad quam non pigre ire satis est. [8] Proinde si Bactra, quod tutissimum receptaculum est, petimus, praefectum regionis eius, Bessum, regem temporis gratia constituamus : rebus compositis iusto regi tibi fiduciam restituet imperium.’ [9] Haud mirum est Dareum non temperasse animo, quamquam eum, impiae voci quantum nefas subesset, latebat. Itaque: ‘Pessimu[m],’ inquit, ‘mancipiu[m], repperisti exoptatu[m] tibi tempus, quo parricidium aperires?’ strictoque acinace interfecturus eum videbatur, [10] ni propere Bessus Bactrianique, quasi deprecarentur, tristium specie, [11] ceterum, si perseveraret, vincturi circumstetissent. Nabarzanes interim elapsus, mox et Bessus est secutus: copias, quibus praeerant, a cetero exercitu secedere iubent
[p. 138] secretu[m] inituri consiliu[m]. [12] Artabazus convenientem praesenti fortunae sententiam orsus mitigare Dareum temporu[m] identidem admonens coepit: ferret aequo animo qualiumcumque, suorum tamen vel stultitiam vel errorem. Instare iam ei Alexandru[m], gravem, etiam si omnes praesto essent: quid futurum, si persecuti fugam ipsius alienentur? [13] Aegre paruit Artabazo et, quamquam movere castra statuerat, turbatis tamen omnium animis eodem in loco substitit. Sed attonitus maestitia simul et desperatione tabernaculo se inclusit. [14] Ergo in castris, quae nullius regebantur imperio, varii animorum motus erant, nec in commune ut ante consulebatur. [15] Dux Graecorum militum, Patron, arma capere suos iubet paratosque esse ad exequendu[m] imperiu[m] Persae secesserant: [16] Bessus cum Bactrianis erat temptabatque Persas abducere, Bactra et intactae regionis opulenta simulque, quae manentibus instarent pericula, ostentans. Persaru[m] omnium eadem fere fuit vox, nefas esse deserere regem. [17] Inter haec Artabazus omnibus imperatoriis fungebatur officiis: ille Persaru[m] tabernacula circumire, hortari, monere nunc

singulos, nunc universos non ante destitit, quam satis constaret imperata facturos. Idem aegre a Dareo inpetravit, ut cibum caperet animumque rebus adverteret.

At Bessus et Nabarzanes olim agitatum scelus exequi statuunt regni cupiditate accensi: Dareo autem incolumi tantas opes sperare non poterant. [2] Quippe in illis gentibus regum eximia maiestas est: ad nomen quoque barbari conveniunt, et pristinae veneratio fortunae sequitur adversam. [3] Inflatat inpios animos regio, [p. 139] cui praeerant, armis virisque et spatio locorum nulli earum gentium secunda: tertiam partem Asiae tenet, multitudo iuniorum exercitus, quos amiserat Dareus, aequabat. [4] Itaque non illum modo, sed etiam Alexandrum spernebant, inde vires imperii repetituri, si regis potiri contigisset. [5] Diu omnibus cogitatis placuit per milites Bactrianos ad omne obsequium destinates regem comprehendere mittique nuntium ad Alexandrum, qui indicaret vivum adservari eum: [6] si, id quod timebant, proditorem aspernatus esset, occisuri Dareum et Bactra cum suarum gentium manu petituri. Ceterum propalam comprehendi Dareus non poterat tot Persarum milibus laturis opem regi: [7] Graecorum quoque fides timebatur. [8] Itaque, quod vi non poterant, fraude adsequi temptant: paenitentiam secessionis simulare decreverant et excusare apud regem consternationem suam. [9] Interim, qui Persas sollicitarent, mittuntur. Hinc spe, hinc metu militares animos versant: ruinae rerum subdere illos capita, in perniciem trahi, cum Bactra pateant exceptura eos bonis et opulentia, animis quam concipere non possint. [10] Haec agitantibus Artabazus supervenit sive regis iussu sive sua sponte adfirmans mitigatum esse Dareum et eundem illis amicitiae gradum patere apud regem. [11] Illi lacrimantes nunc purgare se, nunc Artabazum orare, ut causam ipsorum tueretur precesque perferret. [12] Sic peracta nocte sub lucis exortum Bessus et Nabarzanes cum Bactrianis militibus in vestibulo praetorii aderant titulum sollemnis officii occulto sceleri praeferentes. Dareus signo ad eundem [p. 140] dato currum pristino more conscendit. [13] Nabarzanes ceterique parricidae procumbentes humi, quem paulo post in vinculis habituri erant, sustinere venerari, lacrimas etiam paenitentiae indices profuderunt: adeo humanis ingeniis parata simulatio est. [14] Preces deinde suppliciter admotae Dareum natura simplicem et mitem non credere modo, quae adfirmabant, sed flere etiam coegerunt. [15] Ac ne tum quidem cogitati sceleris paenituit, cum intuerentur, qualem et regem et virum fallerent. Ille quidem securus periculi, quod instabat, Alexandri manus, quas solas timebat, effugere properabat.

Patron autem, Graecorum dux, praecipit suis, ut arma, quae in sarcinis antea ferebantur, induerent ad omne imperium suum parati et intenti. [2] Ipse currum regis sequebatur occasionem inminens adloquendi eum: quippe Bessi facinus praesenserat. Sed Bessus id ipsum metuens, custos verius quam comes, a curru non recedebat. [3] Diu ergo Patron cunctatus ac saepius sermone revocatus, inter fidem timoremque haesitans, [4] regem intuebatur. Qui ut tandem advertit oculos, Bubacen spadonem inter proximos currum sequentem percontari iubet, numquid ipsi velit dicere. Patron se vero, sed

remotis arbitris loqui velle cum eo respondit iussusque propius accedere sine interprete — nam haud radis Graecae linguae Dareus erat — [5] : ‘Rex,’ inquit, ‘ex L milibus Graecorum supersumus pauci, omnis fortunae tuae comites et in hoc tuo statu idem, qui florente te fuimus, quascumque terras elegeris, pro patriar et domesticis rebus petitori. [6] Secundae adversaeque res tuae copulavere nos tecum. Per hanc fidem [p. 141] invictam oro et obtestor, in nostris castris tibi tabernaculum statue : nos corporis tui. custodes esse patiaris. Omisimus Graeciam, nulla Bactra sunt nobis, spes omnis in te: utinam etiam ceteris esset. Plura dici non attinet. Custodiam corporis tui externus et alienigena non deposcerem, si crederem alium posse praestare.’ [7] Bessus quamquam erat Graeci sermonis ignaras, tamen stimulante conscientia indicium profecto Patronem detulisse credebatur: et interpretes celato sermone Graeci exempta dubitatio est. Dareus autem, ‘ quantum ex vultu concipi poterat, haud sane territus percontari Patrona causam consilii, quod adferret, coepit. [8] Ille non ultra differendum ratus: ‘Bessus,’ inquit, ‘et Nabarzanes insidiantur tibi, in ultimo discrimine es fortunae tuae et vitae, [9] hic dies aut parricidis aut tibi futurus ultimus.’ Et Patron quidem egregiam conservati regis gloriam tulerat. [10] Eludant fidem licet, quibus forte temere humana negotia volvi agique persuasum est nexuve causarum latentium et multo ante destinatarum suum quemque ordinem inmutabili lege percurrere: [11] Dareus certe respondit, quamquam sibi Graecorum militum fides nota sit, numquam tamen a popularibus suis recessurum. Difficilius sibi esse damnare quam decipi. Quidquid fors tulisset, inter suos perpeti malle quam transfugam fieri. Sero se perire, si salvum sese milites sui nollent. [12] Patron desperata [p. 142] regis salute ad eos, quibus praeerat, rediit omnia pro fide experiri paratus.

At Bessus occidendi protinus regis impetum ceperat: ed veritus, ne gratiam Alexandri, nisi vivum eum tradidisset, inire non posset, dilato in proximam noctem sceleris consilio agere gratias incipit, quod perfidi hominis insidias iam Alexandri opes spectantis prudenter cauteque vitasset: donum eum hosti laturum fuisse regis caput. [2] Nec mirari hominem mercede conductum omnia habere venalia: sine pignore, sine lare, terrarum orbis exulem, ancipitem hostem ad nutum licentium circumferri. [3] Purganti deinde se deosque patrios testes fidei suae invocanti Dareus vultu adsentiebatur, haud dubius, quin vera deferrentur a Graecis: sed eo rerum ventum erat, [4] ut tam periculosum esset non credere suis quam decipi. XXX milia erant, quorum inclinata in scelus levitas timebatur, mi milia Patron habebat: quibus si credidisset salutem suam damnata popularium fide, parricidio excusationem videbat offerri. Itaque praeoptabat inmerito quam iure violari. [5] Besso tamen insidiarum consilium purganti respondit, Alexandri sibi non minus iustitiam quam virtutem esse perspectam. Falli eos, qui prodicionis ab eo praemium expectent: [6] violatae fidei neminem acriorem fore vindicem ultoremque. Iamque nox adpetebat, cum Persae more solito armis positae ad necessaria ex proximo vico ferenda discurrunt. At Bactriani, ut imperatum a Besso erat, armati stabant. [7] Inter haec Dareus Artabazum acciri iubet, expositisque, quae Patron detulerat, haud

[p. 143] dubitare Artabazus, quin transeundum esset in castra Graecorum: Persas quoque periculo vulgato secuturos. [8] Destinatus sorti suae et iam nullius salubris consilii patiens unicum in illa fortuna opem Artabazum, ultimum illum visurus, amplectitur perfususque mutuis lacrimis inhaerentem sibi avelli iubet: capite deinde velato, ne inter gemitus digredientem velut a rogo intueretur, in humum primum corpus abiecit. [9] Tum vero custodiae eius adsueta, quos regis salutem vel periculis vitae tueri oportebat, dilapsi sunt, clam armatis, quos iam adventare credebant, haud rati se futuros pares. Ingens ergo in tabernaculo solitudo erat paucis spadonibus, quia, quo discederent, non habebant, circumstantibus regem. [10] At ille remotis arbitris diu aliud atque aliud consilium animo volutabat. Iamque solitudinem, quam paulo ante pro solacio petiverat, perosus Bubacen vocari iubet. [11] Quem intuens: ‘Ite,’ inquit, ‘consulite vobis ad ultimum regi vestro, ut decebat, fide exhibita: ego hic legem fati mei expecto. Forsitan mireris, quod vitam non finiam : alieno scelere quam meo mori malo.’ [12] Post hanc vocem spado gemitu non tabernaculum modo, sed etiam castra conplevit. Inrupere deinde alii laceratisque vestibus lugubri et barbaro ululatii regem deplorare coeperunt. [13] Persae ad illos clamore perlato attoniti metu nec arma capere, ne in Bactrianos inciderent, nec quiescere audebant, ne in pie deserere regem viderentur. [14] Varius ac dissonus clamor sine duce ac sine imperio totis castris referebatur. Besso et Nabarzani nuntiaverant sui regem a semetipso interemptum esse — plangens eos [p. 144] [15] deceperat — : itaque citatis equis advolant sequentibus, quos ad ministerium sceleris delegerant, et, cum tabernaculum intrassent, quia regem vivere spadones indicabant, [16] comprehendi vincirique iusserunt. Rex curru paulo ante vectus et deorum auspiciis ac summis honoribus cultus nulla externa ope admota captivus servorum suorum in sordidum vehiculum pellibus undique contextum inponitur. [17] Pecunia regis et supellex quasi belli iure diripitur, onustique praeda per scelus ultimum parta fugam intendunt. [18] Artabazus cum iis, qui imperio parebant. Graecisque militibus Parthienem petebat omnia tutiora parricidarum comitatu ratus. [19] Persae promissis Bessi onerati maxime, quia nemo alius erat, quem sequerentur, coniungere se Bactrianis agmen eorum tertio adsecuti die. [20] Ne tamen honos regi non haberetur, aureis conpedibus Dareum vinciunt nova ludibria subinde excogitante fortuna. Et ne forte cultu regio posset agnosci, sordidis pellibus vehiculum intexerant, ignoti iumenta agebant, ne percontantibus in agmine monstrari posset, custodes procul sequebantur.

Alexander audito, Dareum movisse ab Ecbatanis, omisso itinere, quod petebat, in Mediam, fugientem insequi pergit strenue. [2] Tabas — oppidum est in Paraetacene ultima — pervenit: ibi transfugae nuntiant praecipiti fuga Bactra petere Dareum. [3] Certiora deinde cognoscit ex Bagistane Babylonio, qui nondum vinctum regem, sed in periculo esse aut mortis aut vinculorum adfirmabat. [4] Rex ducibus convocatis: [p. 145] ‘Maximum,’ inquit, ‘opus, sed labor brevissimus superest. Dareus haud procul destitutus a suis aut oppressus: in illo corpore posita est nostra victoria, et tanta res celeritatis est

praemium.’ [5] Omnes pariter conclamant paratos ipsos sequi: nec labori nec periculo parceret. Igitur raptim agmen cursus magis quam itineris modo ducit ne nocturna quidem quiete diurnum laborem relaxante. [6] Itaque D stadia processit, perventumque erat in vicum, in quo Dareum Bessus comprehenderat. [7] Ibi Melon, Darei interpres, excipitur: corpore aeger non potuerat agmen adsequi et deprehensus celeritate regis transfugam se esse simulabat. Ex hoc acta cognoscit. [8] Sed fatigatis necessaria quies erat: itaque delectis equitum vi milibus CCC, quos dimachas appellabant, adiungit. Dorso hi graviora anna portabant, ceterum equis vehebantur: cum res locusque posceret, pedestris acies erant. [9] Haec agentem Alexandrum adeunt Orsines et Mithracenes: Bessi parricidium exosi transfugerant nuntiabantque stadia D abesse Persas, ipsos brevius iter monstraturos. [10] Gratus regi adventus transfugarum fuit. Itaque prima vespera ducibus isdem cum expedita equitum manu monstratam viam ingreditur phalange, quantum festinare posset, sequi iussa. Ipse quadrato agmine incedens ita cursum regebat, ut prim i coniungi ultimis possent. [11] CCC stadia processerant, cum occurrit Brochubelus, Mazaei filius, Syriae quondam praetor: is quoque transfuga nuntiabat Bessum haud amplius [p. 146] quam ce stadia abesse, exercitum, utpote praedae avidum, inconpositum inordinatumque procedere. [12] Hyrcaniam videri petitorios: si festinaret sequi palan tes, superventurum. Dareum adhuc vivere. Strenuo alioqui cupiditatem consequendi transfuga iniecerat: itaque calcaribus subditis effuso cursu eunt. Iamque fremitus hostium iter ingredientium exaudiebatur, sed prospectum ademerat pulveris nubes. Paulisper ergo inhibuit cursum, donec consideret pulvis. [13] Iamque conspecti a barbaris erant et abeuntium agmen conspexerant nequaquam futuri pares, si Besso tantum animi fuisset ad proelium, quantum ad parricidium fuerat. Namque et numero barbari praestabant et robore: ad hoc refecti cum fatigatis certamen inituri erant. [14] Sed nomen Alexandri et fama, [15] maximum in bello utique momen tum, pavidos in fugam avertit. Bessus vero et ceteri facinoris eius participes vehiculum Darei adsecuti coeperunt hortari eum, conscenderet equum et se hosti fuga eriperet. [16] Ille deos ultores adesse testatur et Alexandri fidem inplorans negat se parricidas velle comitari. Tum vero ira quoque accensi tela coiciunt in regem multisque confossum vulneribus relinquunt. [17] Iumenta quoque, ne longius prosequi possent, convulnerant duobus servis, qui regem comitabantur, occisis. [18] Hoc edito facinore, ut vestigia fugae spargerent, Nabarzanes Hyrcaniam, Bessus Bactra paucis equitum comitantibus petebant. Barbari ducibus destituía, qua quemque aut spes ducebat aut pavor, dissipabantur : [19] D tantum equites congregaverant se incerti adhuc, resistere melius esset an fugere. Alexander hostium trepidatione conperta Nicanorem cum equitum parte [p. 147] ad inhibendam fugam emittit, ipse cum ceteris sequitur. Tria ferme milia resistentia occisa sunt, reliquum agmen pecudum more intactum agebatur iubente rege, ut caedibus abstineretur. [20] Nemo captivorum erat, qui monstrare Darei vehiculum posset: singula, ut quaeque prenderent, scrutabantur, nec tamen ullum vestigium fugae regis extabat. [21]

Festinantem Alexandrum vix III milia equitum persecuta sunt. At in eos, qui lentius sequebantur, incidebant universa fugientium agmina. [22] Vix credibile dictu, plures captivi quam, qui caperent, erant : adeo omnem sensum territis fortuna penitus excusserat, ut nec hostium paucitatem nec multitudinem suam satis cernerent. [23] Interim iumenta, quae Dareum vehebant, nullo regente decesserant militari via et errore delata per quattuor stadia in quadam valle constiterant aestu simulque vulneribus fatigata. [24] Haud procul erat fons: ad quem monstratum a peritis Polystratus Macedo siti maceratus accessit ac, dum galea haustam aquam sorbet, tela iumentorum deficientium corporibus infixata conspexit. [25] Miratusque, confossa potius quam abacta esse, semivivi hominis gemitum percipit. Itaque more ingenii humani cupidus visendi, quid rei vehiculo isto conderetur, dimotis pellibus, quibus obtectum erat, Dareum multis vulneribus confossum repperit. Regius enim cultus et aureae catenae, quibus a parricidis vinctus erat, dubitationem eximebant. Non erat experts Graeci sermonis Dareus [p. 148] gratiasque agebat dis, qui post tanta mala hoc tamen induisissent solacii, ne omnino in solitudine extremum spiritum effunderet. ‘Itaque te,’ inquit, ‘quisquis es mortalium, per communem hominum sortem, a qua ne maximos quidem reges exemptos esse praesenti spectaculo moneris, rogo quaesoque, ut haec ad Alexandrum mandata per feras: nihil eorum, quae longe tristissima perpessus sum, ne hunc quidem incredibilis calamitatis exitum tam gravem mihi accidisse quam illud, quod post tanta in me meosque merita adversus clementissimum victorem inimico vivendum fuit et nunc ingrato moriendum est. Sed — si qua extremis miserorum votis apud deos vis est, et cum ipso spiritu profusas preces aliquod numen exaudit — ille quidem sospes et incolumis longeque supra sortem fortunae meae et invidiam deorum positus in solio Cyri gloriosam aetatem exigat suaeque virtutis memor eum matri liberisque meis locum apud se esse patiatur, quem illi fide et obsequio meruerint. At parricidas promptum exitium consequatur, quod Alexander inrogabit, si non misericordia infelicis hostis, saltem odio facinorum, et ne impunita in aliorum etiam regum suumque ipsius exitum erumpant.’ Post haec, cum siti angeretur, adlata per Polystratum aqua recreatus: ‘Ergo,’ inquit, ‘hanc etiam tantis calamitatibus extremam accedere oportuit, ut bene merito gratiam referre non possim: at refer et Alexander, Alexandro vero di.’ Dextram deinde protendit eamque Alexandro fidei regiae pignus ferri iubens adprehensa Polystrati manu animam efflavit. Alexander num spiranti adhuc supervenerit, incertum est: illud constat miserabili regis opulentissimi exitu conperto plurimas lacrimas profudisse statimque chlamyde sibi detracta corpus operuisse et magno cum honore ad suos deferri iussisse, ut regio Persarum more curatum monumentis maiorum inferretur. Perfidiam hominum, a quibus pro summis beneficiis crudelissimum exitum Dareus pertulit, quamquam suapte natura horrendam et execrabilem, insigniore ad posteritatem [p. 149] infamia notavit canis cuiusdam mira fides, qui ab omnibus familiaribus destitute solus adfuit et eandem, quam vivo, adulationem morienti praestitit. Hunc vitae finem sortitus est ille, quem modo

contumelia adfici putabant, nisi regem regum et deorum consanguineum salutarent; magnoque denuo experimento conprobatum est neminem magis patere fortunae, quam qui plurimis eius beneficiis ornatus iugum eius tota cervice receperit.

BOOK VI.

Dum haec in Asia geruntur, ne in Graecia quidem Macedoniae tranquillae res fuere. Regnabat apud Lacedaemonios Agis, filius Archidami, qui Tarentinis opem ferens occiderat eodem die, quo Philippus Athenienses ad Chaeroneam vicit: is Alexandri virtutis aemulus cives suos stimulabat, ne Graeciam Servitute Macedonum diutius premi paterentur: nisi in tempore providerent, idem iugum ad ipsos transiturum. Adnitendum igitur, dum aliquae Persis ad resistendum vires essent: illis oppressis adversus inmanem potentiam frustra vitae libertatis memores futuros. Sic instinctis animis occasionem belli movendi captabant. Prospero igitur eventu Memnonis invitati consilia cum eo miscere adgressi sunt et, postquam ille rerum laetarum initia intempestiva morte destituit, nihilo remissius agebant. Sed ad Pharnabazum et Autophradaten profectus Agis triginta argenti talento decemque triremes inpetravit, quas Agesilao fratri misit, ut in Cretam navigaret, cuius insulae cultores inter Lacedaemonios et Macedonas diversis studiis distrahebantur. Legati quoque ad Dareum missi sunt, qui ad bellum ampliorem vim pecuniae pluresque naves peterent. Atque haec eorum consilia clades ad Issum — nam ea intervenerat — adeo non interpellavit, ut etiam adjuvaret. Quippe fugientem insecutus Alexander in loca in dies longinquiora rapiebatur, et ex ipso proelio mercennariorum ingens multitudo in Graeciam fuga se receperat: quorum octo milia pecunia conduxit Agis eorumque opera plerasque Cretensium urbes recepit. Cum deinceps Menon in Thraciam ab Alexandro missus barbaros ad defectionem impulisset atque Antipater ad eam comprimendam exercitum ex Macedonia in Thraciam duxisset, opportunitate temporis strenue usi Lacedaemonii totam Peloponnesum paucis urbibus exceptis ad suas partes traxerunt confectoque exercitu viginti milium peditum cum duobus milibus equitum Agidi summam imperii detulerunt. Antipater ea re conperta bellum in Thracia, quibus potest condicionibus, conponit raptimque in Graeciam regressus ab amicis sociisque civitatibus auxilia cogit. Quibus convenientibus ad quadraginta milia militum recensuit. Advenerat etiam ex Peloponneso valida manus: sed quia dubiam eorum fidem cognoverat, dissimulata suspicione gratias egit, quod ad defendendam a Lacedaemoniis Alexandri dignitatem adfuissent: scripturum se id regi gratiam in tempore relaturum. In praesens nihil opus esse maioribus copiis: itaque domos redirent foederis necessitate expleta. Nuntios deinde ad Alexandrum mittit de motu Graeciae certiores facturus. Atque illi regem apud Bactra demum consecuti sunt, cum interim Antipatri victoria et nece Agidis in Arcadia res transacta esset. Rex iam pridem tumultu Lacedaemoniorum cognito, quantum tot terrarum spatiis discretus potuit, providerat: Amphoterum cum Cypriis et Phoeniciis navibus in Peloponnesum navigare, Meneta tria milia talentum ad mare deferre iusserat, ut ex propinquo pecuniam Antipatro subministraret, quanta illi opus esse cognovisset. Probe enim

perspexerat, quanti ad omnia [p. 152] momenti motus istius inclinatio futura esset: quamquam postea accepto victoriae nuntio cum suis rebus illam dimicationem comparans murium eam pugnam fuisse cavillatus est. Ceterum principia eius belli haud inprospera Lacedaemoniis fuere. Iuxta Corrhagum, Macedoniae castellum, cum Antipatri militibus congressi victores extiterant: et rei bene gestae fama etiam, qui dubiis mentibus fortunam spectaverant, societati eorum se adiunxerunt. Una ex Eleis Achaeisque urbibus Pellene foedus aspernabatur et in Arcadia Megalopolis, fida Macedonibus propter Philippi memoriam, a quo beneficiis adfecta fuerat. Sed haec circumsessa non multum a deditione aberat, nisi tandem Antipater subvenisset. Is postquam castra castris contulit seque numero militum alioque apparatu superiorem conspexit, quam primum de summa rerum proelio contendere statuit: neque Lacedaemonii detrectavere certamen. Ita commissa est pugna, quae rem Spartanam maiorem in modum adflixit. Cum enim angustiis locorum, in quibus pugnabatur, confisi, ubi hosti nullum multitudinis usum futurum credebant, fortissime congressi essent, ac Macedones inpigerrime resisterent, multum sanguinis fusum est. Sed postquam Antipater integram subinde manum laborantibus suis subsidio misit, impulsu Lacedaemoniorum acies gradum paulisper retulit. Quod conspicatus Agis cum cohorte

regia, quae ex fortissimis constabat, se in medium pugnae discrimen inmisit obruncatisque, qui promptius resistebant, magnam partem hostium propulit. [2] Coeperant fugere victores et, donec avidius sequentes in planum deduxere, inulti cadebant: sed ut primum locus, in quo stare possent, fuit, aequis viribus dimicatum est. [3] Inter omnes tamen Lacedaemonios rex eminebat, non armorum modo et corporis specie, sed etiam magnitudine animi, quo uno vinci non potuit. [4] Undique [p. 153] nunc comminus, nunc eminus petebatur diuque arma circumferens alia tela clipeo excipiebat, corpore alia vitabat, donec hasta femina perfossa plurimo sanguine effuso destituere pugnantem. [5] Ergo clipeo suo exceptum armigeri raptim in castra referebant iactationem vulnere haud facile tolerantem. [6] Non tamen omisere Lacedaemonii pugnam et, ut primum sibi quam hosti aequiorum locum capere potuerunt, densatis ordinibus effuse fluentem in se aciem exceperunt. [7] Non aliud discrimen vehementius fuisse memoriae proditum est. Duarum nobilissimarum bello gentium exercitus pari Marte pugnabant: [8] Lacedaemonii vetera, Macedones praesentia decora intuebantur, illi pro libertate, hi pro dominatione pugnabant, Lacedaemoniis dux, Macedonibus locus deerat. [9] Diei quoque unius tam multiplex casus modo spem, modo metum utriusque partis augebat velut de industria inter fortissimos viros certamen aequante fortuna. [10] Ceterum angustiae loci, in quo haeserat pugna, non patiebantur totis ingredi viribus: spectabant ergo plures, quam inierant proelium, et, qui extra teli iactum erant, clamore invicem suos accendebant. [11] Tandem Laconum acies languescere lubrica arma sudore vix sustinens, pedem deinde referre coepit. [12] Ut urgente hoste apertius fugere, insequeretur dissipatos victor et emensus cursu omne spatium, quod acies Laconum

obtinuerat, ipsum Agin persequabatur. [13] Ille ut fugam suorum et proximos hostium conspexit, deponi se iussit: expertusque membra, an impetum [p. 154] animi sequi possent, [14] postquam deficere sensit, poplitibus semet excepit galeaque strenue sumpta clipeo protegens corpus hastam dextera vibrabat ultro provocans hostem, [15] si quis iacenti spolia demere auderet. Nec quisquam fuit, qui sustineret comminus congregi: procul missilibus adpetebatur, ea ipsa in hostem retorquens, donec lancea nudo pectori infixata est. Qua ex vulnere evolva inclinatam ac deficiens caput clipeo paulisper excepit, dein linquente spiritu pariter ac sanguine moribundus in arma procubuit. [16] Cecidere Lacedaemoniorum v milia et CCC, ex Macedonibus haud amplius m: ceterum vix quisquam nisi saucius revertit in castra. Haec victoria non Spartam modo sociosque eius, sed etiam omnis, qui fortunam belli expectaverant, [17] fregit. Nec fallebat Antipatrum dissentire ab animis gratulantium vultus: sed bellum finire cupienti opus erat decipi, et, quamquam fortuna rerum placebat, invidiam tamen, quia maiores res erant quam, quas praefecti modus caperet, metuebat. [18] Quippe Alexander hostes vinci voluerat, Antipatrum vicisse ne tacitus quidem indignabatur suae demptum gloriae existimans, quidquid cessisset alienae. [19] Itaque Antipater, qui probe nosset spiritus eius, non est ausus ipse agere arbitria victoriae, sed concilium Graecorum, quid fieri placeret, [20] consuluit. A quo Lacedaemonii nihil aliud quam, ut oratores mittere ad regem liceret, Tegeatae veniam [p. 155] defectionis praeter auctores inpetraverunt, Megalopolitanis, quorum urbs obsessa erat a defectionis sociis, Achaei et Elei centum XX talenta dare iussi sunt. [21] Hic fuit exitus belli, quod repente ortum prius tamen finitum est, quam Dareum Alexander apud Arbela superaret.

Sed ut primum instantibus curis laxatus est animus militarium rerum quam quietis otiique patientior, excepere eum voluptates, et, quem arma Persarum non fregerant, vitia vicerunt: [2] tempestiva convivia et perpotandi pervigilandique insana dulcedo ludique et greges pelicum. Omnia in externum lapsa morem. Quem ille aemulatus quasi potioem suo ita popularium animos oculosque pariter offendit, ut a plerisque amicorum pro hoste haberetur. [3] Tenaces quippe disciplinae suae solitosque parco ac parabili victu ad implenda naturae desideria defungi in peregrina et devictarum gentium mala inpulerat. [4] Hinc saepius comparatae in caput eius insidiae, secessio militum et liberior inter mutuas querellas dolor, ipsius deinde nunc ira, nunc suspiciones, quas excitabat inconsultus pavor, ceteraque his similia, quae deinde dicuntur. [5] Igitur cum tempestivis conviviis dies pariter noctesque consumeret, satietatem epularum ludis interpellabat non contentus artificum, quos e Graecia exciverat, turba: quippe captivae iuebantur suo ritu canere inconditum et abhorrens peregrinis auribus carmen. [6] Inter quas unam [p. 156] rex saepe conspexit maestioem quam ceteras et producentibus eam verecunde reluctantem. Excellens erat forma, et formam pudor honestabat: deiectis in terram oculis et, quantum licebat, ore velato suspicionem praebebat regi, [7] nobiliorem esse, quam ut inter convivales ludos deberet ostendi. Ergo

interrogata, quanam esset, neptim se Ochi, qui nuper regnasset in Persis, filio eius geni tam esse respondit, uxorem Hystaspis fuisse. Propinquus hic Darei fuerat, magni et ipse exercitus praetor. [8] Adhuc in animo regis tenues reliquiae pristini moris haerebant: itaque fortunam regia stirpe genitae et tam celebre nomen neptem Ochi reveritus non dimitti modo captivam, [9] sed etiam restitui ei suas opes iussit, virum quoque requiri, ut reperto coniugem redderet. Postero autem die praecepit Hephaestioni, ut omnes captivos in regiam iuberet adduci. Ibi singulorum nobilitate spectata secrevit a vulgo, quorum eminebat genus. M hi fuerunt: inter quos repertus est Oxathres, Darei frater, non illius fortuna quam indole animi sui clarior. [10] XXVI milia talentum proxima praeda redacta erant omnino: duodecim milia in congiarium militum absumpta sunt, par huic pecuniae summa custodum fraude subtracta est. [11] Oxydates erat nobilis Perses, qui a Dareo capitali supplicio destinatus cohibebatur in vinculis: huic liberato satrapeam Mediae attribuit fratremque Darei recepit in cohortem amicorum omni vetustae claritatis honore servato. [p. 157] Hinc in Parthienem perventum est, [12] tunc ignobilem gentem, nunc caput omnium, qui post Euphraten et Tigrim amnes siti Rubro mari terminantur. [13] Scythae regionem campestram ac fertilem occupaverant, graves adhuc accolae. Sedes habent et in Europa et in Asia: qui super Bosphorum colunt, adscribuntur Asiae, at, qui in Europa sunt, a laevo Thraciae latere ad Borysthenem atque inde ad Tanaim alium amnem recta plaga attinent. [14] Tanais Europam et Asiam medius interfluit. Nec dubitatur, quin Scythae, qui Parthos condidere, non a Bosphoro, sed ex Europae regione penetraverint. [15] Urbs erat ea tempestate clara Hecatompylos, condita a Graecis: ibi stativa rex habuit commeatibus undique advectis. Itaque rumor, otiosi militis vitium, sine auctore percrebruit, regem contentum rebus, quas gessisset, in Macedoniam protinus redire statuisse. Discurrunt lymphatis similes in tabernacula et itineri sarcinas aptant: [16] signum datum crederes, ut vasa colligerent totis castris. Tumultus hinc contubernales suos requirentium, hinc onerantium plaustra perfertur ad regem. [17] Fecerant fidem rumori temere vulgato Graeci milites redire iussi domos: quorum equitibus singulis denarium sena milia cum data essent, peditibus singula milia, ipsis quoque finem militiae adesse credebant. [18] Haud secus, quam par erat, territus, qui Indos atque [p. 158] ultima Orientis peragrarare statuisset, praefectos copiarum in praetorium contrahit obortisque lacrimis ex medio gloriae spatio revocari se victi magis quam victoris fortunam in patriam relaturum conquestus est: [19] nec sibi ignaviam militum obstare, sed deum invidiam, qui fortissimis viris subitum patriae desiderium admovissent paulo post in eandem cum maiore laude famaue reductoris. [20] Tum vero pro se quisque operam suam offerre, difficillima quaeque poscere, polliceri militum quoque obsequium, [21] si animos eorum leni et apta oratione permulcere voluisset: numquam infractos et abiectos recessisse, quotiens ipsius alacritatem et tanti animi spiritus haurire potuissent. Ita se facturum esse respondit: illi modo vulgi aures praepararent sibi. Satisque omnibus, quae in rem videbantur esse, conpositis vocari ad contionem exercitum iussit, apud

quem talem orationem habuit:

‘Magnitudinem rerum, quas gessimus, milites, intuentibus vobis minime mirum est et desiderium quietis et satietatem gloriae occurrere. [2] Ut omittam Illyrios, Triballos, Boeotiam, Thraciam, Spartam, Achaeos, Peloponnesum, quorum alia ductu meo, [3] alia imperio auspicioque perdomui, ecce orsi bellum ab Hellesponto Ionas, Aeolidem servitio barbariae inpotentis exemimus, Cariam, Lydiam, Cappadociam, Phrygiam, Paphlagoniam, Pamphyliam, Pisidas, Cili- [p. 159] ciam, Syriam, Phoenicen, Armeniam, Persidem, Medos, Parthienen habemus in potestate. [4] Plures provincias complexus sum, quam alii urbes ceperunt, et nescio an enumeranti mihi quaedam ipsarum rerum multitudo subduxerit. [5] Itaque si crederem satis certam esse possessionem terrarum, quas tanta velocitate domuimus, ego vero, milites, ad penates meos, ad parentem sororesque et ceteros cives vel retinentibus vobis erumperem, ut ibi potissimum parta vobiscum laude et gloria fruerer, ubi nos uberrima victoriae praemia expectant, liberum, coniugum parentumque laetitia, pax, quies, rerum per virtutem partarum secura possessio. [6] Sed in novo et, si verum fateri volumus, precario imperio adhuc iugum eius rigida cervice subeuntibus barbaris tempore, milites, opus est, dum mitioribus ingeniis inbuuntur et efferatos melior consuetudo permulcet. [7] Fruges quoque maturitatem statuto tempore expectant: adeo etiam ilia sensus omnis expertia tamen sua lege mitescunt. [8] Quid? creditis tot gentes alterius imperio ac nomine adsuetas, non sacris, non moribus, non commercio linguae nobiscum cohaerentes eodem proelio domitas esse, quo victae sunt? Vestris armis continentur, non suis moribus et, qui praesentes metuunt, in absentia hostes erunt. Cum feris bestiis res est, quas captas et inclusas, quia ipsarum natura non potest, longior dies mitigat. [9] Et adhuc sic ago, tamquam omnia subacta sint armis, quae fuerunt in ditione Darei. Hyrcaniam Nabarzanes occupavit, Bactra [p. 160] non possidet solum parricida Bessus, sed etiam minatur, Sogdiani, Dahae, Massagetae, Sacae, Indi sui iuris sunt. [10] Omnes hi, simul terga nostra viderint, illos sequentur: illi enim eiusdem nationis sunt, nos alienigenae et externi. [11] Suis quisque autem placidius paret, etiam cum is praeest, qui magis timeri potest. Proinde aut, quae cepimus, omittenda sunt aut, quae non habemus, occupanda. Sicut in corporibus aegris, milites, nihil, quod nociturum est, medici relinquunt, sic nos, quidquid obstat imperio, recidamus. Parva saepe scintilla contempta magnum excitavit incendium. Nil tuto in hoste despicitur: quem spreveris, valentorem neglegentia facias. [12] Ne Dareus quidem hereditarium Persarum accepit imperium, sed est in sedem Cyri beneficio Bagoae, castrati hominis, admissus: ne vos magno labore credatis Bessum vacuum regnum occupaturum. [13] Nos vero peccavimus, milites, si Dareum ob hoc vicimus, ut servo eius traderemus imperium, qui ultimum ausus scelus regem suum, etiam externae opis egentem, certe cui nos victores pepercissemus, quasi captivum in vinculis habuit, ad ultimum, ne a nobis conservari posset, occidit. [14] Hunc vos regnare patiemini? Quem equidem cruci adfixum videre festino, omnibus

regibus gentibusque et fidei, quam violavit, meritas poenas solventem. [15] At, hercules, si mox eundem Grae- [p. 161] corum urbes aut Hellespontum vastare nuntiatum erit vobis, quo dolore adficiemini Bessum praemia vestrae occupavisse victoriae? Tunc ad repetendas res festinabatis, tunc arma capietis. Quanto autem praestat territum adhuc et vix mentis suae compotem opprimere! [16] Quadridui nobis iter superest, qui tot proculcavimus nives, tot amnes superavimus, tot montium iuga transcucurrimus. Non mare illud, quod exaestuans iter fluctibus occupat, euntes nos moratur, non Ciliciae fauces et angustiae includunt: plana omnia et prona sunt. [17] In ipso limine victoriae stamus. Pauci nobis fugitivi et domini sui interfectores supersunt. Egregium, mehercule, opus et inter prima gloriae vestrae numerandum posteritati famaeque tradetis, Dareum quoque hostem finito post mortem illius odio parricidae caede esse vos ultos, neminem impium effugisse vestras manus. [18] Hoc perpetrare quanto creditis Persas obsequentiores fore, cum intellexerint vos pia bella suscipere et Bessi sceleri, non nomini suo irasci?

Summa militum alacritate iubentium, quocumque vellet, ducere oratio excepta est. [2] Nec rex moratur impetum tertioque per Parthienen die ad fines Hyrcaniae penetrat Cratero relicto cum iis copiis, quibus praeerat, et ea manu, quam Amyntas ducebat, additis DC equitibus et totidem sagittariis, ut ab incursione barbarorum Parthienen tueretur. [3] Erigyium inpedi- [p. 162] menta modico praesidio dato campestri itinere ducere iubet. Ipse cum phalange et equitatu CL stadia emensus castra in valle, qua Hyrcaniam adeunt, communit. Nemus praealtis densisque arboribus umbrosum est pingue vallis solum rignantibus aquis, [4] quae ex petris imminentibus manant. Ex ipsis radicibus montium Stiboetes amnis effunditur, qui tria fere stadia in longitudinem uni versus fluit, deinde saxo, quod alveolum interpellat, percussus duo itinera velut dispensatis aquis aperit. [5] Inde torrens et saxorum, per quae incurrit, asperitate violentior terram praeceps subit. Per CCC stadia conditus labitur rursusque velut ex alio fonte conceptue editur et novum alveum intendit priore sui parte spatiosior — [6] quippe in latitudinem x et trium stadiorum diffunditur — rursusque angustioribus coercitus ripis iter cogit. Tandem in alterum amnem cadit: [7] Rhidagno nomen est. Incolae adfirmabant, quaecumque demissa essent in cavernam, quae propior est fonti, rursus, ubi aliud os amnis aperitur, existere: itaque Alexander boves, qua subeunt aquae terram, praecipitari iubet, quorum corpora, ubi rursus erumpit, expulsa videre, qui missi erant, ut exciperent. [8] Quartum iam diem eodem loco quietem militi dederat, cum litteras Nabarzanis, qui Dareum cum Besso interceperat, accepit, quarum sententia haec erat: se Dareo non fuisse inimicum, immo etiam, quae credidisset utilia esse, suasisse et, quia fidele consilium regi [p. 163] dedisset, prope occisum ab eo. [9] Agitasse Dareum custodiam corporis sui contra ius fasque peregrino militi tradere damnata popularium fide, quam per ducentos et triginta annos inviolatam regibus suis praestitissent. [10] Se in praecipiti et lubrico stantem consilium a praesenti necessitate repetisse. Dareum quoque, cum occidisset Bagoan, hac excusatione satisfecisse popularibus, quod

insidiantem interemisset. [11] Nihil esse miseris mortalibus spiritu carius: amore eius ad ultima esse propulsum. [12] Sed ea magis esse secutum quam optasse. In communi calamitate suam quemque habere fortunam. Si venire se iuberet, sine metu esse venturum. Non timere, ne fidem datam tantus rex violaret: deos a deo falli non solere. [13] Ceterum si, cui fidem daret, videretur indignus, multa exilia patere fugienti: patriam esse, ubicumque vir fortis sedem sibi elegerit. [14] Nec dubitavit Alexander fidem, quo Persae modo accipiebant, dare, inviolatum, si venisset, fore. Quadrato tamen agmine et composito ibat speculatores subinde praemittens, qui explorarent loca. [15] Levis armatura ducebat agmen, phalanx eam sequebatur, post pedites erant impedimenta. Et gens bellicosa et naturae situs difficilis aditu curam regis intenderat. [16] Namque perpetua vallis iacet usque ad mare Caspium patens, quo terrae eius velut brachia excurrunt: media flexu modico sinum faciunt lunae maxime similem, cum eminent cornua nondum totum orbem sidere implente. [17] Cercetae et Mossyni et Chalybes a laeva sunt et ab altera parte Leucosyri et Amazonum campi: et illos, [p. 164] qua vergit ad septentrionem, hos ad occasum conversa prospectat. [18] Mare Caspium dulcius ceteris ingentis magnitudinis serpentes alit: piscium in eo longe diversi ab aliis colores. Quidam Caspium, quidam Hyrcanium appellant: alii sunt, qui Maeotiam paludem in id cadere putent et argumentum adferant aquam, quod dulcior sit quam cetera maria, infuso paludis humore mitescere. [19] A septentrione ingens in litus mare incumbit longeque agit fluctus et magna parte exaestuans stagnat: idem alio caeli statu recipit in se fretum eodemque impetu, quo effusum est, relabens terram naturae suae reddit. Et quidam credere non Caspium mare esse, sed ex India in Hyrcaniam Oceanum cadere, cuius fastigium, ut supra dictum est, perpetua valle submittitur. [20] Hinc rex XX stadia processit semita propemodum invia, cui silva imminebat, torrentesque et eluvies iter morabantur: nullo tamen hoste obvio penetratum tandemque ad cultiora perventum est. [21] Praeter alios commeatus, quorum tum copia regio abundabat, pomorum quoque ingens modus nascitur, et uberrimum gignendis uvis solum est. [22] Frequens arbor faciem quercus habet, cuius folia multo melle tinguntur, sed, nisi solis ortum incolae occupaverint, vel modico tepore sucus extinguitur. [23] XXX hinc stadia processerat, cum Phrataphernes ei occurrit seque et eos, qui post Darei mortem [p. 165] profugerant, dedens: quibus benigne exceptis ad oppidum Arvas pervenit. Hic ei Craterus et Erigyius occurrunt. [24] Praefectum Tapurorum gentis, Phradatem, adduxerant: hic quoque in fidem receptus multis exemplo fuit experiendi clementiam regis. [25] Satrapen deinde Hyrcaniae dedit Amminaspin: exul hic regnante Ocho ad Philippum pervenerat. Tapurorum quoque gentem Phradati reddidit.

Iamque ultima Hyrcaniae intraverat, cum Artabazus, quem Dareo fidissimum fuisse supra diximus, cum propinquis Darei ac suis liberis modicaque Graecorum militum manu occurrit. [2] Dextram venienti obtulit rex: quippe et hospes Philippi fuerat, cum Ocho regnante exularet, et hospitii

pignora in regem suum ad ultimum fides conservata vincebat. [3] Comiter igitur exceptus: 'Tu quidem,' inquit, 'rex, deos quaeso, perpetua felicitate floreas: ego ceteris laetus hoc uno torqueor, quod praecipiti senectute diu frui tua bonitate non possum.' Nonagesimum et quintum annum agebat. [4] Novem iuvenes, omnes eadem matre geniti, patrem comitabantur: hos Artabazus dexteræ regis admovit precatus, ut tam diu viverent, donec utiles Alexandro essent. [5] Rex pedibus iter plerumque faciebat: tunc admoveri sibi et Artabazo equos iussit, ne ipso ingrediente pedibus senex equo vehi erubesceret. [6] Ut deinde castra sunt posita, Graecos, quos Artabazus adduxerat, convocari iubet: at illi, nisi fides [p. 166] Lacedaemoniis quoque et Sinopensibus daretur, respondent se, quid agendum ipsis foret, deliberaturos. [7] Legati erant Lacedaemoniorum missi ad Dareum: quo victo adplicuerant se Graecis mercede apud Persas militantibus. [8] Rex omissis sponsionum fideique pignoribus venire eos iussit, fortunam, quam ipse dedisset, habituros. Diu cunctantes plerisque consilia variantibus tandem venturos se pollicentur. [9] At Democrates Atheniensis, qui maxime Macedonum opibus semper obstiterat, desperata venia gladio se transfigit. Ceteri, sicut constitueront, dicioni Alexandri ipsos se permittunt. [10] M et D milites erant, praeter hos legati ad Dareum missi XC. In supplementum distributus miles, ceteri remissi domum praeter Lacedaemonios, quos tradi in custodiam iussit. [11] Mardorum erat gens confinis Hyrcaniae, cultu vitae aspera et latrociniis adsueta: haec sola nec legatos miserat nec videbatur imperata factura. Itaque rex indignatus, si una gens posset efficere, ne invictus esset, [12] impedimentis cum praesidio relictis valida manu comitante procedit. Noctu iter fecerat, et prima luce hostis in conspectu erat: tumultus magis quam proelium fuit. Deturbati ex collibus, quos occupaverant, barbari profugerunt, proximique vici ab incolis deserti capiuntur. [13] Interiora regionis eius haud sane adiri sine magna vexatione exercitus poterant: iuga montium praealtæ silvæ rupesque inviae saepiunt, ea, quæ plana sunt, [14] novo munimenti genere inpedierant barbari. Arbores [p. 167] densae sunt de industria consitæ: quarum teneros adhuc ramos manu flectunt, quos intortos rursus inserunt terræ: inde velut ex alia radice laetiores virent trunci. [15] Hos, qua natura fert, adolescere non sinunt: quippe alium alii quasi nexu conserunt. Qui ubi multa fronde vestiti sunt, operiunt terram: itaque occulti ramorum velut laquei perpetua saepe iter cludunt. [16] Una ratio erat caedendo aperire saltum, sed hoc quoque magni operis. Crebri namque nodi duraverant stipites, et in se implicati arborum rami suspensis circulis similes lento vimine frustrabantur ictus. [17] Incolae autem ritu ferarum virgulta subire soliti tum quoque intraverant saltum occultisque telis hostem lacescebant. Ille venantium modo latibula scrutatus plerosque confodit, ad ultimum circumire saltum milites iubet, ut, si qua pateret, inrumperent. [18] Sed ignotis locis plerique oberrabant, exceptique sunt quidam, inter quos equus regis. — Bucephalam vocabant —, quem Alexander non eodem quo ceteras pecudes animo aestimabat. Namque ille nec in dorso insidere suo patiebatur alium et regem, cum vellet escendere, sponte genua submittens excipiebat

credebaturque sentire, quem veheret. [19] Maiore ergo, quam decebat, ira simul ac dolore stimulatus equum vestigari iubet et per interpretem pronuntiari, ni reddidissent, neminem esse victurum. Hac denuntiatione territi cum ceteris donis equum adducunt. [20] Sed ne sic quidem mitigatus caedi silvas iubet adgestaque humo e montibus planitiem ramis ineditam exaggerari. [21] Iam in aliquantum altitudinis opus creverat, cum barbari desperato regionem, quam [p. 168] oocupaverant, posse retineri, gentem suam dedidere. Rex obsidibus acceptis Phradati parere eos iussit. [22] Inde quinto die in stativa revertitur. Artabazum deinde geminato honore, quem Dareus habuerat ei, remittit domum. Iam ad urbem Hyrcaniae, in qua regia Darei fuit, ventum erat: ibi Nabarzanes accepta fide occurrit dona ingentia ferens. [23] Inter quae Bagoas erat, specie singulari spado atque in ipso flore pueritiae, cui et Dareus adsuerat et mox Alexander adsuevit: [24] eiusque maxime precibus motus Nabarzani ignovit. Erat, ut supra dictum est, Hyrcaniae finitima gens Amazonum, circa Thermodonta amnem Themiscyrae incolentium campos. [25] Reginam habebant Thalestrin, omnibus inter Caucasum montem et Phasin amnem imperitantem. Haec cupidine visendi regis accensa finibus regni sui excessit et, cum haud procul abesset, praemisit indicantes, venisse reginam adeundi eius cognoscendique avidam. [26] Protinus facta potestas est veniendi ceteris iussis subsistere. Trecentis feminarum comitata processit atque, ut primum rex in conspectu fuit, equo ipsa desiluit duas lanceas dextera praeferens. [27] Vestis non tota Amazonum corpori obducitur: nam laeva pars ad pectus est nuda, cetera deinde velantur. Nec tamen sinus vestis, quem nodo colligunt, infra genua descendit. [28] Altera papilla intacta servatur, qua muliebris sexus liberos alant: aduritur dextera, ut arcus facilius intendant et tela vibrent. [29] Interrito vultu regem Thalestris intuebatur habitum eius haudquaquam [p. 169] rerum famae parem oculis perlustrans: quippe omnibus barbaris in corporum maiestate veneratio est, magnorumque operum non alios capaces putant, quam quos eximia specie donare natura dignata est. [30] Ceterum interrogata, num aliquid petere vellet, haud dubitavit fateri ad communicandos cum rege liberos se venisse, dignam, ex qua ipse regni generaret heredes: feminini sexus se retenturam, [31] marem reddituram patri. Alexander, an cum ipso militare vellet, interrogat: at ilia causata, sine custode regnum reliquisse, petere perseveraba, ne se inritam spei abire pateretur. [32] Acrior ad venerem feminae cupido quam regis, ut paucos dies subsisteret, perpulit. xiii dies in obsequium desiderii eius absumpti sunt. Tum illa regnum suum, rex Parthienen petiverunt.

Hic vero palam cupiditates suas solvit continentiamque et moderationem, in altissima quaque fortuna eminentia bona, in superbiam ac lasciviam vertit. [2] Patrios mores disciplinamque Macedonum regum salubriter temperatam et civilem habitum velut leviora magnitudine sua ducens Persicae regiae par deorum potentiae fastigium aemulabatur : [3] iacere humi venerabundos ipsum paulatimque servilibus ministeriis tot victores gentium inbuere et capiti vis pares facere expetebat. [4] Itaque purpureum diadema distinctum albo, quale

Dareus habuerat, capiti circumdedit vestemque Persicam sumpsit, ne omen quidem veritus, quod a victoris [p. 170] insignibus in devicti transiret habitum. [5] Et ille se quidem spolia Persarum gestare dicebat, sed cum illis quoque mores induerat, superbiamque habitus animi insolentia sequebatur. [6] Litteras quoque, quas in Europam mitteret, veteris anuli gemma obsignabat, iis, quas in Asiam scriberet, Darei anulus inprimebatur, ut adpareret unum animum duorum non capere fortunam. [7] Amicos vero et equites unaque principes militum, aspernantes quidem, sed recusare non ausos, Persicis ornaverant vestibus. [8] Pelices CCC et LXV, totidem quot Darei fuerant, regiam inplebant, quas spadonum greges et ipsi muliebria pati adsueti sequebantur. [9] Haec luxu et peregrinis infecta moribus veteres Philippi milites, rudis natio ad voluptates, palam aversabantur, [10] totisque castris unus omnium sensus ac sermo erat, plus amissum victoria quam bello esse quaesitum: cum maxime vinci ipsos deditos alienis moribus et externis. Quo tandem ore domos quasi in captivo habitu reversuros? Pudere iam sui regem: victis quam victoribus similiorem ex Macedoniae imperatore Darei Satrapen factum. [11] Ille non ignarus, et principes amicorum et exercitum graviter offendi, gratiam liberalitate donisque reparare temptabat. Sed, opinor, liberis pretium servitutis ingratum est. [12] Igitur, ne in seditionem res verteretur, [13] otium interpellandum erat bello, cuius materia opportune alebatur. Namque Bessus veste regia sumpta [p. 171] Artaxerxen appellari se iusserat Scythasque et ceteros Tanais accolae contrahebat. Haec Satibarzanes nuntiabat: quem receptum in fidem regioni, quam antea obtinuerat, praefecit. [14] Et cum grave spoliis apparatuque luxuriae agmen vix moveretur, suas primum, deinde totius exercitus sarcinas exceptis admodum necessariis conferri iussit in medium. [15] Planities spatiosa erat, in quam vehicula onusta perduxerant. Expectantibus cunctis, quid deinde esset imperaturus, iumenta iussit abduci suisque primum sarcinis face subdita ceteras incendi praecepit. [16] Plagrabant exurentibus dominis, quae ut intacta ex urbibus hostium raperent, saepe flammam restinxerant, nullo sanguinis pretium audente deflere, cum regias opes idem ignis exureret. [17] Brevi deinde ratio mitigavit dolorem, habilesque militiae et ad omnia parati laetabantur sarcinarum potius quam disciplinae fecisse iacturam. [18] Igitur Bactrianam regionem petebant. Sed Nicanor, Parmenionis filius, subita morte correptus magno desiderio sui adfecerat cunctos. [19] Rex ante omnis maestus cupiebat quidem subsistere funeri adfuturus, sed penuria commeatuum festinare cogebat: itaque Philotas cum duobus milibus et C relictus, ut iusta fratri persolveret, ipse contendit ad Bessum. [20] Iter facienti ei litterae adferuntur a finitimis satraparum, e quibus cognoscit Bessum quidem hostili animo occurrere cum exercitu, ceterum Satibarzanem, quem [p. 172] satrapeae Ariorum ipse praefecisset, defecisse ab eo. [21] Itaque quamquam Besso imminabat, tamen ad Satibarzanem opprimendum praeverti optimum ratus levem armaturam et equestres copias educit totaque nocte itinere strenue facto inprovisus hosti supervenit. [22] Cuius cognito adventu Satibarzanes cum duobus milibus equitum — nec plures subito contrahi poterant — Bactra

perfugit, ceteri proximos montes occupaverunt. [23] Praerupta rupes est, qua spectat occidentem, eadem, qua vergit ad orientem, leniore summissa fastigio : multis arboribus obsita perennem habet fontem, ex quo large aquae manant. [24] Circuitus eius XXX et duo stadia comprehendit. In vertice herbidus campus: in hoc multitudinem inbellem considerare iubent. Ipsi, qua rupes sedit, arborum truncos et saxa obmoliuntur. [25] XIII milia armata erant. In quorum obsidione Cratero relicto ipse Satibarzanen sequi festinat. At, quia longius abesse eum cognoverat, ad expugnandos eos, qui edita montium occupaverant, redit. [26] Ac primo repurgari iubet, quidquid ingredi possent, deinde, ut occurrerent in viae cotes praeruptaeque rupes, inritus labor videbatur obstante natura. [27] Ille, ut erat animi semper oblutantis difficultatibus, cum et progredi arduum et reverti periculosum esset, versabat se ad omnes cogitationes aliud atque aliud — ita ut fieri solet, ubi prima quaeque damnamus — subiciente animo. [28] Haesitanti, quod ratio non potuit, fortuna consilium subministravit. Vehemens favonius erat, et multam [p. 173] materiam ceciderat miles aditum per saxa molitus. Haec vapore torrida flamma arserat: [29] ergo adgeri alias arbores iubet et igni dari alimenta, celeriterque stipitibus cumulatis fastigium montis aequatum est. [30] Tunc undique ignis iniectus cuncta comprehendit. Flammam in ora hostium ventus ferebat, fumus ingens velut quadam nube absconderat caelum. [31] Sonabant incendio silvae, atque ea quoque, quae non incenderat miles, concepto igne proxima quaeque adurebant. Barbari suppliciorum ultimum, si qua intermoreretur ignis, effugere temptabant, sed, qua flamma dederat locum, hostis obstabat. [32] Varia igitur caede consumpti sunt: alii in medios ignis, alii petris praecipitavere se, quidam hostium manibus obtulerunt, pauci semustulati venere in potestatem. [33] Hinc ad Craterum, qui Artacana obsidebat, redit. Ille omnibus praeparatis regis expectabat adventum captae urbis titulo, sicut par erat, cedens. [34] Igitur Alexander turres admoventi iubet: ipsoque aspectu barbari territi e muris supinas manus tendentes orare coeperunt: iram in Satibarzanen, defectionis auctorem, reservaret, supplicibus semet dedentibus parceret. Rex data venia non obsidionem modo solvit, sed omnia sua incolis reddidit. [35] Ab hac urbe digresso supplementum novorum militum occurrit: Zoilus D equites ex Graecia adduxerat, III milia ex Illyrico Antipater miserat, Thessali equites C et XXX cum Philippo erant, ex Lydia II milia et sescenti, peregrinus miles, advenerant, CCC equites gentis eiusdem sequebantur. [36] Hac manu adiecta adit Dran- [p. 174] gas: bellicosa natio est. Satrapes erat Barzaentes, sceleris in regem suum particeps Besso: is suppliciorum, quae meruerat, metu profugit in Indiam.

Iam nonum diem stativa erant, cum externa vi non tutus modo rex, [2] sed invictus intestino facinore petebatur. Dymnus, modicae apud regem auctoritatis et gratiae, exoleti, cui Nicomacho erat nomen, amore flagrabat obsequio uni sibi dediti corporis vinctus. [3] Is, quod ex vultu quoque perspicere poterat, similis attonito remotis arbitris cum iuvene secessit in templum arcana se [4] et silenda adferre praefatus suspensumque expectatione per

mutuam caritatem et pignora utriusque animi rogat, ut adfirmet iureiurando, quae commisisset, silentio esse tecturum. [5] Et ille ratus nihil, quod etiam cum periurio detegendum foret, [6] indicaturum per praesentes deos iurat. Tum Dymnus aperit in tertium diem regi insidias comparatas seque eius consilii fortibus viris et inlustribus esse participem. [7] Quibus iuvenis auditis se vero fidem in parricidio dedisse constanter abnuat nec ulla religione, [8] ut scelus tegat, posse constringi. Dymnus et amore et metu amens dexteram exoleti complexus et lacrimans orare primum, ut particeps consilii operisque fieret: [9] si id sustinere non posset, attamen ne proderet se, cuius erga ipsum benivolentiae praeter alia hoc quoque haberet fortissimum pignus, quod caput suum permisisset fidei adhuc inexpertae. [10] Ad ultimum aversari scelus perseverantem mortis metu terret: ab illo capite coniuratos pulcherrimum facinus incohaturus. [11] Alias deinde effeminatum et muliebriter [p. 175] timidum, alias proditorem amatoris appellans, nunc ingenua promittens, interdumque regnum quoque, [12] versabat animum tanto facinore procul abhorrentem. Strictum deinde gladium modo illius, modo suo admovent iugulo, supplex idem et infestus, expressit tandem, ut non solum silentium, sed etiam operam polliceretur. [13] Namque abunde constantis animi et dignus, qui pudicus esset, nihil ex pristina voluntate mutaverat, sed captum Dymni amore simulabat nihil recusare. [14] Sciscitari inde pergit, cum quibus tantae rei societatem inisset: plurimum referre, quales viri tam memorabili operi admoturi manus essent. [15] Ille et amore et scelere male sanus simul gratias agit, simul gratulatur, quod fortissimis iuvenum non dubitasset se adiungere, Demetrio, corporis custodi, Peucolao, Nicanori: adicit his Aphobetum, Iolaum, Theoxenum, Archepolim, Amyntam. [16] Ab hoc sermone dimissus Nicomochus ad fratrem — Cebalino erat nomen — quae acceperat, defert. Placet ipsum subsistere in tabernaculo, ne, si regiam 3o intrasset non adsuetus adire regem, coniurati proditos se esse resciscerent. [17] Ipse Cebalinus ante vestibulum regiae — neque enim propius aditus ei patebat — consistit operiens aliquem ex prima cohorte [p. 176] [18] amicorum, a quo introduceretur ad regem. Forte ceteris dimissis unus Philotas, Parmenionis filius — incertum quam ob causam — substiterat in regia: huic Cebalinas ore confuso magnae perturbationis notas prae se ferens aperit, [19] quae ex fratre conpererat, et sine dilatione nuntiari regi iubet. Philotas conlaudato eo protinus intrat ad Alexandrum multoque invicem de aliis rebus sermone consumpto nihil eorum, quae ex Cebalino cognoverat, nuntiat. [20] Sub vesperam eum prodeuntem in vestibulo regiae excipit iuvenis, [21] an mandatum executus foret, requirens. Ille non vacasse sermoni suo regem causatus discessit. Postero die Cebalinus venienti in regiam praesto est intrantemque admonet pridie communicatae cum ipso rei. Ille curae sibi esse respondet: [22] ac ne tum quidem regi, quae audierat, aperit. Coeperat Cebalino esse suspectus: itaque non ultra interpellandum ratus nobili iuveni — Metron erat ei nomen — super armamentarium posito, quod scelus pararetur, indicat. [23] Ille Cebalino in armamentario abscondito protinus regi corpus forte curanti, [24] quid index

detulisset, ostendit. Rex ad comprehendendum Dymnum missis satellitibus armamentarium intrat. Ibi Cebalinus gaudio elatus: 'Habeo te,' inquit, 'incolumem ex inpiorum manibus ereptum.' [25] Percontatus deinde Alexander, quae noscenda erant, ordine cuncta cognoscit. [26] Rursusque institit quaerere, quotus dies esset, ex quo Nicomachus ad eum detulisset indicium. Atque [p. 177] illo fatente iam tertium esse, existimans haud incorrupta fide tanto post deferre, quae audierat, vinciri eum iussit. [27] At ille clamitare coepit eodem temporis momento, quo audisset, ad Philotan decucurrisse: ab eo operiri conperta. [28] Rex identidem quaerens, an Philotan adisset, an institisset ei, ut pervenirent ad se, perseverante eo adfirmare, quae dixerat, manus ad caelum tendens manantibus lacrimis hanc sibi a carissimo quondam amicorum relatum gratiam querebatur. [29] Inter haec Dymnus haud ignaras, quam ob causam accerseretur a rege, gladio, quo forte erat cinctus, graviter se vulnerat occursuque satellitum inhibitus perfertur in regiam. [30] Quem intuens rex: 'Quod,' inquit, 'in te, Dymne, tantum cogitavi nefas, ut tibi Macedonum regno dignior Philotas me quoque ipso videretur?' Ilium iam defecerat vox: itaque edito gemitu vultuque a conspectu regis averso subinde conlapsus extinguitur. [31] Rex Philota venire in regiam iusso: 'Cebalinus,' inquit, 'ultimum supplicium meritus, si in caput meum praeparatas insidias biduo textit: sed huius criminis Philotan reum substituit, ad quem protinus indicium detulisse se adfirmat. [32] Quo propiore gradu amicitiae me contingis, hoc maius est dissimulationis tuae facinus, et ego Cebalino magis quam Philotae id convenire [p. 178] fateor. Faventem habes iudicem, si, quod admitti non oportuit, saltem purgari potest.' [33] Ad haec Philotas haud sane trepidus, si animus vultu aestimaretur, Cebalinum quidem scorti sermonem ad se detulisse, sed ipsum tam levi auctore nihil credidisse respondit, veritum, ne iurgium inter amatorem et exoletum non sine risu aliorum detulisset: [34] cum Dymnus semet interemerit, qualiacumque erant, non fuisse reticenda. Complexusque regem orare coepit, ut praeteritam vitam potius quam culpam, [35] silentii tamen, non facti ullius, intueretur. Haud facile dixerim, crediderintne ei rex an altius iram suppresserit: dexteram reconciliatae gratiae pignus obtulit et contemptum magis quam celatum indicium esse videri sibi dixit.

Advocato tum consilio amicorum, cui tamen Philotas adhibitus non est, Nicomachum introduci iubet. [2] Is eadem, quae detulerat frater ad regem, ordine exposuit. [3] Erat Craterus regi carus in paucis et eo Philotae ob aemulationem dignitatis adversus neque ignorabat saepe Alexandri auribus nimia iactatione virtutis atque operae gravem fuisse et ob ea non quidem sceleris, sed contumaciae tamen esse suspectum. [4] Non aliam premendi inimici occasionem aptiorem futuram ratus odio suo pietatis praefereus speciem: 'Utinam,' [5] inquit, 'in principio quoque huius rei nobiscum deliberasses! Suasisset, si Philotae velles ignoscere, patereris potius ignorare eum, quantum deberet tibi, [p. 179] quam usque ad mortis metum adductum saepius de periculo suo quam de tuo cogitare beneficio. Ille enim semper insidiari tibi poterit, tu non semper Philotae poteris ignoscere. [6] Nec

est, quod existimes eum, qui tantum ausus est, venia posse mutari. Scit eos, qui misericordiam consumpserunt, amplius sperare non posse. [7] At ego, etiam si ipse vel paenitentia vel beneficio tuo victus quiescere volet, patrem eius Parmenionem, tanti ducem exercitus et inveterata apud milites suos auctoritate haud multum infra magnitudinis tuae fastigium positum, scio non aequo animo salutem filii sui debitum tibi. [8] Quaedam beneficia odimus. Meruisse mortem confiteri pudet: superest, ut malit videri iniuriam accepisse quam vitam. Proinde scito tibi cum illis de salute esse pugnandum. [9] Satis hostium superest, ad quos persequendos ituri sumus: latus a domesticis hostibus muni. Hos si summoves, nihil metuo ab externo.’ Haec Craterus. [10] Nec ceteri dubitabant, quin coniurationis indicium suppressuras non fuisset nisi auctor aut particeps. Quem enim pium et bonae mentis, non amicum modo, sed ex ultima plebe, auditis, quae ad eum delata erant, non protinus ad regem fuisse cursum? ne Cebalini quidem exemplo, [11] qui ex fratre conperta ipsi nuntiasset, commotum esse Parmenionis filium, praefectum equitatus, omnium arcanorum regis arbitrum! Simulasse etiam, non vacasse sermoni suo regem, ne index alium internuntium [p. 180] [12] quaereret. Nicomachum religione quoque deum adstrictum conscientiam suam exonerare properasse: Philotam consumpto per ludum iocumque paene toto die gravatum esse pauca verba pertinentia ad caput regis tam longo et forsitan supervacuo inserere sermoni. [13] At eum non credidisse talia deferentibus pueris! Cur igitur extraxisset biduum, tamquam indicio haberet fidem? Dimittendum fuisse Cebalinum, si delationem eius damnabat. [14] In suo quemque periculo magnum animum habere: [15] cum de salute regis timeretur, credulos esse debere, vana quoque deferentis admittere. Omnes igitur quaestionem de eo, ut participes sceleris indicare cogeretur, habendam esse decernunt. Rex admonitos, uti consilium silentio premerent, dimittit. Pronuntiari deinde iter in posterum iubet, [16] ne qua noxiis initi consilii daretur nota. Invitatus est etiam Philotas ad ultimas ipsi epulas, et rex non cenare modo, sed etiam familiariter conloqui cum eo, quem damnaverat, sustinuit. [17] Secunda deinde vigilia luminibus extinctis cum paucis in regiam coeunt Hephaestion et Crateras et Coenus et Erigyus, hi ex amicis, ex armigeris autem Perdiccas et Leonnatus. Per hos imperatum, ut qui ad praetorium excubabant, armati vigilarent. [18] Iam ad omnes aditus dispositi erant equites, itinera quoque obsidere iussi, [19] ne quis ad Parmenionem, qui tum Mediae magnisque copiis praeerat, occultus evaderet. Atarrhias autem cum CCC armatis intraverat regiam: huic decem [p. 181] satellites adduntur, quorum singulos deni armigeri sequebantur. [20] Hi ad alios coniuratos comprehendendos distributi sunt, Atarrhias cum trecentis ad Philotam missus clausum aditum domus moliebatur L iuvenum promptissimis stipatus : nam ceteros cingere undique domum iusserat, ne occulto aditu Philotas posset elabi. [21] Ilium sive securitate animi sive fatigue resolutione somnus oppresserat: quem Atarrhias torpentem adhuc occupat. [22] Tandem ei sopore discusso cum inicerentur catenae: ‘Vicit,’ inquit, ‘bonitatem tuam, rex, inimicorum meorum acerbitas.’ Nec plura elocutum capite velato in regiam

adducunt. [23] Postero die rex edixit, omnes armati coirent. VI milia fere militum venerant, praeterea turba lixarum calonumque inpleverant regiam. [24] Philotan armigeri agmine suo tegebant, ne ante conspici posset a vulgo, quam rex adlocutus milites esset. [25] De capitalibus rebus vetusto Macedonum modo inquirebat rex, iudicabat exercitus — in pace erat vulgi — , et nihil potestas regum valebat, nisi prius valuisset auctoritas. [26] Igitur Dymni primum cadaver infertur plerisque, quid parasset quoque casu extinctus esset, ignaris.

Rex deinde in contionem procedit vultu praeferens dolorem animi. Amicorum quoque maestitia expectationem haud parvam rei fecerat. [2] Diu rex demisso in terram vultu attonito stupentique similis stetit, tandem recepto animo: ‘Paene,’ inquit, ‘milites, hominum scelere vobis ereptus sum: deum Providentia et misericordia vivo. Conspectusque vestri [p. 182] venerabilis coegit, ut vehementius parricidis irascerer, quoniam is primus, immo unus vitae meae fructus est, tot fortissimis viris et de me optime meritis referre adhuc gratiam posse.’ [3] Interruptit orationem militum gemitus, obortaeque sunt omnibus lacrimae. Tum rex: ‘Quanto,’ inquit, ‘maiores in animis vestris motum excitabo, cum tanti sceleris auctores ostendero! Quorum mentionem adhuc reformido et, tamquam salvi esse possint, nominibus abstineo. [4] Sed vincenda est memoria pristinae caritatis et coniuratio impiorum civium detegenda. Quomodo autem tantum nefas sileam? Parmenio, illa aetate, tot meis, tot parentis mei meritis devinctus, omnium nobis amicorum vetustissimus, [5] ducem se sceleri tanto praebuit. Minister eius Philotas Peucolaum et Demetrium et nunc Dymnum, cuius corpus aspicitis, ceterosque eiusdem amentiae in caput meum subornavit.’ [6] Fremitus undique indignantium querentiumque tota contione obstrepebat, qualis solet esse multitudinis et maxime militaris, ubi aut studio agitur aut ira. [7] Nicomachus deinde et Metron et Cebalinus producti, quae quisque detulerat, exponunt. Nullius eorum indicio Philotas ut particeps sceleris destinabatur. Itaque indignatione expressa vox invicem silentio excepta est. [8] Tum rex: ‘Qualis,’ inquit, ‘ergo animi vobis videtur, qui huius rei delatum indicium ad ipsum suppressit? Quod non fuisse vanum Dymni [p. 183] exitus declarat. [9] Incertam rem deferens tormenta non timuit Cebalinus, nee Metron ne momentum quidem temporis distulit exonerare se, ut eo, ubi lavabar, inrumperet: [10] Philotas solus nihil timuit, nihil credidit. O magni animi virum! Iste regis periculo commoveretur, vultum mutaret, indicem tantae rei sollicitus audiret! [11] Subest nimirum silentio facinus, et avida spes regni praecipitem animum ad ultimum nefas impulit. Pater Mediae praeest: ipse apud multos copiarum duces meis praepotens viribus maiora, quam capit, spirat. [12] Orbitas quoque mea, quod sine liberis sum, spernitur. Sed errat Philotas. In vobis liberos, parentes, consanguineos habeo: vobis salvus orbus esse non possum.’ Epistulam deinde Parmenionis interceptam, [13] quam ad filios Nicanorem et Philotan scripserat, recitat haud sane indicium gravioris consilii praeferentem. [14] Namque summa eius haec erat: ‘Primum vestri curam agite, deinde vestrorum: sic enim, quae destinavimus, [15] efficiemus.’ Adiecitque rex sic

esse scriptam, ut, sive ad filios pervenisset, a consciis posset intellegi, sive intercepta esset, falleret ignaros. [16] ‘At enim Dymnus, cum ceteros participes sceleris indicaret, Philotan non nominavit! Hoc quidem illius non innocentiae, sed potentiae indicium est, quod sic ab iis timetur etiam, a quibus prodi potest, ut, cum de se fateantur, ilium tamen celent. Ceterum Philotan ipsius indicat vita. [p. 184] [17] Hic Amyntae, qui mihi consobrinus fuit et in Macedonia capiti meo impias conparavit insidias, socium se et conscium adiunxit. Hic Attalo, quo graviorem inimicum non habui, sororem suam in matrimonium dedit. [18] Hic, cum scripsissem ei pro iure tam familiaris usus atque amicitiae, qualis sors edita esset Iovis Hammonis oraculo, sustinuit rescribere, mihi se quidem gratulari, quod in numerum deorum receptus essem, ceterum misereri eorum, quibus vivendum esset sub eo, qui modum hominis excederet. [19] Haec sunt et iam pridem animi alienati a me et invidentis gloriae meae indicia. Quae equidem, milites, quamdiu licuit, in animo meo pressi. Videbar enim mihi partem viscerum meorum abrumpere, si, in quos tam magna contuleram viliores mihi facerem. [20] Sed iam non verba punienda sunt: linguae temeritas pervenit ad gladios. [21] Hos, si mihi creditis, Philotas in me acuit, si ipsi, admisit. Quo me conferam, milites? cui caput meum credam? Equitatu, optimae exercitus parti, principibus nobilissimae iuventutis, eum praefeci, salutem, spem, victoriam meam fidei eius tutelaeque commisi. [22] Patrem in idem fastigium, in quo me ipsi posuistis, admovi, Mediam, qua nulla opulentior regio est, et tot civium sociorumque milia imperio eius dicionique subieci. Unde praesidium petieram, periculum extitit. [23] Quam feliciter in acie occidissem, potius hostis praeda [p. 185] quam civis victima! Nunc servatus ex periculis, quae sola timui, [24] in haec incidi, quae timere non debui. Soletis identidem a me, milites, petere, ut saluti meae parcam. Ipsi mihi praestare potestis, quod suadetis, ut faciam. Ad vestras manus, ad vestra arma confugio: invitis vobis salvus esse nolo, volentibus non possum, [25] nisi vindicor.’ Tum Philotan religatis post tergum manibus obsoleto amiculo velatum iussit induci. Facile adparebat, motos esse tam miserabili habitu non sine invidia paulo ante conspecti. [26] Ducem equitatus pridie viderant, sciebant regis interfuisse convivio : repente reum quidem, sed iam damnatum, immo vinctum intuebantur. [27] Subibat animos Parmenionis quoque, tanti ducis, tam clari civis, fortuna, qui quo modo duobus filiis, Hectore ac Nicanore, orbatus cum eo, quem reliquum calamitas fecerat, absens diceret causam. [28] Itaque Amyntas, regius praetor, inclinatam ad misericordiam contionem rursus aspera in Philotan oratione commovit: proditos eos esse barbaris: neminem ad coniugem suam in patriam et ad parentes suos esse rediturum, velut truncum corpus dempto capite sine spiritu, sine nomine aliena terra ludibrium hostis futuros. [29] Haudquaquam pro spe ipsius Amyntae oratio grata regi fuit, quod coniugum, quod patriae admonitos pignores ad cetera munia exequenda fecisset. [30] Tum Coenus, quamquam Philotae sororem matrimonio secum [p. 186] coniunxerat, tamen acrius quam quisquam in Philotan invectus est parricidam esse regis, patriae, exercitus clamitans saxumque, [31] quod forte

ante pedes iacebat, corripuit emissurus in eum, ut plerique crediderunt, tormentis subtrahere cupiens. Sed rex manum eius inhibuit dicendae prius causae debere fieri potestatem reo nec aliter iudicari passurum se adfirmans. [32] Tum dicere iussus Philotas, sive conscientia sceleris sive periculi magnitudine amens et attonitus, non attollere oculus, non hiscere audebat. [33] Lacrimis deinde manantibus, linquente animo in eum, a quo tenebatur, incubuit abstersisque amiculo eius oculis paulatim recipiens spiritum ac vocem dicturus videbatur. [34] Iamque rex intuens eum: ‘Macedones,’ inquit, ‘de te iudicaturi sunt: [35] quaero, an patrio sermone sis apud eos usus.’ Tum Philotas: ‘Praeter Macedonas,’ inquit, ‘plerique adsunt, quos facilius, quae dicam, perepturos arbitror, si eadem lingua fuero usus, qua tu egisti, non ob aliud, credo, quam ut oratio tua intellegi posset a pluribus.’ Tum rex: [36] ‘Ecquid videtis adeo etiam sermonis patrii Philotan taedere? Solus quippe fastidit eum discere. Sed dicat sane, utcumque ei cordi est, dum memineritis aequae illum a nostro more quam sermone abhorrere.’

Atque ita contione excessit. Tum Philotas: ‘Verba,’ inquit, ‘innocenti reperire facile est, [p. 187] modum verborum misero tenere difficile. [2] Itaque inter optimam conscientiam et iniquissimam fortunam destitutus ignoro, quomodo et animo meo et tempori paream. [3] Abest quidem optimus causae meae iudex: qui cur me ipse audire noluerit, non, mehercule, excogito, cum illi utrumque cognita causa tam damnare me liceat quam absolvere, non cognita vero liberari absenti non possum, qui a praesente damnatus sum. [4] Sed quamquam vincti hominis non supervacua solum, sed etiam invisa defensio est, qui iudicem non docere videtur, sed arguere, tamen, utcumque licet me dicere, memet ipse non deseram nec committam, ut damnatus etiam mea sententia videar. [5] Equidem, cuius criminis reus sim, non video: inter coniuratos nemo me nominat, de me Nicomachus nihil dixit, Cebalinus plus, quam audierat, scire non potuit. [6] Atqui coniurationis caput me fuisse credit rex! Potuit ergo Dymnus eum praeterire, quem sequebatur, praesertim cum quaerenti socios vel falso fuerim nominandus, quo facilius, qui temptabatur, posset inPELLI? [7] Non enim detecto facinore nomen meum praeteriit, ut possit videri socio pepercisse: Nicomacho, quem taciturnum arcana de semetipso credebatur, confessus aliis nominatis me unum subtrahebat. [8] Quaeso, commilitones, si Cebalinus me non adisset, nihil me [p. 188] de coniuratis scire voluisset, num hodie dicerem causam nullo me nominante? [9] Dymnus sane ut vivat adhuc et velit mihi parcere, quid ceteri? Qui de se confitebuntur, me videlicet subtrahent! Maligna est calamitas, [10] et fere noxius, cum suo supplicio crucietur, adquiescit alieno. Tot conscii ne in eculeum quidem inpositi verum fatebuntur? Atqui nemo parcat morituro nec cuiquam moriturus, ut opinor. [11] Ad verum crimen et ad unum revertendum mihi est: cur rem delatam ad te tacuisti? cur tam securus audisti? Hoc, quaecumque est, confesso mihi, ubicumque es, Alexander, remisisti: dexteram tuam amplexus, reconciliati pignus animi, convivio quoque interfui. [12] Si credidisti mihi, absolutus sum, si pepercisti, dimissus: vel iudicium tuum serva. [13] Quid

hac proxima nocte, qua digressus sum a mensa tua, feci? quod novum facinus delatum ad te mutavit animum tuum? Gravi sopore adquiescebam, cum me malis indormientem mei inimici vinciendo excitaverunt. Unde et parricidae et prodito tam alti quies somni? Scelerati conscientia obstrepente condormire non possunt: [14] agitant eos Furiae non cogitato modo, nedum consummato parricidio. At mihi securitatem primum innocentia mea, deinde tua dextera obtul erat: non timui, ne plus alienae crudelitati apud [p. 189] te liceret quam clementiae tuae. [15] Sed ne te mihi credidisse paeniteat, res ad me deferrebatur a puero, qui non testem, non pignus indicii exhibere poterat, inpleturus omnes metu, si coepisset audiri. [16] Amatoris et scorti iurgio interponi aures meas credidi infelix et fidem eius suspectam habui, quod non ipse deferret, sed fratrem potius subornaret. [17] Timui, ne negaret mandasse se Cebalino et ego viderer multis amicorum regis fuisse periculi causa. [18] Sic quoque, cum laeserim neminem, inveni, qui mallet perire me quam incolumem esse: quid inimicitiarum creditis excepturum fuisse, [19] si insontes lacessissem? At enim Dymnus se occidit! Num igitur facturum eum divinare potui? Minime. Ita, quod solum indicio fidem fecit, id me, cum a Cebalino interpellate sum, movere non poterat. [20] At heris cules, si conscius Dymno tanti sceleris fuissem, biduo illo, proditos esse nos, dissimulare non debui: [21] Cebalinus ipse tolli de medio nulloque negotio potuit. Denique post delatum indicium, quod operturus eram, cubiculum regis solus intravi, ferro quidem cinctus. Cur distuli facinus? [22] An sine Dymno non sum ausus? Ille igitur princeps coniurationis fuit! sub illius umbra Philotas latebam, qui regnum Macedonum adfecto! Ecquis e vobis corruptus est donis? Quem ducem, quem praefectum inpensius colui? Mihi quidem obicitur, [23] quod societatem patrii sermonis asperner, quod Macedonum mores fastidiam. Sic ego imperio, quod [p. 190] dedignor, immineo! Iam pridem nativus ille sermo commercio aliarum gentium exolevit: tam victoriosus, quam victis peregrina lingua discenda est. [24] Non, mehercule, ista me magis laedunt, quam quod Amyntas, Perdiccae filius, insidiatus est regi. Cum quo quod amicitia fuerit mihi, non recuso defendere, si fratrem regis non oportuit diligi a nobis. [25] Sin autem in illo fortunae gradu positum etiam venerari necesse erat, utrum, quaeso, quod non divinavi, reus sum, an impiorum amicis insontibus quoque moriendum est? Quod si aequum est, cur tam diu vivo? si iniustum, cur nunc tamen occidor? [26] At enim scripsi misereri me eorum, quibus vivendum esset sub eo, qui se Iovis filium crederet. Fides amicitiae, veri consilii periculosa libertas, [27] vos me decepistis! vos, quae sentiebam, ne reticerem, impulistis! Scripsisse me haec fateor regi, non de rege scripsisse. Non enim faciebam invidiam, sed pro eo timebam. Dignior mihi Alexander videbatur, qui Iovis stirpem tacitus agnosceret, quam qui praedicatione iactaret. [28] Sed quoniam oraculi fides certa est, sit deus causae meae testis: retinete me in vinculis, dum consulitur Hammo, num arcanum et occultum scelus inierim. Qui regem nostrum dignatus est filium nominare, neminem eorum, qui stirpi suae insidiati sunt, latere patietur. [29] Si certiora oraculis creditis esse tormenta, ne hanc quidem

exhibendae veritatis fidem deprecor. [30] Solent rei capitis adhibere vobis parentes. Duos fratres ego nuper amisi, patrem nec ostendere possum nec invocare audeo, cum et ipse tanti criminis reus [p. 191] sit. [31] Parnm est enim tot modo liberum parentem, in unico filio adquiescentem, eo quoque orbari, nisi ipse in rogam meum inponitur. [32] Ergo, carissime pater, et propter me morieris et mecum: ego tibi vitam adimo, ego senectutem tuam extinguo. Quid enim me procreabas infelicem adversantibus diis? an, ut hos ex me fructus perciperes, [33] qui te manent? Nescio, adulescentia mea miserior sit an senectus tua: ego in ipso robore aetatis eripior, tibi carnifex spiritum adimet, quem, si fortuna expectare voluisset, natura poscebat. [34] Admonuit me patris mei mentio, quam timide et cunctanter, quae Cebalinus detulerat ad me, indicare debuerim. Parmenio enim, cum audisset venenum a Philippo medico regi parari, deterrere eum voluit epistula scripta, quo minus medicamentum biberet, quod medicus dare constitueret. Num creditum est patri meo? num ullam auctoritatem eius litterae habuerunt? [35] Ego ipse quotiens, quae audieram, detuli et cum ludibrio credulitatis repulsus sum! Si et, cum indicamus, invisi et, cum tacemus, suspecti sumus, quid facere nos oportet?’ [36] Cumque unus e circumstantium turba exclamasset: ‘Bene meritis non insidiari!’ [37] Philotas: ‘Recte,’ inquit, ‘quisquis es, dicis. Itaque si insidiatus sum, poenam non deprecor et finem facio dicendi, quoniam ultima verba gravia sunt visa auribus.’ Abducitur deinde ab iis, qui custodiebant eum.

Erat inter duces manu strenuus Bolon quidam, pacis artium et civilis habitus rudis, vetus miles, ab [p. 192] humili ordine ad eum gradum, in quo tunc erat, promotus: [2] qui tacentibus ceteris stolidam audaciam ferox admonere eos coepit, quotiens suis quisque deversoriis, quae occupassent, proturbatus esset, ut purgamenta servorum Philotae reciperentur eo, [3] unde commilitones expulissent. Auro argentoque vehicula eius onusta totis vicis stetisse, ac ne in viciniam quidem deversorii quemquam commilitonum receptum esse, sed per dispositos, quos supra somnum habebat, omnis procul relegatos, [4] ne femina illa murmurantium inter se silentio verius quam sono excitaretur. Ludibrio ei fuisse rusticos homines Phrygasque et Paphlagonas appellatos, qui non erubesceret, Macedo natus, homines linguae suae per interpretem audire. [5] Nunc eum Hammonem consuli velle: at eundem Iovis arguisse mendacium Alexandrum filium agnoscentis, scilicet veritatem, ne invidiosum esset, quod dii offerrent. [6] Cum insidiaretur capiti regis et amici, non consuluisse eum Iovem: nunc ad oraculum mittere, dum pater eius sollicitet, quibus praesit in Media, et pecunia, cuius custodia commissa sit, perditos homines ad societatem sceleris impellat. [7] Ipsos missuros ad oraculum, non qui Iovem interrogent, quod ex rege cognoverint, sed qui gratias agant, [p. 193] qui vota pro incolumitate regis optimi persolvant. [8] Tum vero universa contio accensa est, et a corporis custodibus initium factum clamantibus, discerpendum esse parricidam manibus eorum. Id quidem Philotas, qui graviora supplicia metueret, haud sane iniquo animo audiebat: [9] at rex in contionem reversus, sive ut in custodia quoque torqueret, sive ut diligentius cuncta cognosceret,

concilium in posterum diem distulit et, quamquam in vesperam inclinabat dies, tamen amicos convocari iubet. [10] Et ceteris quidem placebat, Macedonum more obrui saxis, Hephaestio autem et Craterus et Coenos tormentis veritatem exprimendam esse dixerunt: et illi quoque, qui aliud suaserant, in horum sententiam transeunt. [11] Consilio ergo dimisso Hephaestion cum Cratero et Coeno ad quaestionem de Philota habendam consurgunt. [12] Rex Cratero accersito et sermone habito, cuius summa non edita est, in intimam deversorii partem secessit et remotis arbitris in multam noctem quaestionis expectavit eventum. [13] Tortores in conspectum Philotae omnia crudelitatis instrumenta proponunt. [14] Et ille ultro: 'Quid cessatis,' inquit, 'regis inimicum, interfectorem confitentem occidere? Quid quaestione opus est? cogitavi, volui.' Craterus exigere, ut, quae confiteretur, in tormentis quoque diceret. [15] Tum corripitur et, dum obligantur oculi, dum vestis exuitur, deos patrios, gentium iura nequiquam apud [p. 194] surdas aures invocabat. Per ultimos deinde cruciatus, utpote et damnatus et inimicis in gratiam regis torquentibus, [16] laceratur. Ac primo, quamquam hinc ignis, illinc verbera iam non ad quaestionem, sed ad poenam ingerebantur, [17] non vocem modo, sed etiam gemitus habuit in potestate: sed postquam intumescens corpus ulceribus flagellorum ictus nudis ossibus incussos ferre non poterat, si tormentis adhibitori modum essent, [18] dicturum se, quae scire expeterent, pollicetur. Sed finem quaestioni fore, iurare eos per Alexandri salutem volebat removerique tortores. [19] Et utroque inpetrato: 'Cratere,' inquit, 'dic, quid me velis dicere.' Illo indignante ludificari eum rursusque revocante tortores tempus petere coepit, dum reciperet spiritum, cuncta, [20] quae sciret, indicaturus. Interim equites, nobilissimus quisque et ii maxime, qui Parmenionem propinqua cognatione contingebant, postquam Philotan torqueri fama vulgaverat, legem Macedonum veriti, qua cautum erat, ut propinqueorum, qui regi insidiati essent, cum ipsis necarentur, alii se interficiunt, alii in devios montes vastasque solitudines fugiuntingenti per tota castra terrore diffuso, donec rex tumultu cognito legem se de supplicio coniunctorum sontibus remittere edixit. [21] Philotas verone an mendacio liberare se a cruciatu voluerit, [22] anceps coniectura est, quoniam et vera confessis et falsa dicentibus idem doloris finis ostenditur. Ceterum: [p. 195] 'Pater,' inquit, 'meus Hegelochus quam familiariter usus sit, non ignoratis: illum dico Hegelochum, qui in acie cecidit: [23] omnium malorum nobis is fuit causa. Nam cum primum Iovis filium se salutari iussit rex, id indigne ferens ille: 'Hunc igitur regem agnoscimus,' inquit, 'qui Philippum dedignatur patrem? Actum est de nobis, si ista perpeti possumus. [24] Non homines solum, sed etiam deos despicit, qui postulat deus credi. Amisimus Alexandrum, amisimus regem : incidimus in superbiam nec dis, quibus se exaequat, nec hominibus, quibus se eximit, tolerabilem. [25] Nostrone sanguine deum fecimus, qui nos fastidiat? qui gravetur mortalium adire concilium? Credite mihi, et nos, si viri sumus, a dis adoptabimur. [26] Quis proavum huius Alexandrum, quis deinde Archelaum, quis Perdiccan occisos ultus est? [27] Hic

quidem interfectoribus patris ignovit.’ Haec Hegelochus dixit super cenam: et postero die prima luce a patre accersor. Tristis erat et me maestum videbat: audieramus enim, quae sollicitudinem incuterent. [28] Itaque, ut experiremur, utrumne vino gravatus effudisset illa an altiore concepta consilio, accersi eum placuit. Advenit ille eodemque sermone ultro repetito adiecit, se, sive auderemus duces esse, proximas a nobis partes vindicaturum, sive deesset animus, consilium lentio esse tecturum. [29] Parmenioni vivo adhuc Dareo [p. 196] intempestiva res videbatur: non enim sibi, sed hosti esse occisuros Alexandrum, Dareo vero sublato praemium regis occisi Asiam et totum Orientem interfectoribus esse cessura. Adprobatoque consilio in haec fides et data est et accepta. [30] Quod ad Dymnum pertinet, nihil scio et haec confessus intellego non prodesse mihi, [31] quod praesentis sceleris expers sum.’ Illi rursus tormentis admotis, cum ipsis quoque hastis os oculosque eius everberarent, expressere, ut hoc quoque crimen confiteretur. [32] Exigentibus deinde, ut ordinem cogitati sceleris exponeret, cum diu Bactra retentura regem viderentur, timuisse respondit, ne pater LXX natus annos, tanti exercitus dux tantus, tantae pecuniae custos, interim extingueretur, ipsique spoliato tantis viribus occidendi regis causa non esset. [33] Festinasse ergo se, dum praemium in manibus haberet, repraesentare consilium: cui patrem afuisse nisi crederent, tormenta, quamquam iam tolerare non posset, tamen non recusare. [34] Illi conlocuti satis quaesitum videri ad regem revertuntur, qui postero die et, quae confessus erat Philotas, recitari et ipsum, quia ingredi non poterat, [35] iussit adferri. Omnia agnoscente eo Demetrius, qui proximi sceleris particeps esse arguebatur, producit. Multa adfirmatione animique pariter et constantia et vultus abnuens, [36] quicquam sibi in regem cogitatum esse, tormenta etiam deposcebat in semetipsum : cum [p. 197] Philotas circumlatis oculis, ut incidere in Calan quendam haud procul stantem, propius eum iussit accedere. Illo perturbato et recusante transire ad eum: ‘Patieris,’ inquit, ‘Demetrium mentiri rursusque me excruciari?’ Calan vox sanguisque defecerant, [37] et Macedones Philotan inquinare innoxios velle suspicabantur, quia nec a Nicomacho nec ab ipso Philota, cum torqueretur, nominatus esset adulescens: qui ut praefectos regis circumstantes se vidit, Demetrium et semetipsum id facinus cogitasse confessus est. [38] Omnes ergo a Nicomacho nominati more patrio dato signo saxis obruti sunt. [39] Magno non salutis, sed etiam invidiae periculo liberatus erat Alexander: quippe Parmenio et Philotas, principes amicorum, nisi palam sontes sine indignatione totius exercitus non potuissent damnari. [40] Itaque dum anceps quaestio fuit, dum infitatus est facinus, crudeliter torqueri videbatur: post confessionem etiam Philotae amicorum misericordia vana erat.

BOOK VII.

Philotan sicut recentibus sceleris eius vestigiis iure adfectum supplicio censuerant milites, ita, postquam desierat esse, quem odissent, invidia in misericordiam vertit. [2] Moverat et claritas iuvenis et patris eius senectus atque orbitas. [3] Primus Asiam aperuerat regi, omnium periculorum eius particeps semper alterum in acie cornu defenderat, Philippo quoque ante omnes amicus et ipsi Alexandrotam fidus, ut occidendi Attalum non alio ministro uti mallet. [4] Horum cogitatio subibat exercitum, seditiosaeque voces referebantur ad regem. Quis ille haud sane motus satisque prudens, otii vitia negotio discuti, edicit, ut omnes in vestibulo regiae praesto sint. [5] Quos ubi frequentes adesse cognovit, in contionem processit. Haud dubie ex [p. 199] conposito Atarrhias postulare coepit, ut Lyncestes Alexander, qui multo ante quam Philotas regem voluisset occidere, exhiberetur. [6] A duobus indicibus, sicut supra diximus, delatus tertium iam annum custodiebatur in vinculis. Eundem in Philippi quoque caedem coniurasse cum Pausania pro conperto fuit, sed quia primus Alexandrum regem salutaverat, supplicio magis quam crimini fuerat exemptus: [7] tum quoque Antipatri soceri eius preces iustam regis iram morabantur. Ceterum recrudit suppuratus dolor: quippe veteris periculi memoriam praesentis cura renovabat. [8] Igitur Alexander ex custodia educitur iussusque dicere, quamquam toto triennio meditatus erat defensionem, tamen haesitans et trepidus pauca ex his, quae composuerat, protulit, ad ultimum non memoria solum, sed etiam mens eum destituit. [9] Nulli erat dubium, quin trepidatio conscientiae indicium esset, non memoriae vitium. Itaque ex iis, qui proximi adstiterant, obluctantem adhuc oblivioni lanceis confoderunt. [10] Cuius corpore ablato rex introduci iussit Amyntam et Simian: nam Polemon, minimus ex fratribus, cum Philotan torqueri conperisset, profugerat. [11] Omnium Philotae amicorum hi carissimi fuerant, ad magna et honorata ministeria illius maxime suffragatione producti, memineratque rex, summo studio ab eo [p. 200] conciliatos sibi, nec dubitabat huius quoque ultimi consilii fuisse participes. [12] Igitur queritur olim sibi esse suspectas matris suae litteris, quibus esset admonitus, ut ab his salutem suam tueretur: ceterum se invitum deteriora credentem nunc manifestis indiciis victum iussisse vinciri. [13] Nam pridie, quam detegeretur Philotae scelus, quin in secreto cum eo fuissent, non posse dubitari. Fratrem vero, qui profugerit, cum de Philota quaereretur, aperuisse fugae causam. [14] Nuper praeter consuetudinem officii specie amotis longius ceteris admovisse semctipsos lateri suo nulla probabili causa, seque mirantem, quod non vice sua tali fungerentur officio, et ipsa trepitatione eorum perterritum strenue ad armigeros, qui proxime sequebantur, recessisse. [15] Ad haec accedere, quod, cum Antiphanes, scribe equitum, Amyntac denuntiasset, pridie quam Philotae scelus deprehensum esset, ut ex suis equis more solito daret iis, qui amisissent equos, superbe respondisset, nisi incepto desisteret, brevi sciturum, quis ipse

esset. [16] Iam linguae violentiam temeritatemque verborum, quae in semetipsum iacularentur, nihil aliud esse quam scelesti animi indicem ac testem. Quae si vera essent, idem meruisse eos, quod Philotan, si falsa, exigere ipsum, [17] ut refellant. Productus deinde Antiphanes de equis [p. 201] non traditis et adiectis etiam superbe minis indicat. [18] Tum Amyntas facta dicendi potestate : ‘Si nihil,’ inquit, ‘interest regis, peto, ut, dum dico, vinculis liberer.’ Rex solvi utrumque iubet desiderantique Amyntae, ut habitus quoque redderetur armigeri, lanceam dari iussit. [19] Quam ut laeva comprehendit, evitato eo loco, in quo Alexandri corpus paulo ante iacuerat: ‘Qualiscumque,’ inquit, ‘exitus nos manet, rex, confitemur prosperum tibi debituros, tristiores fortunae inputaturos. [20] putaturos. Sine praeiudicio dicimus causam liberis corporibus animisque: habitum etiam, in quote comitari solemus, reddidisti. Causam non possum us, fortunam timere desinemus. [21] Et, quaeso, permittas mihi id primum defendere, quod a te ultimum obiectum est. Nos, rex, sermonis adversus maiestatem tuam habiti nullius conscii sumus nobis. Dicerem iam pridem vicisse te invidiam, nisi periculum esset, ne alia malignius dicta crederes blanda oratione purgari. [22] Ceterum etiam si militis tui vel in agmine deficientis et fatigati vel in acie periclitantis vel in tabernaculo aegri et vulnera curantis aliqua vox asperior esset accepta, merueramus fortibus factis, ut mallet ea tempori nostro inputare quam animo. [23] Cum quid accidit tristius, omnes rei sumus: corporibus nostris, quae utique non odimus, infestas admovemus manus: parentes, liberi si occurrant, et ingrati et invisus sunt. Contra cum donis honoramur, cum praemiis onusti revertimur, [p. 202] quis ferre nos potest? [24] quis illam animorum alacritatem continere? Militantium nec indignatio nec laetitia moderata est: ad omnes adfectus impetu rapimur. Vituperamus laudamus, miseremur irascimur, utcumque praesens movit adfectio: modo Indiam adire et Oceanum libet, modo coniugum et liberorum patriaeque memoria occurrit. [25] Sed has cogitationes, has inter se conloquentium voces signum tuba datum finit: in suos quisque ordines currimus, et, quidquid irarum in tabernaculo conceptum est, in hostium effunditur capita. [26] Utinam Philotas quoque intra verba peccasset! Proinde ad id revertar, propter quod rei sumus. Amicitiam, quae nobis cum Philota fuit, adeo non eo infitias, ut expetisse quoque nos magnosque ex ea fructus percepisse confitear. [27] An vero Parmenionis, quem tibi proximum esse voluisti, filium omnes paene amicos tuos dignatione vincentem cultum a nobis esse miraris? [28] Tu, hercules, si verum audire vis, rex, huius nobis periculi es causa. Quis enim alius effecit, ut ad Philotan decurrerent, qui placere vellent tibi? Ab illo traditi ad hunc gradum amicitiae tuae ascendimus: is apud te fuit, cuius et gratiam expetere et iram timere possemus. [29] Si non propemodum in tua verba, at tui omnes te praeceunte iuravimus, eosdem nos inimicos amicosque habituros esse, quos tu habe- [p. 203] res. Hoc sacramento pietatis obstricti aversaremur scilicet, [30] quem tu omnibus praeferebas ! Igitur, si hoc crimen est, paucos innocentes habes, immo, hercules, neminem. Omnes enim Philotae amici esse voluerunt, sed

totidem, quot volebant esse, non poterant. Ita, si a consciis amicos non dividis, ne ab amicis quidem separabis illos, qui idem esse voluerunt. [31] Quod igitur conscientiae adfertur indicium? Ut opinor, quia pridie familiariter et sine arbitris locutus est nobiscum. At ego purgare non possem, si pridie quicquam ex vetere vita ac more mutassem. Nunc vero, si, ut omnibus diebus, illo quoque, qui suspectus est, fecimus, consuetudo diluet crimen. [32] Sed equos Antiphani non dedimus, et pridie, quam Philotas detectus est. Hie mihi cum Antiphane res erit. Qui si nos suspectus facere vult, quod illo die equos non dederimus, semetipsum, quod eos desideraverit, purgare non poterit. [33] Anceps enim crimen est inter retinentem et exigentem, nisi quod melior est causa suum non tradentis quam poscentis alienum. [34] Ceterum, rex, equos decem habui: e quibus Antiphanes octo iam distribuerat iis, qui amiserant suos, omnino duos ipse habebam: quos cum vellet abducere homo superbissimus, certe iniquissimus, nisi pedes militare vellem, retinere cogebar. [35] Nec infitias eo, liberi hominis animo locu- [p. 204] tum esse me cum ignavissimo et hoc unum militiae ius usurpante, ut alienos equos pugnaturis distribuatur. Huc enim malorum ventum est, ut verba mea eodem tempore et Alexandro excuseum et Antiphani! [36] At, hercule, mater de nobis inimicis tuis scripsit. Utinam prudentius esset sollicita pro filio et non inanes quoque species anxio animo figuraret! Quare enim non ascribit metus sui causam? denique non ostendit auctorem? Quo facto dictove nostro mota tam trepidas tibi litteras scripsit? O miseram condicionem meam, [37] quia forsitan non periculosius est tacere quam dicere! Sed utcumque cessura res est, malo tibi defensionem meam displicere quam causam. Agnosces autem, quae dicturus sum: quippe meministi, cum me ad perducendos ex Macedonia milites mitteres, dixisse te, multos integros iuvenes in domo tuae matris abscondi. [38] Praecepisti igitur mihi, ne quem praeter te intuerer, sed detrectantes militiam perducerem ad te. Quod equidem feci et liberius, quam expediebat mihi, executus sum tuum imperium. [39] Gorgiam et Hecataeum et Gorgidan, quorum bona opera uteris, inde perduxisti. Quid igitur iniquius est quam me, qui, si tibi non paruissem, iure daturus fui poenas, nunc perire, quia parui? Neque enim ulla alia matri tuae persequendi nos causa est, quam quod utilitatem tuam muliebri prae- [p. 205] posuimus gratiae. [40] vi milia Macedonum peditum et DC equites adduxi: quorum pars secutura me non erat, si militiam detrectantibus indulgere voluissem. Sequitur ergo, ut, quia illa propter hanc causam irascitur nobis, tu mitiges matrem, qui irae eius nos obtulisti.'

Dum haec Amyntas agit, forte supervenerunt, qui fratrem eius Polemonem, de quo ante est dictum, fugientem consecuti vinctum reducebant. Infesta contio vix inhiberi potuit, quin protinus suo more saxa in eum iaceret. [2] Atque ille sane interritus: 'Nihil,' inquit, 'pro me deprecor, modo ne fratrum innocentiae fuga inputetur mea. Haec si defendi non potest, meum crimen sit. Horum ob id ipsum melior est causa, [3] quod ego, quia profugi, suspectus sum.' At haec elocuto universa contio adsensa est: lacrimae deinde omnibus manare coeperunt adeo in contrarium repente mutatis, ut solum pro eo esset,

quod maxime laeserat. [4] Iuvenis erat primo aetatis flore pubescens, quem inter equites tormentis Philotae conturbatos alienus terror abstulerat: desertum eum a comitibus et haesitantem inter revertendi fugiendique consilium, qui secuti erant, occupaverunt. [5] Is tum flere coepit et os suum converberare, maestus non suam vicem, sed propter ipsum periclitantium fratrum. [6] Moveratque iam [p. 206] regem quoque, non contionem modo, sed unus erat inplacabilis frater, qui terribili vultu intuens eum: ‘Tum,’ exclamat, ‘demens, lacrimare debueras, cum equo calcaria subderes, fratrum desertor et desertorum comes. [7] Miser, quo et unde fugiebas? Effecisti, ut reus capitis accusatoris uterer verbis.’ Ille peccasse sese gravius in fratres quam in semetipsum fatebatur. Tum vero neque lacrimis neque adclamationibus, quibus studia sua multitudo profitetur, temperaverunt. Una vox erat pari emissa consensu, ut insontibus et fortibus viris parceret. Amici quoque data misericordiae occasione consurgunt flentesque regem deprecantur. [8] Ille silentio facto: ‘Et ipse,’ inquit, ‘Amyntan mea sententia fratresque eius absolve Vos autem, iuvenes, malo beneficii mei oblivisci quam periculi vestri meminisse. Eadem fide redite in gratiam mecum, qua ipse vobiscum revertor. [9] Nisi, quae delata essent, excussissem, aliquid de dissimulatione mea suspicari potuissetis: satius est purgatos esse quam suspectos. Cogitate neminem absolvi posse, nisi qui dixerit causam. [10] Tu, Amynta, ignosce fratri tuo. Erit hoc simpliciter etiam mihi reconciliati animi tui pignus.’ [11] Contione deinde dimissa Polydamanta vocari iubet. Longe acceptissimus Parmenioni erat, proximus lateri [p. 207] in acie stare solitus. [12] Et quam quam conscientia fretus in regiam venerat, tamen, ut iussus est fratres suos exhibere admodum iuvenes et regi ignotos ob aetatem, fiducia in sollicitudinem versa trepidare coepit, saepius, quae nocere possent, quam, quibus eluderet, reputans. [13] Iam armigeri, quibus imperatum erat, produxerant eos, cum exanguem metu Polydamanta propius accedere iubet summotisque omnibus: ‘Scelere,’ inquit, ‘Parmenionis omnes pariter adpetiti sumus, maxime ego ac tu, quos amicitiae specie fefellit. [14] Ad quem persequendum puniendumque — vide, quantum fidei tuae credam — te ministro uti statui. Obsides, dum hoc peragis, erunt fratres tui. [15] Proficiscere in Mediam et ad praefectos meos litteras scriptas manu mea perfer. Velocitate opus est, qua celeritatem famae antecedas. Noctu pervenire illuc te volo, postero die, quae scripta erunt, exequi. [16] Ad Parmeniona quoque epistulas feres, unam a me, alteram Philotae nomine scriptam. Signum anuli eius in mea potestate est. Si pater credit a filio inpressum, [17] cum te viderit, nihil metuet.’ Polydamas tanto liberatus metu impensius etiam, quam exigebatur, promittit operam conlaudatusque et promissis oneratus deposita veste, quam habebat, Arabica indultur. [18] Duo Arabes, quorum interim coniuges ac [p. 208] liberi, vinculum fidei, obsides apud regem erant, dati comites. Per deserta etiam ob siccitatem loca camelis undecimo die, quo destinaverat, perveniunt. [19] Et priusquam ipse nuntiaretur adventus, rursus Polydamas vestem Macedonicam sumit et in tabernaculum Cleandri — [20] praetor hic regius erat — quarta vigilia pervenit. Redditis

deinde litteris constituerunt prima luce ad Parmenionem coire. Iamque ceteris quoque litteras regis attulerat, iam ad eum venturi erant, cum Parmenioni Polydamanta venisse nuntiaverunt. [21] Qui dum laetatur adventu amici, simulque noscendi, quae rex ageret, avidus — quippe longo intervallo nullam ab eo epistulam acceperat — [22] Polydamanta requiri iubet. Deversoria regionis illius magnos recessus habent amoenosque nemoribus manu consitis: [23] ea praecipue regum satraparumque voluptas erat. Spatiabatur in nemore Parmenion medius inter duces, quibus erat imperatum litteris regis, ut occiderent. Agenda rei constituerant tempus, cum Parmenion a Polydamante litteras traditas legere coepisset. [24] Polydamas procul veniens ut a Parmenione conspectus est vultu [p. 209] laetitiae speciem praeferente, ad conplectendum eum cucurrit mutuaeque salutatione facta Polydamas epistulam a rege scriptam ei tradidit. [25] Parmenion vinculum epistulae solvens, quidnam rex ageret, requirebat. Ille ex ipsis litteris cogniturum esse respondit. [26] Quibus Parmenion lectis: ‘Rex,’ inquit, ‘expeditionem parat in Arachosios. Strenuum hominem et numquam cessantem! Sed tempus saluti suae tanta iam parta gloria parcere.’ [27] Alteram deinde epistulam Philotae nomine scriptam laetus, quod ex vultu notari poterat, legebat: tum eius latus gladio haurit Cleander, deinde iugulum ferit, ceteri exanimum quoque confodiunt. [28] Et armigeri, qui ad primum aditum nemoris adstiterant, cognita caede, cuius causa ignorabatur, in castra perveniunt et tumultuoso nuntio milites concitant. [29] Illi armati ad nemus, in quo perpetrata caedes erat, coeunt et, ni Polydamas ceterique eiusdem noxae participes dedantur, murum circumdatum nemori eversuros denuntiant omniumque sanguine duci parentaturos. [30] Cleander primores eorum intromitti iubet litterasque regis scriptas ad milites recitat, quibus insidiae Parmenionis in regem precesque, ut ipsum vindicarent, continebantur. [31] Igitur cognita regis voluntate non quidem indignatio, sed tamen seditio compressa est. Dilapsis [p. 210] pluribus pauci remanserunt, qui, saltem ut corpus ipsis sepelire permetterent, precabantur. [32] Diu id negatum est Cleandri metu, ne offenderet regem. Pertinacius deinde precantibus materiem consternationis subtrahendam ratus capite deciso truncum humare permisit: [33] ad regem caput missum est. Hic exitus Parmenionis fuit, militiae domique clari viri. Multa sine rege prospere, rex sine illo nihil magnae rei gesserat. Felicissimo regi et ad omnia ad fortunae suae exigenti modum satisfacit. LXX natus annos iuvenis ducis et saepe etiam gregarii militis munia explevit: acer consilio, manu strenuus, carus principibus, vulgo militum acceptior. [34] Haec inpulerint illum ad regni cupiditatem an tantum suspectum fecerint, ambigi potest, quia, Philotas ultimis cruciatibus victus verane dixerit, quae facta probari non poterant, an falsis tormentorum petierit finem, re quoque recenti, cum magis posset liquere, dubitatum est. [35] Alexander, quos libere mortem Parmenionis conquestos esse conpererat, separandos a cetero exercitu ratus in unam cohortem secrevit ducemque his Leonidam dedit, et ipsum Parmenioni quondam intima familiaritate coniunctum. [36] Fere idem erant, quos alioqui rex habuerat invisos. Nam cum experiri vellet militum

animos, admonuit, qui litteras in Macedoniam ad suos scripsisset, iis, quos ipse mittebat, perlaturis cum [p. 211] fide traderet. Simpliciter ad necessarios suos quisque scripserat, quae sentiebat: aliis gravis erat, plerisque non ingrata militia. [37] Ita et agentium gratias et querentium litterae exceptae sunt. Et, qui forte taedium laboris per litteras erant questi, hanc seorsus cohortem a ceteris tendere ignominiae causa iubet, fortitudine usus in bello, libertatem linguae ab auribus credulis remoturus. Id consilium, temerarium forsitan — quippe fortissimi iuvenes contumelia iritati erant —, sicut omnia alia felicitas regis excepit. [38] Nihil illis ad bella promptius fuit: incitabat virtutem et ignominiae demendae cupido et, quia fortia facta in paucis latere non poterant.

His ita conpositis Alexander Arsame Drangarum satrape constituto iter pronuntiari iubet in Arimaspos, quos iam tunc mutato nomine Euergetas appellabant, ex quo frigore victusque penuria Cyri exercitum adfectum tectis et com meatibus iuverant. [2] Quintus dies erat, ut in eam regionem pervenerat. Cognoscit Satibarzanem, qui ad Bessum defecerat, cum equitum manu inrupisse rursus in Arios. Itaque contra eum misit Caranum et Erigyium cum Artabazo et Andronico: eos vi milia Graecorum peditum, DC equites sequebantur. [3] Ipse LX diebus gentem Euergetarum ordinavit magna pecunia ob egregiam in Cyrum fidem donata. [p. 212] [4] Relicto deinde, qui iis praeesset, Amedine — scriba is Darei fuerat — Arachosios, quorum regio ad Ponticum mare pertinet, subegit. Ibi exercitus, qui sub Parmenione fuerat, occurrit. Sex milia Macednum erant et CC nobiles et v milia Graecorum cum equitibus DC, haud dubie robur omnium virium regis. [5] Arachosiis datus Menon praetor nn milibus peditum et DC equitibus in praesidium relictis. Ipse rex nationem ne finitimis quidem satis notam, [6] quippe nullo commercio colentem mutuos usus, cum exercitu intravit. Parapanisadae appellantur, agreste hominum genus et inter barbaros maxime inconditum. [7] Locorum asperitas hominum quoque ingenia duraverat. Gelidissimum septentrionis axem ex magna parte spectant, [8] Bactrianis ab occidente coniuncti sunt, meridiana regio ad mare Indicum vergit. Tuguria latere crudo struunt et, quia sterilis est terra materia in nudo etiam montis dorso, usque ad summum aedificiorum fastigium eodem laterculo utuntur. [9] Ceterum structura latior ab imo paulatim incremento operis in artius cogitur, ad ultimum in carinae maxime modum coit. [10] Ibi foramine relicto superne lumen admittunt. Vites [p. 213] et arbores, si quae in tanto terrae rigore durare potuerunt, obruunt penitus: hieme defossae latent, cum discussa aperire humum coepit, caelo solique redduntur. [11] Ceterum adeo altae nives premunt terram gelu et perpetuo paene rigore constrictae, ut ne avium quidem feraeve ullius vestigium extet. Obscura caeli verius umbra quam lux, nocti similis, premit terram, vix ut, quae prope sunt, conspici possint. [12] In hac tum omnis humani cultus solitudine destitutus exercitus, quidquid malorum tolerari potest, pertulit, inopiam, frigus, lassitudinem, desperationem. [13] Multos exanimavit rigor insolitus ni vis, multorum adussit pedes, plurimorum oculos. Praecipue perniciosus fuit fatigatis: quippe in ipso gelu deficientia corpora sternebant, quae cum moveri desissent, vis frigoris ita

adstringebat, ut rursus ad surgendum coniti non possent. [14] A commilitonibus torpentes excitabantur, neque aliud remedium erat, quam ut ingredi cogerentur: tum demum vitali calore moto membris aliquis redibat vigor. [15] Si qui tuguria barbarorum adire potuerunt, celeriter refecti sunt. Sed tanta caligo erat, ut aedificia nulla alia res quam fumus ostenderet. [16] Illi numquam ante in terris suis advena viso cum armatos repente conspicerent, exanimati metu, quidquid in tuguriis erat, adferebant, ut corporibus ipsorum parceretur, orantes. [17] Rex agmen circumibat pedes, iacentes quosdam erigens et alios, cum aegre sequerentur, adminiculo corporis sui excipiens. Nunc ad prima signa, nunc in medio, nunc in [p. 214] ultimo agmine itineris multiplicato labore aderat. [18] Tandem ad loca cultiora perventum est commeatuque largo recreatus exercitus: simul et, qui consequi non potuerant, in illa castra venerunt. [19] Inde agmen processit ad Caucasum montem, cuius dorsum Asiam perpetuo iugo dividit: hinc simul mare, quod Ciliciam subit, illinc Caspium fretum et amnem Araxen nobiliaque regionis Scythicae deserta spectat. [20] Taurus, secundae magnitudinis mons, committitur Caucaso: [21] a Cappadocia se attollens Ciliciam praeterit Armeniaeque montibus iungitur. Sic inter se iuga velut serie cohaerentia perpetuum habent dorsum, ex quo Asiae omnia fere flumina, alia in Rubrum, alia in Caspium mare, alia in Hyrcanium et Ponticum decidunt. [22] XVII dierum spatio Caucasum superavit exercitus. Rupes in eo x in circuitu stadia conplectitur, IIII in altitudinem excedit, in qua vinctum Promethea fuisse antiquitas tradidit. [23] Condendae in radicibus montis urbi sedes electa est. VII milibus subactarum nationum et praeterea militibus, quorum opera uti desisset, permissum in nova urbe considerare. Hauc quoque Alexandream incolae appellaverunt.

At Bessus Alexandri celeritate perterritus dis patriis sacrificio rite facto, sicut illis gentibus mos est, cum [p. 215] amicis ducibusque copiarum inter epulas de bello consultabat. [2] Graves mero suas vires extollere, hostium nunc temeritatem, nunc paucitatem spernere incipiunt. [3] Praecipue Bessus ferox verbis et parto per scelus regno superbus ac vix potens mentis dicere orditur: [4] socordia Darei crevisse hostium famam. Occurrisse enim in Ciliciae angustissimis faucibus, cum retrocedendo posset perducere incautos in loca naturae situ tuta, tot fluminibus obiectis, tot montium latebris, inter quas deprehensus hostis ne fugae quidem, nedum resistendi occasionem fuerit habiturus. [5] Sibi placere in Sogdianos recedere: Oxum amnem velut murum obiecturum hosti, dum ex finitimis gentibus valida auxilia concurrerent. [6] Venturos autem Chorasmios et Dahas Sacasque et Indos et ultra Tanain amnem colentes Scythas: quorum neminem adeo humilem esse, ut humeri eius non possent Macedonis militis verticem aequare. [7] Conclamant temulenti unam hanc sententiam salubrem esse: et Bessus circumferri merum largius iubet debellaturus super mensam Alexandrum. [8] Erat in eo convivio Gobares, natione Medus, sed magicae artis — si modo ars est, non vanissimi cuiusque ludibrium — magis professione quam scientia celebrer, alioqui moderatus et probus. [9] Is cum praefatus esset, [p. 216] scire servo utilius esse parere dicto

quam adferre consilium, cum illos, qui pareant, idem quod ceteros maneat, qui vero suadeant, proprium subeant periculum: [10] Bessus eum dicere iussit intrepidum, poculum etiam, quod habebat in manu, tradidit. Quo accepto Gobares: ‘Natura,’ inquit, ‘mortalium hoc quoque nomine prava et sinistra dici potest, quod in suo quisque negotio hebetior est quam in alieno. [11] Turbida sunt consilia eorum, qui sibi suadent. Obstat metus, alias cupiditas, nonnumquam naturalis eorum, quae excogitaveris, amor: nam in te superbia non cadit. Expertus es utique, quod ipse reppereris, aut solum aut optimum ducere. [12] Magnum onus sustines capite, regium insigne: hoc aut moderate perferendum est, aut, quod abominor, in te ruet. [13] Consilio, non impetu, opus est.’ Adicit deinde, quod apud Bactrianos vulgo usurpabant, canem timidum vehementius latrare quam mordere altissimaque flumina minimo sono labi. Quae inserui, ut, qualiscumque inter barbaros potuit esse prudentia, traderetur. [14] in His audientium expectationem suspenderat. Tum consilium aperit utilius Besso quam gratius. ‘In vestibulo,’ inquit, ‘regiae tuae velocissimus consistit rex: [15] ante ille agmen quam tu mensam istam movebis. Nunc ab Tanai exercitum accerses et armis flumina oppones. Scilicet, qua tu fugiturus es, hostis sequi non potest. Iter utrique commune est, victori tutius. [p. 217] Licet strenuum metum putes esse, velocior tamen spes est. [16] Quin validioris occupas gratiam dedisque te, utcumque cesserit, meliorem fortunam deditus quam hostis habiturus? [17] Alienum habes regnum, quo facilius eo careas. Incipias forsitan iustus esse rex, cum ipse fecerit, [18] qui tibi et dare potest regnum et eripere. Consilium habes fidele, quod diutius exequi supervacuum est. Nobilis equus umbra quoque virgae regitur, [19] ignavus ne calcari quidem concitari potest.’ Bessus et ingenio et multo mero ferox adeo exarsit, ut vix ab amicis, quo minus occideret eum, — nam strinxerat quoque acinacem — contineretur. Certe convivio prosiluit haudquaquam potens mentis. Gobares inter tumultum elapsus ad Alexandrum transfugit. [20] VIII milia Bactrianorum habebat armata Bessus. Quae quamdiu propter caeli intemperiem Indiam potius Macedonas petituros crediderant, oboedienter imperata fecerunt: postquam adventare Alexandrum conpertum est, in suos quisque vicos dilapsi Bessum reliquerunt. [21] Ille cum clientium manu, qui non mutaverant fidem, Oxo amne superato exustisque navigiis, quibus transierat, ne isdem hostis uteretur, novas copias in Sogdianis contrahebat. [22] Alexander Caucasum quidem, ut supra dictum est, transierat, sed inopia frumenti quoque prope ad famem ventum erat. [23] Suco ex sesima expresso haud secus quam oleo artus perunguebant, sed huius suci ducenis quadragenis denariis amphorae singulae, mellis denariis [p. 218] trecenis nonagenis, trecenis vini aestimabantur : tritici nihil aut admodum exiguum reperiebatur. [24] Siros vocabant barbari, quos ita sedlerter abscondunt, ut, nisi qui defoderunt, invenire non possint: in his conditae fruges erant. [25] In quarum penuria milites fluviatili pisce et herbis sustinebantur. Iamque haec ipsa alimenta defecerant, cum iumenta, quibus onera portabant, caedere iussi sunt: horum carne, dum in Bactrianos perventum est, traxere vitam. [26] Bactrianae terrae multiplex et varia natura

est. Alibi multa arbor et vitis largos mitesque fructus alit, solum pingue crebri fontes rigant, quae mitiora sunt, frumento conseruntur, [27] cetera armentorum pabulo cedunt. Magnam deinde partem eiusdem terrae steriles harenae tenent: squalida siccitate regio non hominem, non frugem alit. Cum vero venti a Pontico mari spirant, quidquid sabuli in campis iacet, converrunt : quod ubi cumulatum est, magnorum collium procul species est, omniaque pristini itineris vestigia intereunt. [28] Itaque, qui transeunt campos, navigantium modo noctu sidera observant, ad quorum cursum iter dirigunt: et propemodum clarior est noctis umbra quam lux. [29] Ergo interdum invia est regio, quia nec vestigium, quod sequantur, inveniunt et nitor siderum caligine absconditur. Ceterum si quos ille ventus, [30] qui a mari exoritur, deprehendit, harena obruit. Sed, qua mitior terra est, ingens [p. 219] hominum equorumque multitudo gignitur. Itaque Bactriani equites XXX milia expleverant. [31] Ipsa Bactra, regionis eius caput, sita sunt sub monte Parapaniso. Bactrus amnis praeterit moenia. Is urbi et regioni dedit nomen. [32] Hic regi stativa habenti nuntiatur ex Graecia Peloponnesiorum Laconumque defectio — nondum enim victi erant, cum proficiscerentur tumultus eius principia nuntiaturi — et alius praesens terror adfertur, Scythas, qui ultra Tanaim amnem colunt, adventare Besso ferentis opem. Eodem tempore, quae in gente Ariorum Caranus et Erigyus gesserant, perferuntur. Commissum erat proelium inter Macedonas Ariosque. [33] Transfuga Satibarzartes barbaris praeerat: qui cum pugnam segnem utrimque aequis viribus stare vidisset, in primos ordines adequitavit demptaque galea inhibitis, qui tela iaciebant, si quis viritim dimicare vellet, provocavit ad pugnam: nudum se caput in certamine habiturum. [34] Non tulit ferociam barbari ducis Erigyus, gravis quidem aetate, sed et animi et corporis robore nulli iuvenum postferendus. Is galea dempta canitiem ostentans: ‘Venit,’ inquit, ‘dies, quo aut victoria aut morte honestissima, quales amicos et milites Alexander habeat, ostendam.’ [35] Nec plura elocutus equum in hostem egit. Crederes imperatum, ut acies utraeque tela cohiberent: protinus certe recesserunt dato libero [p. 220] spatio, intenti in eventum non ducum modo, sed etiam suae sortis, quippe alienum discrimen secuturi. [36] Prior barbarus emisit hastam: quam Erigyus modica capitis declinatione evitavit atque ipse infestam sarisam equo calcaribus concitato in medio barbari gutture ita fixit, ut per cervicem emeretur. [37] Praecipitatus ex equo barbarus adhuc tamen repugnabat. Sed ille extractam e vulnere hastam rursus in os dirigit. Satibarzanes manu complexus, quo maturius interiret, ictum hostis adiuvit. [38] Et barbari duce amisso, quem magis necessitate quam sponte secuti erant, tunc haud inmemores meritorum Alexandri arma Erigyio tradunt. [39] Rex his quidem laetus, de Spartanis haudquaquam securus magno tamen animo defectum eorum tulit, [40] dicens non ante ausos consilia nudare quam ipsum ad fines Indiae pervenisse cognoscent. Ipse Bessum persequens copias movit : cui Erigyus barbari caput, opimum belli decus, praeferens occurrit.

Igitur Bactrianorum regione Artabazo tradita sarcinas et impedimenta ibi cum praesidio relinquit, ipse cum expedito agmine loca deserta Sogdianorum

intra[^{p. 221}] nocturno itinere exercitum ducens. [2] Aquarum, ut ante dictum est, penuria prius desperatione quam desiderio bibendi sitim accendit. Per CCCC stadia ne modicus quidem humor existit. [3] Harenas vapor aestivi solis accendit: quae ubi flagrare coeperunt, haud secus quam continenti incendio cuncta torrentur. [4] Caligo deinde inmodico terrae fervore excitata lucem tegit, camporumque non alia quam vasti et profundi aequoris species est. [5] Nocturnum iter tolerabile videbatur, quia rore et matutino frigore corpora levabantur. Ceterum cum ipsa luce aestus oritur, omnemque naturalem absorbet humorem siccitas: [6] ora visceraque penitus uruntur. Itaque primum animi, deinde corpora deficere coeperunt: [7] pigebat et consistere et progredi. Pauci a peritis regionis admoniti praepararant aquam: haec paulisper repressit sitim, deinde crescente aestu rursus desiderium humoris accensum est. Ergo, quidquid vini oleique erat omnibus, ingerebatur, tantaque dulcedo bibendi fuit, ut in posterum sitis non timeretur. [8] Graves deinde avidè hausto humore non sustinere arma, non ingredi poterant, et feliciores videbantur, quos aqua defecerat, cum ipsi sine modo infusam vomitu cogenterent egerere. [9] Anxium regem tantis malis circumfusi amici, ut meminisset, orabant, animi sui magnitudinem unicum remedium deficientis exercitus esse: [10] cum ex iis, qui praecesserant ad capiendum locum castris, duo occurrunt utribus aquam gestantes, ut filiis suis, [^{p. 222}] quos in eodem agmine esse et aegre pati sitim non ignorabant, succurrerent. [11] Qui cum in regem incidissent, alter ex his utre resolutum vas, quod simul ferebat, inplet porrigens regi. Ille accipit: percontatus, quibus aquam portaret, filiis ferre cognoscit. [12] Tunc poculo pleno, sicut oblatum est, reddito : ‘Nec solus,’ inquit, ‘bibere sustineo nec tam exiguum dividere omnibus possum: vos currite et liberis vestris, quod propter illos attulistis, date.’ [13] Tandem ad flumen Oxum ipse pervenit prima fere vespera. Sed exercitus magna pars non potuerat consequi: in edito monte ignes iubet fieri, ut ii, qui aegre sequebantur, haud procul castris ipsos abesse cognoscerent, [14] cos autem, qui primi agminis erant, mature cibo ac potione firmatos inplere alios utres, alios vasa, is quibuscumque aqua portari posset, ac suis opem ferre. [15] Sed qui intemperantius hauserant, intercluso spiritu extincti sunt, multoque maior horum numerus fuit, [16] quam ullo amiserat proelio. At ille thoracem adhuc indutus nec aut cibo refectus aut potu, quae veniebat exercitus, constitit nec ante ad curandum corpus recessit, quam praeterierat omne agmen, totamque eam noctem cum magno animi motu perpetuis vigilas egit. [17] Nec postero die laetior erat, quia nec navigia habebat nec pons erigi poterat terra circum amnem nuda et materia maxime sterili. Consilium igitur, quod unum necessitas subiecerat, init: utres quam plurimos [^{p. 223}] stramentis refertos dividit. [18] His incubantes transnavere amnem, quique primi transierant, in statione erant, dum traicerent ceteri. Hoc modo sexto demum die in ulteriore ripa totum exercitum exposuit. [19] Iamque ad persequendum Bessum statuerat progredi, cum ea, quae in Sogdianis eveniant, cognoscit. Spitamenes erat inter omnes amicos praecipuo honore cultus a Besso, sed nullis mentis perfidia mitigari potest: [20] quae tamen iam

minus in eo invisā esse poterat, quia nihil ulli nefastum in Bessum, interfectorem regis sui, videbatur. Titulus facinorosi speciosus praeferebatur, vindicta Darei, sed fortunam, non scelus oderat Bessi. [21] Namque ut Alexandrum numen Oxum superasse cognovit, Dataphernem et Catanen, quibus a Besso maxima fides habebatur, in societatem cogitatae rei adsciscit. Illi promptius adnuunt, quam rogabantur, adsumptisque VIII fortissimis iuvenibus talem dolum intendunt. [22] Spitamenes pergit ad Bessum et remotis arbitris conperisse ait se, insidiari ei Dataphernem et Catanen, ut vivum Alexandro traderent, agitantes : a semet occupatos esse et vinctos teneri. [23] Bessus tanto merito, ut credebat, obligatus partim gratias agit, partim avidus expetendi supplicii adduci eos iubet. [24] Illi manibus sua sponte religatis a participibus consilii trahebantur: quos Bessus truci vultu intuens consurgit manibus non temperaturus. Atque illi simulatione omissa circumstant eum et frustra repugnantem [p. 224] vinciunt derepto ex capite regni insigni lacerataque veste, [25] quam e spoliis occisi regis induerat. Ille deos sui sceleris ultores adesse confessus adiecit non Dares iniquos fuisse, quem sic ulciscerentur, sed Alexandro propitios, [26] cuius victoriam semper etiam hostes adiuvisent. Multitudo an vindictura Bessum fuerit, incertum est, nisi illi, qui vinxerant, iussu Alexandri fecisse ipsos ementiti dubios adhuc animi terruissent. In equum inpositum Alexandro tradituri ducunt. [27] Inter haec rex, quibus matura erat missio, electis nongentis fere bina talenta equiti dedit, pediti terna denarium milia monitosque, ut liberos generarent, remisit domum. Ceteris gratiae actae, quod ad reliqua belli navaturos operam pollicebantur. [28] Dum Bessum persequitur, perventum erat in parvulum oppidum. Branchidae eius incolae erant: Mileto quondam iussu Xerxis, cum e Graecia rediret, transierant et in ea sede constiterant, quia templum, quod Didymeon appellatur, in gratiam Xerxis violaverant. [29] Mores patrii nondum exoleverant, sed iam bilingues erant paulatim a domestico externo sermone degeneres. Magno igitur gaudio regem excipiunt [p. 225] urbem seque dedentes. Ille Milesios, qui apud ipsum militarent, convocari iubet. [30] Vetus odium Milesii gerebant in Branchidarum gentem. Proditis ergo, sive iniuriae sive originis meminisse mallent, liberum de Branchidis permittit arbitrium. [31] Variantibus deinde sententiis se ipsum consideraturum, quid optimum factu esset, ostendit. Postero die occurrentibus Branchidis secum procedere iubet, cumque ad urbem ventum esset, ipse cum expedita manu portam intrat: [32] phalanx moenia oppidi circumire iussa et dato signo diripere urbem, proditorum receptaculum, ipsosque ad unum caedere. [33] Illi inermes passim trucidantur, nec aut commercio linguae aut supplicum velamentis precibusque inhiberi crudelitas potest. Tandem, ut deicerent, fundamenta murorum ab imo moliuntur, ne quod urbis vestigium extaret. [34] Nemora quoque et lucos sacros non caedunt modo, sed etiam extirpant, ut vasta solitudo et sterilis humus exustis etiam radicibus linqueretur. [35] Quae si in ipsos proditoris auctores excogitata essent, iusta ultio esse, non crudelitas videretur: nunc culpam maiorum posterius luere, qui ne viderant quidem Miletum, adeo et Xerxi non

potuerant prodere. [36] Inde processit ad Tanain amnem. Quo perductus est Bessus non vinctus modo, sed etiam omni [p. 226] velamento corporis spoliatus. Spitamenes eum tenebat collo inserta catena, tam barbaris quam Macedonibus gratum spectaculum. [37] Tum Spitamenes: ‘Et te,’ inquit, ‘et Dareum, reges meos, ultus interfectorem domini sui adduxi, eo modo captum, cuius ipse fecit exemplum. Aperiat ad hoc spectaculum oculos Dareus! [38] existat ab inferis, qui illo supplicio indignus fuit et hoc solacio dignus est!’ Alexander multum conlaudato Spitamene conversus ad Bessum: ‘Cuius,’ inquit, ‘ferae rabies occupavit animum tuum, cum regem de te optime meritum prius vincere, deinde occidere sustinuisti? [39] Sed huius parricidi i mercedem falso regis nomine persolvisti tibi.’ Ille facinus purgare non ausus regis titulum se usurpare dixit, ut gentem suam tradere ipsi posset: [40] quippe, si cessasset, alium fuisse regnum occupaturum. Et Alexander Oxathren, fratrem Darei, quem inter corporis custodes habebat, propius iussit accedere tradique Bessum ei, ut cruci adfixum mutilatis auribus naribusque sagittis configerent barbari adservarentque corpus, [41] ut ne aves quidem contingerent. Oxathres cetera sibi curae fore pollicetur: aves non ab alio quam a Catane posse prohiberi adicit eximiam eius artem cupiens ostendere: namque adeo certo ictu destinata feriebat, ut aves quoque exciperet. [42] Nunc forsitan sagittarum celebri usu minus admirabilis videri ars haec possit: tum ingens [p. 227] visentibus miraculum magnoque honori Catani fuit. [43] Dona deinde omnibus, qui Bessum adduxerant, data sunt. Ceterum supplicium eius distulit, ut eo loco, in quo Dareum occiderat, ipse necaretur.

Interea Macedones ad petendum pabulum inconposito agmine egressi a barbaris, qui de proximis montibus decurrerunt, opprimuntur pluresque capti sunt quam occisi: [2] barbari autem captivos prae se agentes rursus in montem recesserunt. XX milia latronum erant : fundis sagittisque pugnam invadunt. [3] Quos dum obsidet rex, inter promptissimos dimicans sagitta ictus est, quae in medio crure fixa reliquerat spiculum. [4] Illum quidem maesti et attoniti Macedones in castra referebant, sed nec barbaros fefellit subductus ex acie — quippe ex edito monte cuncta prospexerant — : [5] itaque postero die misere legatos ad regem. Quos ille protinus iussit admitti solutisque fasciis magnitudinem vulneris dissimulans crus barbaris ostendit. [6] Illi iussi considerare adfirmant non Macedonas quam ipsos tristiores fuisse cognito vulnere ipsius : cuius si auctorem repperissent, dedituros fuisse: cum dis enim pugnare sacrilegos tantum. [7] Ceterum se gentem in fidem dedere superatos vulnere illius. Rex fide data et captivis receptis gentem in deditionem accepit. [8] Castris inde motis lectica militari ferebatur. Quam pro se quisque eques pedesque subire certabant: equites, cum quibus rex proelia inire solitus erat, sui muneris id esse censebant, pedites contra, cum saucios commilitones ipsi gestare adsuevissent, eripi sibi [p. 228] proprium officium tum potissimum, cum rex gestandus esset, querebantur. [9] Rex in tanto utriusque partis certamine et sibi difficilem et praeteritis gravem electionem futuram ratus invicem subire eos iussit. [10] Hinc quarto die ad urbem Maracanda perventum est: LXX stadia

muris urbis amplectitur, arx alio cingitur muro. Mille praesidio urbis relictis proximos vicos depopulatur atque urit. [11] Legati deinde Abiorum Scytharum superveniunt, liberi, ex quo decesserat Cyrus, tum imperata facturi. Iustissimos barbarorum constabat: amis abstinebant nisi lacessiti, libertatis modico et aequali usu principibus humiliores pares fecerant. [12] Hos benigne adlocutus ad eos Scythas, qui Europam incolunt, Derdam quendam misit ex amicis, qui denuntiaret his, ne Tanain amnem regionis iniussu regis transirent. Eidem mandatum, ut contemplaretur locorum situm et illos quoque Scythas, qui super Bosphorum colunt, viseret. [13] Condendae urbi sedem super ripam Tanais elegerat, claustrum et iam perdomitorum et, quot deinde adire decreverat: sed consilium distulit Sogdianorum nuntiata defectio, quae Bactrianos quoque traxit. [14] milia equitum erant, quorum auctoritatem ceteri sequebantur. Alexander Spitamenen et Catanen, a quibus ei traditus erat Bessus, haud dubius, quin eorum opera a [p. 229] redigi possent in potestatem, coercendo qui novaverant res, iussit accersi. [15] At illi, defectionis, ad quam coercendam evocabantur, auctores, vulgaverant fama Bactrianos equites a rege omnes, ut occiderentur, accersi, idque imperatum ipsis non sustinuisse tamen exequi, ne inexpressibile in populares facinus admitterent. Non magis Alexandri saevitiam quam Bessi parricidium ferre potuisse. Itaque sua sponte iam motos metu poenae haud difficulter ad arma concitaverunt. [16] Alexander transfugarum defectione conperta Craterum obsidere Cyropolim iubet: ipse aliam urbem regionis eiusdem corona capit, signoque, ut puberes interficerentur, dato reliqui in praedam cessare victoris. Urbs diruta est, ut ceteri cladis eius exemplo continerentur. [17] Memaceni, valida gens, obsidionem non ut honestiorem modo, sed etiam ut tutiorem ferre decreverant: ad quorum pertinaciam mitigandam rex L. equites praemisit, qui clementiam ipsius in deditos simulque inexorabilem animum in devictos ostenderent. [18] Illi nec de fide nec de dementia regis ipsos dubitare respondent equitesque tendere extra munimenta urbis iubent: hospitaliter deinde exceptos gravesque epulis et somno intempesta nocte adorti interfecerunt. [19] Alexander haud secus, quam par erat, motus urbem corona circumdedit, munitiorem, quam ut primo impetu capi posset. [p. 230] Itaque Meleagrum et Perdiccan in obsidionem iungit: [20] ipse ad Craterum pergit Cyropolim, ut ante dictum est, obsidentem. Statuerat autem parcere urbi conditae a Cyro: quippe non alium gentium illarum magis admiratus est quam hunc regem et Samiramin, quos et magnitudine animi et claritate rerum longe emicuisse credebat. [21] Ceterum pertinacia oppidanorum iram eius accendit: itaque captam urbem diripi iussit. Deleta ea Memacenis haud iniuria infestus ad Meleagrum et Perdiccam redit. [22] Sed non alia urbs fortius obsidionem tulit: quippe et militum promptissimi cecidere et ipse rex ad ultimum periculum venit. Namque cervix eius saxo ita icta est, ut oculis caligine offusa conlaberetur, ne mentis quidem compos: exercitus certe velut erepto iam eo ingemuit. [23] Sed invictus adversus ea, quae ceteros terrent, non dum percurato vulnere acrius obsidioni institit naturalem celeritatem ira concitante. Cuniculo

ergo suffossa moenia ingens nudavere spatium, per quod inrupit, victorque urbem dirui iussit. [24] Hinc Menedemum cum tribus milibus peditum et DCCC equitibus ad urbem Maracanda misit. Spitamenes transfuga praesidio Macedonum inde deiecto muris urbis eius incluserat se non adeo oppidanis consilium [p. 231] defectionis adprobantibus: sequi tamen videbantur, quia prohibere non poterant. [25] Interim Alexander ad Tanain amnem redit et, quantum soli occupaverat castris, muro circumdedit: LX stadiorum urbis murus fuit. Hanc quoque urbem Alexandriam appellari iussit. [26] Opus tanta celeritate perfectum est, ut XVII die, quam munimenta excitata erant, tecta quoque urbis absolverentur. Ingens militum certamen inter ipsos fuerat, ut suum quisque munus — nam divisum erat — primus ostenderet. [27] Incolae novae urbi dati captivi, quos reddito pretio dominis liberavit: quorum posterius nunc quoque non apud eos tam longa aetate propter memoriam Alexandri exoleverunt.

At rex Scytharum, cuius tum ultra Tanaim imperium erat, ratus eam urbem, quam in ripa amnis Macedones condiderant, suis inpositam esse cervicibus, fratrem, Carthasim nomine, cum magna equitum manu misit ad diruendam eam proculque amne submovendas Macedonum copias. [2] Bactrianos Tanais ab Scythis, quos Europaeos vocant, dividit, idem Asiam et Europam finis interfuit. [3] Ceterum Scytharum gens haud procul Thracia sita ab oriente ad septentrionem se vertit Sarmatarumque, ut quidam credidere, non finitima, sed pars est. [4] Recta deinde regione saltum ultra Istrum iacentem colit, ultima Asiae, qua Bactra sunt, stringit. Habitant, quae septentrioni propiora sunt: [p. 232] profundae inde silvae vastaeque solitudines excipiunt. Rursus quae Tanain et Bactra spectant, humano cultu haud disparia sunt primis. [5] Cum hac gente non provisum bellum Alexander gesturus, cum in conspectu eius obequitaret hostis, adhuc aeger ex vulnere, praecipue voce deficiens, quam et modicus cibus et cervicis extenuabat dolor, amicos in consilium advocari iubet. [6] Terrebat eum non hostis, sed iniquitas temporis: Bactriani defecerant, Scythae etiam lacescebant, [7] ipse non insistere in terra, non equo vehi, non docere, non hortari suos poterat. Ancipiti periculo implicitus deos quoque incusans querebatur, se iacere segnem, cuius velocitatem nemo antea valuisset effugere: vix suos credere non simulari valitudinem. [8] Itaque, qui post Dareum victum hariolos et vates consulere desierat, rursus ad superstitionem, humanarum mentium ludibrium, revolutus Aristandrum, cui credulitatem suam addixerat, explorare eventum rerum sacrificiis iubet. Mos erat haruspicibus exta sine rege spectare et, quae portenderentur, referre. [9] Inter haec rex, dum fibris pecudum explorantur eventus latentium rerum, propius ipsum considerare de industria amicos iubet, ne contentione vocis cicatricem infirmam adhuc rumperet. Hephaestio et Craterus et Erigyus erant cum custodibus in tabernaculum admissi. [10] ‘Discrimen,’ inquit, ‘me occupavit [p. 233] meliore hostium quam meo tempore: sed necessitas ante rationem est, maxime in bello, quo raro permittitur tempora eligere. [11] Defecere Bactriani, in quorum cervicibus stamus, et, quantum in nobis animi sit, alieno Marte

experiuntur. Haud dubia fortuna: si omiserimus Scythas ultro arma inferentes, contempti ad illos, qui defecerunt, revertemur: [12] si vero Tanaim transierimus et ubique invictos esse nos Scytharum pernicie ac sanguine ostenderimus, quis dubitabit parere etiam Europae victoribus? [13] Fallitur, qui terminos gloriae nostrae metitur spatio, quod transituri sumus. Unus amnis interfluit: quem si traicimus, in Europam arma proferimus. [14] Et quanti aestimandum est, dum Asiam subigimus, in alio quodammodo orbe tropaea statuere et, quae tam longo intervallo natura videtur diremisce, [15] una victoria subito committere? At, hercule, si paulum cessaverimus, in tergis nostris Scythae haerebunt. An soli sumus, qui flumina transnare possumus? Multa in nosmetipsos recident, quibus adhuc vicimus. [16] Fortuna belli artem victos quoque docet. Utribus amnem traiciendi exemplum fecimus nuper: hoc ut Scythae imitari nesciant, Bactriani docebunt. [17] Praeterea unus gentis huius exercitus adhuc venit, ceteri expectantur. Ita bellum vitando alemus et, quod inferre possumus, accipere cogemur. [18] Manifesta est consilii mei ratio: sed, an permissuri sint mihi Macedones [p. 234] animo uti meo, dubito, quia, ex quo hoc vulnus accepi, [19] non equo vectus sum, non pedibus ingressus. Sed si me sequi vultis, valeo, amici. Satis virium est ad toleranda ista: [20] aut, si iam adest vitae meae finis, in quo tandem opere melius extinguar?’ Haec quassa adhuc voce subdeficiens vix proximis exaudientibus dixerat, cum omnes a tam praecipiti consilio regem detertere coeperunt, [21] Erigyus maxime, qui haud sane auctoritate proficiens apud obstinatum animum superstitionem, cuius potens non erat rex, incutere temptavit dicendo, deos quoque obstare consilio magnumque periculum, [22] si flumen transisset, ostendi. Intranti Erigyio tabernaculum regis Aristander occurrerat tristitia exta fuisse significans: [23] haec ex vate conperta Erigyus nuntiabat. Quo inhibito Alexander non ira solum, sed etiam pudore confusus, quod superstitio, quam celaverat, detegebatur, [24] Aristandrum vocari iubet. Qui ut venit, intuens eum: ‘Non rex,’ inquit, ‘sed privatus clam, sacrificium ut faceres, mandavi: quid eo portenderetur, cur apud alium quam apud me professus es? Erigyus arcana mea et secreta te prodente cognovit, quem certum, mehercule, habeo extorum interprete uti metu suo. [25] Tibi autem, qui sapis, quam potest, denuntio, ipsi mihi indices, quid ex eis cognoveris, ne possis infitiri dixisse, [26] quae dixeris.’ Ille exanguis attonitoque [p. 235] similis stabat per metum etiam voce suppressa tandemque eodem metu stimulante, ne regis expectationem moraretur: ‘Magni,’ inquit, ‘laboris, non inriti discrimen instare praedixi: [27] nec me tam ars mea quam benivolentia tua perturbat. Infirmiorem validudinis tuae video et, quantum in uno te sit, scio: vereor, ne praesenti fortunae tu sufficere non possis.’ [28] Rex iussit eum confidere felicitati suae: ut alias sibi ait gloriam concedere deos. [29] Consultanti inde cum isdem, quonam modo flumen transirent, supervenit Aristander non alias laetiora exta vidisse se adfirmans, utique prioribus longe diversa: tum sollicitudinis causas adparuisse, nunc prorsus egregie litatum esse. [30] Ceterum, quae subinde nuntiata sunt regi, continua felicitati rerum eius inposuerant labem. [31] Menedemum, ut supra dictum est, miserat ad

obsidendum Spitamenen, Bactrianae defectionis auctorem: qui conperto hostis adventu, ne muris urbis includeretur, simul fretus excipi posse, qua eum venturum sciebat, consedit occultus. [32] Silvestre iter aptum insidiis tegendis erat: ibi Dahas condidit. Equi binos armatos vehunt, quorum invicem singuli repente desiliunt et equestris pugnae ordinem turbant. [33] Equorum velocitati par est hominum pernecitas. Hos Spitamenes saltum circumire iussos pariter et a lateribus et a fronte et a tergo hosti ostendit. [34] Menedemus undique inclusus, ne nu- [p. 236] mero quidem par, diu tamen resistit clamitans nihil aliud superesse locorum fraude deceptis quam honestae mortis solacium ex hostium caede. [35] Ipsum praevalens equus vehebat, quo saepius in cuneos barbarorum effusis habenis evectus magna strage eos fuderat. [36] Sed cum unum omnes peterent, multis vulneribus exanguis Hypsiclem quendam ex amicis hortatus est, ut in equum suum escenderet et se fuga eriperet. Haec agentem anima defecit, corpusque ex equo defluxit in terram. [37] Hypsicles poterat quidem effugere, sed amisso amico mori statuit. Una erat cura, ne inultus occideret: itaque subditis calcaribus equo in medios hostis se inmisit et memorabili edita pugna obrutus telis est. [38] Quod ubi videre, qui caedi supererant, tumulum paulo quam cetera editiorem capiunt: [39] quos Spitamenes fame in deditionem subacturus obsedit. Cecidere eo proelio peditum II milia, CCC equites. Quam cladem Alexander sollerti consilio texit, morte denunciata his, qui ex proelio advenerant, si acta vulgassent.

Ceterum cum animo disparem vultum diutius ferre non posset, in tabernaculum super ripam fluminis de industria locatum secessit. [2] Ibi sine arbitris singula animi consulta pensando noctem vigiliis extraxit saepe pellibus tabernaculi adlevatis, ut conspiceret hostium ignes, e quibus coniectare poterat, [3] quanta hominum multitudo esset. Iamque lux adpetebat, cum thoracem indutus procedit ad milites, tum primum post vulnus proxime acceptum. [4] Tanta erat apud eos veneratio regis, ut facile periculi, [p. 237] quod horrebant, cogitationem praesentia eius excuteret. [5] Laeti ergo et manantibus gaudio lacrimis consulant eum et, quod ante recusaverant bellum, feroces deposcunt. [6] Ille se ratibus equitem phalangemque transportaturum esse pronuntiat, super utres iubet nare levius armatos. [7] Plura nec dici res desideravit nec rex dicere per valitudinem potuit. Ceterum tanta alacritate militum rates iunctae sunt, ut intra triduum ad xii milia effecta sint. [8] Iamque ad transeundum omnia aptaverant, cum legati Scytharum XX more gentis per castra equis vecti nuntiare iubent regi, velle ipsos ad eum mandata perferre. [9] Admissi in tabernaculum iussique considerare in vultu regis defixerant oculus: credo, quis magnitudine corporis animum aestimantibus moidicus habitus haudquaquam famae par videbatur. [10] Scythis autem non, ut ceteris barbaris, rudis et inconditus sensus est: quidam eorum sapientiam quoque capere dicuntur, quantamcumque gens capit semper armata. [11] Sic, quae locutos esse apud regem memoriae proditum est, abhorrent forsitan moribus oratoribusque nostris et tempora et ingenia cultiora sortitis. Sed, ut possit oratio eorum sperni, tamen fides nostra non debet : quae, utcumque sunt tradita, incorrupta

proferemus. [12] Igitur unum ex his maximum natu locutum accepimus: ‘Si di habitum corporis tui aviditati animi parem esse voluissent, orbis te non caperet: altera manu Orientem, [p. 238] altera Occidentem contingeres et hoc adsecutus scire velles, ubi tanti numinis fulgor conderetur. Sic quoque concupiscis, quae non capis. [13] Ab Europa petis Asiam, ex Asia transis in Europam: deinde, si humanum genus omne superaveris, [14] cum silvis et nivibus et fluminibus ferisque bestiis gesturus es bellum. Quid? tu ignoras arbores magnas diu crescere, una hora extirpari? Stultus est, qui fructus earum spectat, altitudinem non metitur. Vide, ne, dum ad cacumen pervenire contendis, [15] cum ipsis ramis, quos comprehenderis, decidas. Leo quoque aliquando minimarum avium pabulum fuit, et ferrum robigo consumit. Nihil tam firmum est, cui periculum non sit etiam ab invalido. [16] Quid nobis tecum est? Numquam terram tuam attigimus. Quis sis, unde venias, licetne ignorare in vastis silvis viventibus? Nec servire ulli possumus nec imperare desideramus. [17] Dona nobis data sunt, ne Scytharum gentem ignores, iugum boum et aratrum, sagitta, hasta, patera. His utimur et cum amicis et adversus inimicos. [18] Fruges amicis damus boum labore quaesitas, patera cum isdem vinum dis libamus, inimicos sagitta eminus, hasta comminus petimus. Sic Syriae regem et postea Persarum Medorumque superavimus, [19] patuitque nobis iter usque in Aegyptum. At tu, qui te gloriaris ad latrones persequendos venire, omnium gentium, quas adisti, latro es. Lydiam [p. 239] cepisti, Syriam occupasti, Persidem tenes, Bactrianos habes in potestate, Indos petisti: iam etiam ad pecora nostra avaras et insatiabiles manus porrigis. [20] Quid tibi divitiis opus est, quae esurire te cogunt? Primus omnium satietate parasti famem, ut, quo plura haberes, acrius, quae non habes, cuperes. [21] Non succurrit tibi, quam diu circum Bactra haereas? Dum illos subigis, Sogdiani bellare coeperunt. Bellum tibi ex victoria nascitur. Nam, ut maior fortiorque sis quam quisquam, tamen alienigenam dominum pati nemo vult. [22] Transi modo Tanain: scies, quam late pateant, numquam tamen consequeris Scythas. Paupertas nostra velocior erit quam exercitus tuus, qui praedam tot nationum vehit. Rursus, cum procul abesse nos credes, videbis in tuis castris. Eadem enim velocitate et sequimur et fugimus. [23] Scytharum solitudines Graecis etiam proverbiiis audio eludi: at nos deserta et humano cultu vacua magis quam urbes et opulentos agros sequimur. [24] Proinde fortunam tuam pressis manibus tene: lubrica est nec invita teneri potest. Salubre consilium sequens quam praesens tempus ostendit melius. Inpone felicitati tuae frenos: facilius illam reges. [25] Nostri sine pedibus dicunt esse Fortunam, quae manus et pinnas tantum habet: cum manus porrigit, pinnas quoque comprehendit. [26] Denique, si deus es, tribuere [p. 240] mortalibus beneficia debes, non sua eripere: sin autem homo es, id quod es, semper esse te cogita. Stultum est eorum meminisse, propter quae tui obliviscaris. [27] Quibus bellum non intuleris, bonis amicis poteris uti. [28] Nam et firmissima est inter pares amicitia, et videntur pares, qui non fecerunt inter se periculum virium. Quos viceris, amicos tibi esse, cave, credas. Inter dominum et servum nulla amicitia est:

etiam in pace belli tamen iura servantur. [29] Iurando gratiam Scythas sancire ne credideris: colendo fidem iurant. Graecorum ista cautio est, qui pacta consignant et deos invocant: nos religionem in ipsa fide ponimus. Qui non reverentur homines, fallunt deos. Nec tibi amico opus est, de cuius benivolentia dubites. [30] Ceterum nos et Asiae et Europae custodes habebis: Bactra, nisi dividat Tanais, contingimus, ultra Tanain terras usque ad Thraciam colimus, Thraciae Macedoniam coniunctam esse fama fert. Utrumne imperio tuo finitimos hostes an amicos velis esse, considera.' Haec barbarus.

Contra rex fortuna sua et consiliis eorum se usurum esse respondet: nam et fortunam, cui confidat, et consilium suadentium, ne quid temere et audacter faciat, [2] secuturum. Dimissisque legatis in praeparatas rates exercitum inposuit. In proris clipeatos locaverat iussos in genua subsidere, quo tutiores essent adversus ictus sa- [p. 241] gittarum. [3] Post hos, qui tormenta intenderent, stabant et ab utroque latere et a fronte circumdati armatis. Reliqui, qui post tormenta constiterant, remigem lorica non tutum scutorum testudine armati protegebant. [4] Idem ordo in illis quoque ratibus, quae equitem vehebant, servatus est. Maior pars a puppe nantes equos loris trahebat. At illos, quos utres stramento repleti vehebant, obiectae rates tuebantur. [5] Ipse rex cum delectis primus ratem solvit et in ripam dirigi iussit. Cui Scythae admotos ordines equitum in primo ripae margine opponunt, ut ne adplicari quidem terrae rates possent. [6] Ceterum praeter hanc speciem ripis praesidentis exercitus ingens navigantes terror invaserat: namque cursum gubernatores, cum obliquo flumine inpellerentur, regere non poterant, vacillantesque milites et, ne excuterentur, solliciti nautarum ministeria turbaverant. [7] Ne tela quidem conati nisu vibrare poterant, cum prior standi sine periculo quam hostem incessendi cura esset. Tormenta saluti fuerunt, quibus in confertos ac temere se offerentes haud frustra excussa sunt tela. [8] Barbari quoque ingentem vim sagittarum infudere ratibus, vixque ullum fuit scutum, quod non pluribus simul spiculis perfricaretur. [9] Iamque terrae rates adplicabantur, cum acies clipeata consurgit et hastas certo ictu, utpote libero nisu, mittit e ratibus. Et ut territos recipientesque equos videre, [10] alacres mutua adhortatione in terram desilire et turbatis [p. 242] acriter pedem inferre coeperunt. Equitum deinde turmae, quae frenatos habebant equos, perfringere barbarorum aciem. Interim ceteri agmine dimicantium tecti aptavere se pugnae. [11] Ipse rex, quod vigoris aegro adhuc corpori deerat, animi firmitate supplebat. Vox adhortantis non poterat audiri nondum bene obducta cicatrice cervicis, sed dimicantem cuncti videbant. [12] Itaque ipsi quidem ducum fungebantur officio aliusque alium adhortati in hostem salutis inmemores ruere coeperunt. [13] Tum vero non ora, non arma, non clamorem hostium barbari tolerare potuerunt omnesque effusis habenis — namque equestris acies erat — capessunt fugam. Quos rex, quamquam vexationem invalidi corporis pati non poterat, per LXXX tamen stadia insequi perseveravit. [14] Iamque linquente animo suis praecepit, ut, donec lucis aliquid superesset, fugientium tergis inhaerent:

ipse exhaustis etiam animi viribus in castra se recepit ibique substitit. [15] Transierant iam Liberi Patris terminos, quorum monumenta lapides erant crebris intervallis dispositi arboresque procerae, [16] quarum stipites hedera contexerat. Sed Macedonas ira longius provexit: quippe media fere nocte in castra redierunt multis interfectis, pluribus captis equosque M et DCCC abegere. Ceciderunt autem Macedonum equites LX, pedites C fere, M saucii fuerunt. [17] Haec expeditio deficientem magna ex parte Asiam fama tam opportuna victoriae domuit. Invictos Scythas esse crediderant: quibus fractis nullam gentem [p. 243] Macedonum armis parem fore confitebantur. Itaque Sacae misere legatos, qui pollicerentur gentem imperata facturam: [18] moverat eos regis non virtus magis, quam dementia in devictos Scythas. Quippe captivos omnes sine pretio remiserat, ut fidem faceret sibi cum ferocissimis gentium de fortitudine, non de ira fuisse certamen. [19] Benigne igitur exceptis Sacarum legatis comitem Euxenippon dedit, adhuc admodum iuvenem, aetatis flore conciliatum sibi, qui cum specie corporis aequaret Hephaestionem, ei lepore haud sane virili par non erat. [20] Ipse Cratero cum maiore parte exercitus modicis itineribus sequi iusso adiit Maracanda urbem. Inde Spitamenes conperto eius adventu Bactra perfugerat. [21] Itaque quadriduo rex longum itineris spatium emensus pervenerat in eum locum, in quo Menedemo duce duo milia peditum et CCC equites amiserat. Horum ossa tumulo contegi iussit et inferias more patrio dedit. [22] Iam Craterus cum phalange subsequi iussus ad regem pervenerat: itaque, ut omnes, qui defecerant, pariter belli clade premerentur, copias dividit urique agros et interfici puberes iubet.

Sogdiaua regio maiore ex parte deserta est: octingenta fere stadia in latitudinem vastae solitudines tenent. [2] Ingens spatium rectae regionis est, per quam amnis — Polytimetum vocant incolae — fertur. Torrentem eum ripae in tenuem alveum cogunt, deinde caverna accipit et sub terram rapit. [3] Coursus abscon- [p. 244] diti indicium est aquae meantis sonus, cum ipsum solum, sub quo tantus amnis fluit, ne modico quidem resudet humore. [4] Ex captivis Sogdianorum ad regem XXX nobilissimi corporum robore eximio perducti erant: qui ubi per interpretem cognoverunt iussu regis ipsos ad supplicium trahi, carmen laetantium modo canere tripudiisque et lasciviori corporis motu gaudium quoddam animi ostentare coeperunt. [5] Admiratus est rex tanta magnitudine animi oppetere mortem revocari eos iussit, [6] causam tam effusae laetitiae, cum supplicium ante oculos haberent, requirens. Illi, si ab alio occiderentur, tristes morituros fuisse respondent: nunc a tanto rege, victore omnium gentium, maioribus suis redditos honestam mortem, quam fortes viri voto quoque expeterent, [7] carminibus sui moris laetitiaque celebrare. Tantam rex admiratus magnitudinem animi: ‘Quaero,’ inquit, ‘an vivere velitis non inimici mihi, [8] cuius beneficio victuri estis?’ Illi numquam se inimicos ei, sed bello lacessitos se inimicos hosti fuisse respondent: si quis ipsos beneficio quam iniuria experiri maluisset, certaturos fuisse, ne vincerentur officio. [9] Interrogantique, quo pignore fidem obligaturi essent, vitam, quam acciperent, pignori futuram esse dixerunt : reddituros, quandoque repetisset. Nec

promissum fefellerunt. Nam, qui remissi domos erant, fide continuere populares: quattuor inter custodes corporis retenti nulli Macedonum in regem caritate cesserunt. [p. 245] [10] In Sogdianis Peucolao cum III milibus peditum — neque enim maiore praesidio indigebat — relicto Bactra pervenit. Inde Bessum Ecbatana duci iussit interfecto Dareo poenas capite persoluturum. [11] Isdem fere diebus Ptolomaeus et Melanidas peditum IIII milia et equites M adduxerunt mercede militaturos. [12] Asander quoque ex Lycia cum pari numero peditum et D equitibus venit. Totidem ex Syria Asclepiodorum sequebantur. Antipater Graecorum VIII milia, in quis DC equites erant, miserat. [13] Itaque exercitu aucto ad ea, quae defectione turbata erant, componenda processit, interfectisque consternationis auctoribus quarto die ad flumen Oxum perventum est. Hic, quia limum vehit, turbidus semper, insalubris est potui. [14] Itaque puteos miles coeperat fodere, nec tamen humo alte egesta existebat humor. Tandem in ipso tabernaculo regis conspectus est fons: quem quia tarde notaverant, subito exitisse finxerunt, rexque ipse credi voluit, deum donum id fuisse. [15] Superatis deinde omnibus Ocho et Oxo ad urbem Margianam pervenit. Circa eam VI oppidis condendis electa sedes est, duo ad meridiem versa, IIII spectantia orientem: modicis inter se spatiis distabant, ne procul repetendum esset mutuuum auxilium. [16] Haec omnia sita sunt in editis collibus. Tunc [p. 246] velut freni domitarum gentium, nunc originis suae oblita serviunt, quibus imperaverunt.

Et cetera quidem pacaverat rex. Una erat petra, quam Ariamazes Sogdianus cum XXX milibus armatorum obtinebat alimentis ante congestis, [2] quae tantae multitudini vel per biennium suppeterent. Petra in altitudinem XXX eminet stadia, circuitu C et L complectitur: undique abscisa et abrupta semita perangusta aditur. [3] In medio altitudinis spatio habet specum, cuius os artum et obscurum est: paulatim deinde ulteriora panduntur, ultima etiam altos recessus habent. Fontes per totum fere specum manant, e quibus collatae aquae per prona montis flumen emittunt. [4] Rex loci difficultate spectata statuerat inde abire: cupido deinde incessit animo naturam quoque fatigandi. [5] Prius tamen quam fortunam obsidionis experiretur, Cophen — Artabazi hic filius erat — misit ad barbaros, qui suaderet, ut dederent rupem. Ariamazes loco fretus superbe multa respondit, ad ultimum, an Alexander etiam volare posset, interrogat. [6] Quae nuntiata regi sic accendere animum, ut adhibitis, cum quibus consultare erat solitus, indicaret insolentiam barbari eludentis ipsos, quia pinnas non haberent: se autem proxima nocte effecturum, ut crederet Macedones etiam volare. [7] ‘CCC,’ inquit, ‘pernicissimos iuvenes ex suis quisque copiis perducite ad me, qui per calles et paene invias rupes domi pecora agere consueverant.’ [8] Illi praestantes et [p. 247] levitate corporum et ardore animorum strenue adducunt. Quos intuens rex: ‘Vobiscum,’ inquit, ‘o iuvenes et mei aequales, urbium invictarum ante me munimenta superavi, montium iuga perenni nive obruta emensus sum, angustias Ciliciae intravi, Indiae sine lassitudine vim frigoris sum perpessus. Et mei documenta vobis dedi et vestra habeo. [9] Petra, quam videtis, unum aditum habet, quem barbari

obsident, cetera neglegunt: nullae vigiliae sunt, nisi quae castra nostra spectant. [10] Invenietis viam, si sollerter rimati fueritis aditus ferentis ad cacumen. Nihil tam alte natura constitua, quo virtus non possit eniti. Experiendo, quae ceteri desperaverunt, Asiam habemus in potestate. [11] Evadite in cacumen: quod cum ceperitis, candidis velis signum mihi dabit: ego copiis admotis hostem in nos a vobis convertam. [12] Praemium erit ei, qui primus occupaverit verticem, talenta x, uno minus accipiet, qui proximus ei venerit, eademque ad decem homines servabitur portio. Certum autem habeo vos non tam liberalitatem intueri meam quam voluntatem.' [13] His animis regem audierunt, ut iam cepisse verticem viderentur: dimissique ferreos cuneos, quos inter saxa defigerent, validosque funes parabant. [14] Rex circumvectus petram, qua minime asper ac praeruptus aditus videbatur, secunda vigilia, quod bene verteret, ingredi iubet. Illi alimentis in biduum sumptis gladiis modo atque hastis armati subire coeperunt. [15] Ac primo pedibus ingressi sunt: deinde, ut in praerupta perventum est, alii manibus eminentia saxa complexi levare semet, [p. 248] alii adiectis funium laqueis evasere, quidam, cum cuneos inter saxa defigerent, gradus subdidere, quis insisterent. [16] Diem inter metum laboremque consumpserunt. Per aspera enisis duriora restabant, et crescere altitudo petrae videbatur. Illa vero miserabilis erat facies, cum ii, quos instabilis gradus fefellerat, ex praecipiti devoluerentur: mox eadem in se patienda alieni casus ostendebat exemplum. [17] Per has tamen difficultates enituntur in verticem montis, omnes fatigatione continuati laboris adfecti, quidam mulcati parte membrorum pariterque eos et nox et somnus oppressit. [18] Stratis passim corporibus in inviis et asperis saxorum periculi instantis obliti in lucem quieverunt: tandemque velut ex alto sopore excitati occultas subiectasque ipsis valles rimantes, ignari, in qua parte petrae tanta vis hostium condita esset, fumum specu infra se ipsos evolutum notaverunt. [19] Ex quo intellectum, illam hostium latebram esse. Itaque hastis inposuere, quod convenerat signum: totoque e numero II et XXX in ascensu interisse agnoscunt. [20] Rex non cupitline magis potiundi loci quam vice eorum, quos ad tam manifestum periculum miserat, sollicitas toto die cacumina montis intuens restitit: noctu demum, cum obscuritas conspectum oculorum ademisset, ad curandum corpus recessit. [21] Postero die nondum satis clara luce primus vela, signum capti verticis, conspexit. Sed, ne falleretur acies, dubitare cogebat varietas caeli nunc internitente lucis [p. 249] fulgore, nunc condito. Verum, ut liquidior lux adparuit caelo, dubitatio exempta est: [22] vocatumque Cophen, per quem barbarorum animos temptaverat, mittit ad eos, qui moneret, nunc saltem salubrius consilium inirent: sin autem fiducia loci perseverarent, ostendi a tergo iussit, qui ceperant verticem. [23] Cophes admissus suadere coepit Ariamazi petram tradere, gratiam regis inituro, si tantas res molientem in unius rupis obsidione haerere non coegisset. Ille ferocius superbius que quam antea locutus abire Cophen iubet: [24] at is pressum manu barbarum rogat, ut secum extra specum prodeat. Quo inpetrato iuvenes in cacumine ostendit et eius superbiae haud inmerito inludens pinnas

habere ait milites Alexandri. [25] Iamque e Macedonum castris signorum concentus et totius exercitus clamor audiebatur. Ea res, sicut pleraque belli, vana et inanis barbaros ad deditionem traxit: quippe occupati metu paucitatem eorum, qui a tergo erant, aestimare non poterant. [26] Itaque Cophen — nam trepidantes reliquerat — strenue revocant et cum eo XXX principes mittunt, qui petram tradant et, ut incolumibus abire liceat, paciscantur. [27] Ille quamquam verebatur, ne conspecta iuvenum paucitate, deturbarent eos barbari, tamen et fortunae suae confisus et Ariamazi superbiae infensus, nullam se condicionem deditionis accipere respondit. [28] Ariamazes desperatis magis quam perditis rebus cum [p. 250] propinquis nobilissimisque gentis suae descendit in castra: quos omnis verberibus adfectos sub ipsis radicibus petrae crucibus iussit adfigi. [29] Multitudo deditorum incolis novarum urbium cum pecunia capta dono data est, Artabazus in petrae regionisque, quae adpo sita esset ei, tutelam relictus.

BOOK VIII.

Alexander maiore fama quam gloria in dicionem redacta petra, cum propter vagum hostem spargendae manus essent, in tres partes divisit exercitum. Hephaestionem uni, Coenon alteri duces dederat, ipse ceteris praeerat. [2] Sed non eadem mens omnibus barbaris fuit: armis quidam subacti, plures ante certamen imperata fecerunt. Quibus eorum, qui in defectione perseveraverant, urbes agrosque iussit attribui. [3] At exules Bactriani cum DCCC Massagetarum equitibus proximos vicos vastaverunt. Ad quos coercendos Attinas, regionis eius praefectus, CCC equites insidiarum, quae parabantur, ignarus eduxit. [4] Namque hostis in silvis — et erant forte campo iunctae — armatum [p. 252] militem condidit paucis propellentibus pecora, ut inprovidum ad insidias praeda perduceret. [5] Itaque inconposito agmine solutisque ordinibus Attinas praedabundus sequebatur: quem praetergressum silvam, qui in ea consederant, [6] ex inproviso adorti cum omnibus interemerunt. Celeriter ad Craterum huius cladis fama perlata est, qui cum omni equitatu supervenit. Et Massagetae quidem iam refugerant, Dahae M oppressi sunt: quorum clade totius regionis finita defectio est. [7] Alexander quoque Sogdianis rursus subactis Maracanda repetit. Ibi Derdas, quem ad Scythas super Bosporum colentes miserat, cum legatis gentis occurrit. [8] Phrataphernes quoque, qui Chorasmiis praeerat, Massagetis et Dahis regionum confinio adiunctus miserat, qui facturum imperata pollicerentur. [9] Scythae petebant, ut regis sui filiam matrimonio sibi iungeret: si dedignaretur adfinitatem, principes Macedonum cum primoribus suae gentis conubio coire pateretur: ipsum regum quoque regem venturum ad eum pollicebantur. [10] Utraque legatione benigne audita Hephaestionem et Artabazum opperiens stativa habuit: quibus adiunctis in regionem, quae appellatur Bazaira, pervenit. [11] Barbarae opulentiae in illis locis haud ulla sunt maiora indicia quam magnis nemoribus saltibusque nobilium ferarum greges clusi. [12] Spatiosas ad hoc eligunt silvas crebris perenuium aquarum fontibus amoenas: muris nemora cinguntur turreaque habent venantium [p. 253] receptacula. [13] Quattuor continuis aetatibus intactum saltum fuisse constabat, cum Alexander cum toto exercitu ingressus agitari undique feras iussit. [14] Inter quas cum leo magnitudinis rarae ipsum regem invasurus incurreret, forte Lysimachus, qui postea regnavit, proximus Alexandro venabulum obicere ferae coeperat: quo rex repulso et abire iusso adiecit tam a semet uno quam a Lysimacho leonem interfici posse. [15] Lysimachus enim quondam, cum venarentur in Syria, occiderat quidem eximiae magnitudinis feram solus, sed laevo humero usque ad ossa lacerato ad ultimum periculi pervenerat. [16] Id ipsum exprobrans ei rex fortius, quam locutus est, fecit: nam feram non excepit modo, sed etiam uno vulnere occidit. [17] Fabulam, quae obiectum leoni a rege Lysimachum temere vulgavit, ab eo casu, quem supra) diximus, ortam esse crediderim. [18] Ceterum Macedones, quamquam prospero eventu defunctus erat Alexander, tamen scivere gentis

suave more, ne aut pedes venaretur aut sine delectis principum atque amicorum. [19] Ille III milibus ferarum deiectis in eodem saltu cum toto exercitu epulatus est. Inde Maracanda redi tum est: acceptaque aetatis excusatione ab Artabazo provinciam eius destinat Clito. [20] Hic erat, qui apud Granicum amnem nudo capite regem dimicantem clipeo suo texit et Rhosacis manum [p. 254] capiti regis imminentem gladio amputavit, vetus Philippi miles multisque bellicis operibus clarus. [21] Et Larnice, quae Alexandrum educaverat, soror eius, haud secus quam mater a rege diligebatur. Ob has causas validissimam imperii partem fidei eius tutelaque commisit. [22] Iamque iter parare in posterum iussus sollemni et tempestivo adhibetur convivio. In quo rex cum multo incaluisset mero, inmodicus aestimator sui celebrare, quae gesserat, coepit, gravis etiam eorum auri bus, qui sentiebant vera memorari. [23] Silentium tamen habuere seniores, donec Philippi res orsus obtinere nobilem apud Chaeroneam victoriam sui operis fuisse iactavit ademptamque sibi malignitate et invidia patris tantae rei gloriam. [24] Illum quidem seditione inter Macedones milites et Graecos mercennarios orla debilitatum vulnere, quod in ea consternatione acceperat, iacuisse, non alia re quam simulatione mortis tutiorem: se corpus eius protexisse clipeo suo, ruentesque in illum sua manu occisos. [25] Quae patrem numquam aequo animo esse confessum, invitum filio debentem salutem sol suam. Atque post expeditionem, quam sine eo fecisset ipse in Illyrios, victorem scripsisse se patri fusos fugatosque hostes: [26] nec adfuisse usquam Philippum. Laude dignos esse, non qui Samotracum initia viserent, [27] cum Asiam uri vastarique oporteret, sed eos, qui magnitudine rerum fidem antecessissent. Haec et bis similia laeti audire iuvenes, ingrata senioribus erant, [p. 255] maxime propter Philippum, sub quo diutius vixerant, [28] cum Clitus ne ipse quidem satis sobrius ad eos, qui infra ipsum cubabant, conversus Euripidis rettulit carmen, ita ut sonus magis quam sermo exaudiri posset a rege, [29] quo significabatur male instituisse Graecos, quod tropaeis regum dumtaxat nomina inscriberent: alieno enim sanguine partem gloriam intercipi. Itaque rex, cum suspicaretur malignius habitum esse sermonem, percontari proximos coepit, quid ex Clito audissent. [30] Et illis ad silendum obstinatis Clitus paulatim maiore voce Philippi acta bellaque in Graecia gesta commemorat omnia praesentibus praeferens. [31] Hinc inter iuniores senesque orta contentio est. Et rex, velut patienter audiret, quis Clitus obtinebat laudes eius, ingentem iram conceperat. [32] Ceterum cum animo videretur imperaturus, si finem procaciter orto sermoni Clitus inponeret, nihil eo remittente magis exasperabatur. [33] Iamque Clitus etiam Parmenionem defendere audebat et Philippi de Atheniensibus victoriam Thesbarum praeferebat excidio non vino modo, sed etiam animi prava contentione proventus. [34] Ad ultimum: 'Si moriendum,' inquit, 'est pro te, Clitus est primus: at cum victoriae arbitrium agis, praecipuum ferunt, qui procacissime patris tui memoriae inludunt. [35] Sogdianam regionem mihi attribuis, totiens rebellem et non modo indomitam, sed quae ne subigi quidem possit. Mittor ad feras bestias, praecipitia ingenia sortitas. Sed, quae [p. 256] ad me pertinent,

transeo. [36] Philippi milites sporn is, oblitus, nisi hic Atarrhias senex iuniores pugnam detrectantes revocasset, adhuc nos circa Halicarnasum haesuros fuisse. [37] Quomodo igitur Asiam totam cum istis iunioribus subegisti? Verum est, ut opinor, quod avunculum tuum in Italia dixisse constat, ipsum in viros incidisse, [38] te in feminas.' Nihil ex omnibus inconsulte ac temere iactis regem magis moverat quam Parmenionis cum honore mentio inlata. Dolorem tamen repressit, contentus iussisse, ut convivio excederet. [39] Nec quicquam aliud adiecit quam forsitan eum, si diutius locutus foret, exprobraturum sibi fuisse vitam a semetipso datam: [40] hoc enim superbe saepe iactasse. Atque illum cunctantem adhuc surgere, qui proximi ei cubuerant, [41] iniectis manibus iurgantes monentesque conabantur abducere. Clitus cum abstraheretur, ad pristinam vinolentiam ira quoque adiecta suo pectore tergum illius esse defensum, nunc, postquam tanti meriti praeterierit tempus, etiam memoriam invisam esse proclamat. [42] Attali quoque caedem obiciebat et ad ultimum Iovis, quem patrem sibi Alexander adsereret, oraculum eludens veriora se regi quam patrem eius respondisse dicebat. [43] Iam tantum irae conceperat rex, quantum vix sobrius ferre potuisset. Enimvero olim mero sensibus victis ex lecto repente prosiluit. [44] Attoniti amici ne positis quidem, sed abiectis poculis consurgunt in eventum rei, quam tanto impetu acturus esset, intenti. [45] Alexander rapta lancea ex manibus [p. 257] armigeri Clitum adhuc eadem linguae intemperantia furem percutere conatus a Ptolomaeo et Perdicca inhibetur. [46] Medium complexi et obluctari perseverantem morabantur, Lysimachus et Leonnatus etiam lanceam abstulerant: [47] ille militum fidem inplorans comprehendi se a proximis amicorum, quod Dareo nuper accidisset, exclamat signumque tuba dari, ut ad regiam armati coirent, iubet. [48] Tum vero Ptolomaeus et Perdiccas genibus advoluti orant, ne in tam praecipiti ira perseveret spatiumque potius animo det: omnia postero die iustius executurum. [49] Sed clausae erant aures obstrepente ira: itaque inpotens animi procurrit in regiae vestibulum et vigili excubanti hasta ablata constitit in aditu, quo necesse erat his, qui simul cenaverant, egredi. [50] Abierant ceteri, Clitus ultimus sine lumine exibat: cum rex, quisnam esset, interrogat. Eminebat etiam in voce sceleris, quod parabat, atrocitas. [51] Et ille iam non suae, sed regis irae memor Clitum esse et de convivio exire respondit. [52] Haec dicentis latus hasta transfixit morientisque sanguine adpersus: 'I nunc,' inquit, 'ad Philippum et Parmenionem et Attalum.'

Male humanis ingeniis natura consuluit, quod plerumque non futura, sed transacta perpendimus. Quippe rex, postquam ira mente decesserat, etiam ebrietate discussa magnitudinem facinoris sera aestimatione perspexit. [2] Videbat tunc inmodice libertate abusum, sed alioqui egregium bello virum et, nisi erubesceret fateri, [p. 258] servatorem sui occisum. Detestabile carnificis ministerium occupaverat rex, verborum licentiam, quae vino poterat inputari, nefanda caede ultus. [3] Manabat toto vestibulo cruor paulo ante convivae: vigiles attoniti et stupentibus similes procul stabant, [4] liberiolemque paenitentiam solitudo eliciebat. Ergo hastam ex corpore iacentis evolsam

retorsit in semet. Iamque admoverat pectori, cum advolant vigiles et repugnanti e manibus extorquent adlevatumque in tabernaculum deferunt. [5] Ille humi prostraverat corpus gemitu eiulatuque miserabili tota personante regia. Laniare deinde os unguibus et circumstantes rogare, ne se tanto dedecori superstitem esse paterentur. [6] Inter has preces tota nox extracta est. Scrutantemque, num ira deorum ad tantum nefas actus esset, subit anniversarium sacrificium Libero Patri non esse redditum stato tempore. Itaque inter vinum et epulas caede commissa iram dei fuisse manifestam. [7] Ceterum magis eo movebatur, quod omnium amicorum animos videbat attonitos: neminem cum ipso sociare sermonem postea ausurum, vivendum esse in solitudine velut ferae bestiae terrenti alias timentique. [8] Prima deinde luce tabernaculo corpus, sicut adhuc cruentum erat, iussit inferri. Quo posito ante ipsum lacrimis obortis: 'Hanc,' inquit, 'nutrici meae gratiam rettuli, cuius duo filii apud Miletum pro mea gloria occubuerunt mortem, hic frater, unicum orbitatis solacium, [9] a me inter epulas occisus est. Quo nunc se conferet misera? Omnibus eius unus supersum, quem [p. 259] solum aequis oculis videre non poterit. Et ego, servatorum meorum latro, revertar in patriam, ut ne dexteram quidem nutrici sine memoria calamitatis eius offerre possim!' [10] Et cum finis lacrimis querellisque non fieret, iussu amicorum corpus ablatum est. Rex triduum iacuit inclusus. [11] Quem ut armigeri corporisque custodes ad moriendum obstinatum esse cognoverunt, universi in tabernaculum inrumpunt diuque precibus ipsorum reluctatum aegre vicerunt, ut cibum caperet. [12] Quoque minus caedis puderet, iure interfectum Clitum Macedones decernunt, sepultura quoque prohibitori, ni rex humari iussisset. [13] Igitur X diebus maxime ad confirmandum pudorem apud Maracanda consumptis cum parte exercitus Hephaestionem in regionem Bactrianam misit commeatus in hiemem paraturum. [14] Quam Clito ante destinaverat provinciam, Amyntae dedit: ipse Xenippa pervenit. Scythiae confinis est regio habitaturque pluribus ac frequentibus vicis, quia ubertas terrae non indigenas modo detinet, sed etiam advenas invitat. [15] Bactrianorum exulum, qui ab Alexandro defecerant, receptaculum fuerat: sed, postquam regem adventare conpertum est, [16] pulsi ab incolis II milia fere et D congregantur. Omnes equites erant etiam in pace latrocinii adsueti: tum ferocia ingenia non bellum modo, sed etiam veniae desperatio efferaverat. Itaque ex inproviso adorti Amyntan, praetorem Alexandri, diu anceps proelium fecerant: [p. 260] [17] ad ultimum DCC suorum amissis, quorum CCC hostis cepit, dedere terga victoribus haud sane inulti: quippe LXXX Macedonum interfecerunt, praeterque eos CCC et L saucii facti sunt. [18] Veniam tamen etiam post alteram defectionem inpetraverunt. [19] His in fidem acceptis in regionem, quam Nautaca appellant, rex cum toto exercitu venit. Satrapes erat Sisimithres duobus ex sua matre filiis genitis: quippe apud eos parentibus stupro coire cum liberis fas est. [20] Is armatis popularibus fauces regionis, qua in artissimum cogitur, valido munimento saepserat. Praeterfluebat torrens amnis, terga petra claudebat: hanc manu perviam incolae fecerant, [21] sed aditu specus accipit lucem, interiora nisi inlato lumine

obscura sunt. [22] Perpetuus cuniculus iter praebet in campos ignotum nisi indigenis. At Alexander, quamquam angustias naturali situ munitas ac valida manu barbari tuebantur, tamen arietibus admotis munimenta, quae manu adiuncta erant, concussit fundisque et sagittis propugnantium plerosque deiecit. Quos ubi dispersos fugavit, ruinas munimentorum supergressus ad petram admovit exercitum. [23] Ceterum interveniebat fluvius coeuntibus aquis ex superiore fastigio in vallem, magnique operis videbatur tam vastam voraginem explere: [24] caedi tamen arbores et saxa congeri iussit. Ingensque barbaros pavor rudes ad talia opera concusserat excitatam molem subito cementes. [25] Itaque rex ad deditionem [p. 261] metu posse compelli ratus Oxarten misit nationis eiusdem, sed dicionis suae, qui suaderet duci, ut traderet petram. [26] Interim ad augendam formidinem et turres admovebantur et excussa tormentis tela micabant. Itaque verticem petrae omni alio praesidio damnato petiverunt. [27] At Oxartes trepidum diffidentemque rebus suis Sisimithren coepit hortari, ut fidem quam vim Macedonum mallet experiri neu moraretur festinationem victoris exercitus in Indiam tendentis: cui quisquis semet offerret, in suum caput alienam cladem esse versurum. [28] Et ipse quidem Sisimithres deditionem non abnuebat, ceterum mater eademque coniunx morituram se ante denuntians, quam in ullius veniret potestatem, barbari animum ad honestiora quam tutiora converterat, pudebatque libertatis maius esse apud feminas quam apud viros pretium. [29] Itaque dimisso. internuntio pacis obsidionem ferre decreverat. Sed cum hostis vires suasque pensaret, rursus muliebris consilii, quod praeceps magis quam necessarium esse credebat, paenitere eum coepit. [30] Revocatoque strenue Oxarte futurum se in regis potestate respondit, unum id precatus, ne voluntatem et consilium matris suae proderet, quo facilius venia illi quoque inpetraretur. [31] Praemissum igitur Oxarten cum matre liberisque et totius cognationis grege sequebatur ne expectato quidem fidei pignore, quod Oxartes promiserat. [32] Rex equite prae- [p. 262] misso, qui reverti eos iuberet opperiri praesentiam ipsius, supervenit et victimis Minervae ac Victoriae caesis imperium Sisimithri restituit spe maioris etiam provinciae facta, si cum fide amicitiam ipsius coluisset. [33] Duos illi iuvenes patre tradente secum militaturos sequi iussit. [34] Relicta deinde phalange ad subigendos, qui defecerant, cum equite processit. Arduum et inpeditum saxis iter primo utcumque tolerabant, mox equorum non ungulis modo attritis, sed corporibus etiam fatigatis sequi plerique non poterant, et rarius subinde agmen fiebat pudorem, ut fere fit, inmodico labore vincente. [35] Rex tamen subinde equos mutans sine intermissione fugientes insequabatur. Nobiles iuvenes comitari eum soliti defecerant praeter Philippum: Lysimachi erat frater tum primum adultus et, quod facile adpareret, indolis rarae. [36] Is pedes, incredibile dictu, per D stadia vectum regem comitatus est saepe equum suum offerente Lysimacho, nec tamen, ut digrederetur a rege, [37] effici potuit, cum lorica indutus arma gestaret. Idem, cum perventum esset in saltum, in quo se barbari abdiderant, nobilem edidit pugnam regemque comminus cum hoste dimicantem protexit.

[38] Sed postquam barbari in fugam effusi deseruere silvas, animus, qui in ardore pugnae corpus sustentaverat, liquit, subitoque ex omnibus membris profuso sudore arboris proximae stipiti se adplicuit. [39] Deinde ne illo quidem adminiculo sustinente manibus regis exceptus est: inter quas conlapsus extinguitur. Maestum regem alius haud levis [p. 263] dolor excepit. [40] Erigyius inter claros duces fuerat: quem extinctum esse paulo ante, quam reverteretur in castra, cognovit. Utriusque funus omni apparatu atque honore celebratum est.

Dahas deinde statuerat petere: ibi namque Spitamenen esse cognoverat. Sed hanc quoque expeditionem, ut pleraque alia, fortuna indulgendo ei numquam fatigata pro absente transegit. Spitamenes uxoris inmodico amore flagrabat, quam aegre fugam et nova subinde exilia tolerantem in omne discrimen comitem trahebat. [2] Illa malis fatigata identidem muliebres adhibere blanditias, ut tandem fugam sisteret victorisque Alexandri clementiam expertus placaret, quem effugere non posset. [3] Tres adulti erant liberi ex eo geniti: quos cum pectori patris admovisset, ut saltem eorum misereri vellet, orabat: et, quo efficaciores essent, preces, haud procul erat Alexander. [4] Ille se prodi, non moneri ratus et formae profecto fiducia cupere eam quam primum dedi Alexandro acinacem strinxit percussurus uxorem, [5] nisi prohibitus esset fratrum eius occursu. Ceterum abire e conspectu iubet addito metu mortis, si se oculis eius obtulisset, et ad desiderium levandum noctes agere inter pelices coepit. [6] Sed penitus haerens amor fastidio praesentium accensus est. Itaque rursus uni ei deditus orare non destitit, ut tali consilio abstineret patereturque sortem, quamcumque iis fortuna fecisset: [7] sibi mortem deditione esse leviolem. At illa purgare se, quod, quae utilia esse censebat, muliebriter forsitan, sed fida tamen mente suasisset: de cetero futuram in viri potestate. [8] Spitamenes simulato captus [p. 264] obsequio de die convivium apparari iubet vinoque et epulis gravis et semisomnus in cubiculum fertur. [9] Quem ut alto et gravi somno sopitum esse sensit uxor, gladium, quem veste occultaverat, stringit caputque eius abscisum cruore respersa servo suo conscio facinoris tradit. [10] Eodem comitante, sicuti erat cruenta veste, in Macedonum castra pervenit nuntiarique Alexandro iubet, esse, quae ex ipsa deberet agnoscere. [11] Ille protinus barbaram iussit admitti. Quam ut respersam cruore conspexit, [12] ratus ad deplorandam contumeliam venisse, dicere, quae vellet, iubet. At illa servum, quem in vestibulo stare iusserat, introduci desideravit. Qui, quia caput Spitamenis veste tectum habebat, suspectus scrutantibus, quid occuleret, ostendit. [13] Confuderat oris exsanguis notas pallor, nec, quis esset, nosci satis poterat: ergo rex certior factus, humanum caput adferre eum, tabernaculo excessit percontatusque, quid rei sit, illo profitente cognoscit. [14] Varias hinc cogitationes invicem animum diversa agitantem commoverant. Meritum ingens in semet esse credebat, quod transfuga et proditor, tantis rebus, si vixisset, iniecturus moram, interfectus esset: contra facinus ingens aversabatur, cum virum optime meritum de ipsa, communium parentem liberum per insidias

interemisset. [15] Vicit tamen gratiam meriti sceleris atrocitas, denuntiarique iussit, ut excederet castris, ne licentiae barbarae exemplar in Graecorum mores et mitia ingenia transferret. [16] Dahae Spitamenis caede conperta Dataphernen, defectionis [p. 265] eius participem, vinctum Alexandro seque dedunt. Ille maxima praesentium curarum parte liberatus convertit animum ad vindicandas iniurias eorum, quibus a praetoribus suis avare ac superbe imperabatur. [17] Ergo Phratapherni Hyrcaniam et Mardos cum Tapuris tradidit mandavitque, ut Phradaten, cui succedebat, ad se in custodiam mitteret. Arsami, Drangarum praefecto, substitutus est Stasanor, Arsaces in Mediam missus, ut Oxydates inde discederet. Babylonia demortuo Mazaeo Stameni subiecta est.

His conpositis tertio mense ex hibernis movit exercitum regionem, [2] quae Gazaca appellatur, aditurus. Primus dies quietum iter praeuit, proximus ei nondum quidem procellosus et tristis, obscurior tamen pristino non sine minis crescentis mali praeteriit, [3] tertio ab omni parte caeli emicare fulgura et nunc internitente luce, nunc condita non oculos modo meantis exercitus, sed etiam animos terrere coeperunt. [4] Erat prope continuus caeli fragor, et passim cadentium fulminum species visebatur, attonitisque auribus stupens agmen nec progredi nec consistere audebat: [5] cum repente imber grandinem incutiens torrentis modo effunditur. Ac primo quidem armis suis tecti exceperant, sed iam nec retinere arma lubrica et rigentes manus poterant nec ipsi destinare, in quam regionem obverterent corpora, [p. 266] cum undique tempestatis violentia maior, quam vita batur, occurreret. [6] Ergo ordinibus solutis per totum saltum errabundum agmen ferebatur, multique prius metu quam labore defetigati prostraverant humi corpora, [7] quamquam imbrem vis frigoris concreto gelu adstrinxerat. Alii se stipitibus arborum admoverant: id plurimis et adminiculum et suffugium erat. [8] Nec fallebat ipsos morti locum eligere se, cum immobilis vitalis calor linqueret: sed grata erat pigritia corporum fatigatis, nec recusabant extinguī quiescendo. Quippe non vehemens modo, sed etiam pertinax vis mali insistebat, lucemque, naturale solacium, praeter tempestatem haud disparem nocti silvarum quoque umbra suppresserat. [9] Rex unus tanti mali patiens circumire milites, contrahere dispersos, adlevare prostratos, ostendere procul evolutum ex tuguriis fumum hortarique, [10] ut proxima quaeque suffugia occuparent. Nec ulla res magis saluti fuit, quam quod multiplicato labore sufficientem malis, quis ipsi cesserant, regem deserere erubescabant. [11] Ceterum efficacior in adversis necessitas quam ratio frigoris remedium invenit: dolabris enim silvas sternere adgressi passim acervos struesque accenderunt. [12] Continenti incendio ardere crederes saltum et vix inter flammas agminibus relictum locum. Hic calor stupentia membra commovit, [13] paulatimque spiritus, quem continuerat rigor, meare libere coepit. Excepere alios tecta barbarorum, quae in ultimo saltu abdita necessitas investigaverat, alios castra, quae in humido quidem, sed iam caeli mitescēte saevitia locaverunt. Duo milia militum atque lixarum calonumque pestis illa [p. 267] consumpsit. [14] Memoriae proditum est quosdam

adplicatos arborum truncis et non solum viventibus, sed etiam inter se conloquentibus similis esse conspectos durante adhuc habitu, in quo mors quemque deprenderat. [15] Forte Macedo gregarius miles seque et arma male sustentans tamen in castra pervenerat: quo viso rex, quamquam ipse tum maxime admoto igne refovebat artus, ex sella sua exiit torpentemque militem et vix compotem mentis demptis armis in sua sede iussit considerare. [16] Ille diu nec, ubi requiesceret, nec, a quo esset exceptus, agnovit. Tandem recepto calore vitali, ut regiam sedem regemque vidit, territus surgit. [17] Quem intuens Alexander: ‘Ecquid intellegis, miles,’ inquit, ‘quanto meliore sorte quam Persae sub rege vivatis? Illis enim in sella regis consedissee capital foret, tibi salutis fuit.’ [18] Postero die convocatis amicis copiarumque ducibus pronuntiari iussit, ipsum omnia, quae amissa essent, redditurum. Et promisso fides extitit. [19] Nam Sisimithres multa iumenta et camelorum 11 milia adduxit pecoraque et armenta: quae distributa pariter militem et damno et fame liberaverunt. [20] Rex gratiam sibi relata a Sisimithre perlaetus sex dierum cocta cibaria ferre milites iussit, Sacas petens. Totam hanc regionem depopulatus XXX milia pecorum ex praeda Sisimithri dono dat. [21] Inde pervenit in regionem, cui Oxyartes, satrapes nobilis, praeerat, qui se regis potestati fideique permisit. Ille imperio ei reddito haud amplius quam, ut [p. 268] duo ex tribus filiis secum militarent, exegit. [22] Satrapes etiam eo, qui penes ipsum relinquebatur, tradito barbara opulentia convivium, quo regem accipiebat, instruxerat: [23] id cum multa comitate celebraretur, introduci xxx nobiles virgines iussit. Inter quas erat filia ipsius, Roxane nomine, eximia corporis specie et decore habitus in barbarie raro. [24] Quae quamquam inter electas processerat, omnium tamen oculos convertit in se, maxime regis minus iam cupiditatibus suis imperantis inter obsequia fortunae, [25] contra quam non satis cauta mortalitas est. Itaque ille, qui uxorem Darei, qui duas filias virgines, quibus forma praeter Roxanen comparari nulla potuerat, haud alio animo quam parentis aspexerat, tunc in amorem virgunculae, si regiae stirpi compararetur, ignobilis ita effusus est, ut diceret ad stabiliendum regnum pertinere Persas et Macedones conubio iungi: hoc uno modo et pudorem victis et superbiam victoribus detrahi posse. [26] Achillem quoque, a quo genus ipse deduceret, cum captiva coissee: ne inferri nefas arbitrentur victi, [27] matrimonii iure velle iungi. Insperato gaudio elatus pater sermonem eius excipit, et rex in medio cupiditatis ardore iussit adferri patrio more panem — hoc erat apud Macedonas sanctissimum coeuntium pignus — , quem divisum gladio uterque libabat. [28] Credo eos, qui gentis mores condiderunt, parco et parabili victu ostendere voluisse iungentibus opes, quantulo contenti esse deberent. [29] Hoc modo rex Asiae et Europae introductam inter convivales ludos matrimonio sibi adiunxit ex captiva [p. 269] geniturus, qui victoribus imperaret. [30] Pudebat amicos super vinum et epulas socerum ex deditis esse delectum, sed post Cliti caedem libertate sublata vultu, qui maxime servit, adsentiebantur.

Ceterum Indiam et inde Oceanum petiturus, ne quid a tergo, quod destinata impeditur posset, moveretur, ex omnibus provinciis XXX milia iuniorum legi

iussit et ad se armata perduci obsides simul habiturus et milites. [2] Craterum autem ad persequendos Haustanen et Catanen, qui ab ipso defecerant, misit: quorum Haustanes captus est, Catanes in proelio occisus. Polypercon quoque regionem, quae Bubacene appellatur, in dicionem redegit. [3] Itaque omnibus conpositis cogitationes in bellum Indicum vertit. Dives regio habebatur non auro modo, sed gemmis quoque margaritisque, ad luxum magis quam ad magnificentiam exulta. [4] Periti militum res auro et ebore fulgere dicebant: itaque, necubi vinceretur, cum ceteris praestaret, scutis argenteas laminas, equis frenos aureos addidit, loricas quoque alias auro, alias argento adornavit. CXX milia armatorum erant, quae regem ad id bellum sequebantur. [5] Iamque omnibus praeparatis ratus, quod olim prava mente conceperat, tunc esse maturum, quonam modo caelestes honores usurparet, coepit agitare. Iovis filium non dici tantum se, sed etiam credi volebat, tamquam perinde animis imperare posset ac linguis, [6] iussitque more Persarum Macedonas venerabundos ipsum [p. 270] salutare prosternentes humi corpora. Non deerat talia concupiscenti pernicioza adulatio, perpetuum malum regum, quorum opes saepius adsentatio quam hostis evertit. [7] Nec Macedonum haec erat culpa — nemo enim illorum quicquam ex patrio more labare sustinuit — sed Graecorum, qui professionem honestarum artium malis conruperant moribus, [8] Agis quidem Argivus, pessimorum carminum post Choerilum conditor, et ex Sicilia Cleo, hic quidem non ingenii solum, sed etiam nationis vitio adulator, et cetera urbium suarum purgamenta, quae propinquis etiam maximorumque exercituum ducibus a rege inserebantur. Hi tum caelum illi aperiebant Herculemque et Patrem Liberum et cum Polluce Castorem novo numini cessuros esse iactabant. [9] Igitur festo die omni opulentia convivium exornari iubet, cui non Macedones modo et Graeci, principes amicorum, sed etiam hostium nobiles adhiberentur. Cum quibus cum discubisset rex, paulisper epulatus convivio egreditur. [10] Cleo, sicut praeparatum erat, sermonem cum admiratione laudum eius instituit. Merita dein de percensuit: quibus uno modo referri gratiam posse, si, quem intellexerent deum esse, confiterentur exigua turis impensa tanta beneficia pensaturi. [11] Persas quidem non pie solum, sed etiam prudenter reges suos inter deos colere: maiestatem enim imperii salutis esse tutelam. Ne Herculem quidem et Patrem Liberum prius dicatos deos, quam vicissent secum viventium invidiam: tantum de quoque posteros credere, quantum praesens aetas spopondisset. [12] Quodsi [p. 271] ceteri dubitent, semetipsum, cum rex inisset convivium, prostraturum humi corpus. Debere idem facere ceteros et in primis sapientia praeditos: ab illis enim cultus in regem exemplum esse prodendum. [13] Haud perplexe in Callisthenen dirigebatur oratio. Gravitas viri et prompta libertas invisae erat regi, quasi solus Macedonas paratos ad tale obsequium moraretur. [14] Is tum silentio facto unum illum intuentibus ceteris: ‘Si rex,’ inquit, ‘sermoni tuo adfuisset, nullius profecto vox responsuri tibi desideraretur: ipse enim peteret, ne in peregrinos ritus externosque degenerare se cogeres neu rebus felicissime gestis invidiam tali adulatione contraheres. [15] Sed quoniam abest, ego tibi pro

illo respondeo nullum esse eundem et diuturnum et praecoquem fructum, caelestesque honores non dare te regi, sed auferre. Intervallo enim opus est, ut credatur deus, semperque hanc gratiam magnis viris posterī reddunt. [16] Ego autem seram immortalitatem precor regi, ut et vita diuturna sit et aeterna maiestas. Hominem consequitur aliquando, [17] numquam comitatur divinitas. Herculem modo et Patrem Liberum consecratae immortalitatis exempla referebas. Credisne illos unius convivii decreto deos factos? Prius ab oculis mortalium amolita natura est, quam in caelum fama perveheret. [18] Scilicet ego et tu, Cleo, deos facimus, a nobis divinitatis suae auctoritatem accepturus est rex. Potentiam tuam experiri libet: fac aliquem regem, si deum potes facere! [19] Facilius est caelum dare quam imperium? Di propitii [p. 272] sine invidia, quae Cleo dixit, audierint eodemque cursu, quo fluxere adhuc res, ire patiantur. Nostris moribus velint nos esse contentos. Non pudet patriae, nee desidero, ad quem modum rex mihi colendus sit, discere a victis. [20] Quos equidem victores esse confiteor, si ab illis leges, quis vivamus, accipimus.’ Aequis auribus Callisthenes veluti vindex publicae libertatis audiebatur. Expresserat non adensationem modo, sed etiam vocem, seniorum praecipue, quibus gravis erat inveterati moris externa mutatio. [21] Nec quicquam eorum, quae invicem iactata erant, rex ignorabat, cum post aulaea, quae lectis obduxerat, staret. Igitur ad Agin et Cleonem misit, ut sermone finito barbaros tantum, cum intrasset, procumbere suo more paterentur, et paulo post, [22] quasi potiora quaedam egisset, convivium repetit. Quem venerantibus Persis Polypercon, qui cubabat super regem, unum ex iis mento contingentem humum per ludibrium coepit hortari, ut vehementius id quateret ad terram, elicitque iram Alexandri, quam olim animo capere non poterat. [23] Itaque rex: ‘Tu autem,’ inquit, ‘non veneraberis me? An tibi uni digni videmur esse ludibrio?’ Ille nec regem ludibrio nec se contemptu dignum esse respondit. [24] Tum detractum eum lecto rex praecipitat in terram et, cum is pronus corruisset: ‘Videsne,’ inquit, ‘idem te fecisse, quod in alio paulo ante ridebas?’ Et tradi eo in custodiam iusso convivium solvit.

Polyperconti quidem postea custodito diu ignovit: in Callisthenen olim contumacia suspectum pervicacioris irae fuit. Cuius explendae matura ob- [p. 273] venit occasio. [2] Mos erat, ut supra dictum est, principibus Macedonum adultos liberos regibus tradere ad munia haud multum servilibus ministeriis abhorrentia. [3] Excubabant servatis noctium vicibus proximi foribus eius aedis, in qua rex adquiescebat. Per hos pelices introducebantur alio aditu, quam quem armati obsidebant. [4] Idem acceptos ab agasonibus equos, cum rex ascensurus esset, admovebant comitabanturque et venantem et in proeliis omnibus artibus studiorum liberalium exculti. [5] Praecipuus honor habebatur, quod licebat sedentibus vesci cum rege. Castigandi eos verberibus nullius potestas praeter ipsum erat. [6] Haec cohors velut seminarium ducum praefectorumque apud Macedonas fuit: hinc habuere posterī reges, quorum stirpi post multas aetates Romani opes ademerunt. [7] Igitur Hermolaus, puer nobilis ex regia cohorte, cum aprum telo occupasset, quem rex ferire

destinaverat, iussu eius verberibus adfectus est. Quam ignominiam aegre ferens deflere apud Sostratum coepit. [8] Ex eadem cohorte erat Sostratus, amore eius aniens: qui cum laceratum corpus, in quo deperibat, intueretur, forsitan olim ob aliam quoque causam regi infestus, iuvenem sua sponte iam motum data fide acceptaque perpulit, ut occidendi regem consilium secum iniret. [9] Nec puerili impetu rem executi sunt: quippe solleter legerunt, quos in societatem sceleris adsciscerent. Nicostratum, Antipatrum Asclepiodorumque et Philotan placuit adsumi: per hos adiecti sunt Anticles et Aphthonius et Epimenes. [10] Ceterum agenda rei haud sane facilis [p. 274] petebat via: opus erat eadem omnis coniuratos nocte excubare, ne ab expertibus consilii inpedirentur, forte autem alius alia nocte excubabat. [11] Itaque in permutandis stationum vicibus ceteroque apparatu exequendae rei XXX et duo dies absumpti sunt. [12] Aderat nox, qua coniurati excubare debebant, mutua fide laeti, cuius documentum tot dies fuerant. Neminem metus spesve mutaverat: tanta omnibus vel in regem ira vel fides inter ipsos fuit. [13] Stabant igitur ad fores aedis eius, in qua rex vescebatur, [14] ut convivio egressum in cubiculum deducerent. Sed fortuna ipsius simulque epulantium comitas provexit omnes ad largius vinum: ludi etiam convivales extraxere tempus nunc laetantibus coniuratis, quod sopitum adgressuri essent, nunc sollicitis, ne in lucem convivium extraheret. [15] Quippe alios in stationem oportebat prima luce succedere ipsorum post septimum diem reditura vice, nec sperare poterant in illud tempus omnibus duraturam fidem. [16] Ceterum cum iam lux adpeteret, et convivium solvitur et coniurati exceperunt regem laeti occasionem exequendi sceleris admotam: cum mulier attonitae, ut creditum est, mentis conversari in regia solita, quia instinctu videbatur futura praedicere, non occurrit modo abeunti, sed etiam semet obiecit vultuque et oculis motum praeferens animi, ut rediret in convivium, monuit. [17] Et ille per a ludum, bene deos suadere, respondit revocatisque amicis in horam diei ferme secundam convivii tempus extraxit. [18] Iam alii ex cohorte in stationem successerant ante cubiculi fores excubaturi, adhuc tamen coniurati stabant vice officii sui expleta: [19] adeo pertinax spes est, quam humanae mentes devoraverunt. Rex benignius [p. 275] quam alias adlocutus discedere eos ad curanda corpora, quoniam tota nocte perstitissent, iubet. Data singulis L sestertia, conlaudatique, quod etiam aliis tradita vice tamen excubare perseverassent. [20] Illi tanta spe destituti domos abeunt. Et ceteri quidem expectabant stationis suae noctem: Epimenes sive comitate regis, qua ipsum inter coniuratos exceperat, repente mutatus, sive quia coeptis deos ob stare credebatur, fratri suo Eurylocho, quem antea expertem esse consilii voluerat, quid pararetur, aperit. [21] Omnibus Philotae supplicium in oculis erat: itaque protinus inicit fratri manum et in regiam pervenit excitatisque custodibus corporis ad salutem regis pertinere, quae adferret, adfirmat. [22] Et tempus, quo venerant, et vultus haud sane securi animi index et maestitia e duobus alterius Ptolomaeum ac Leonnatum excubantes ad cubiculi limen excitaverunt. Itaque apertis foribus et lumine inlato sopitum mero ac somno excitant regem. Ille

paulatim mente collecta, quid adferrent, interrogat. [23] Nec cunctatus Eurylochus non ex toto domum suam aversari deos dixit, quia frater ipsius, quam quam impium facinus ausus foret, tamen et paenitentiam eius ageret et per se potissimum profiteretur indicium: in eam ipsam noctem, quae decederet, insidias comparatas fuisse, auctores scelesti consilii esse, quos minime crederet rex. [24] Tum Epimenes cuncta ordine consciorumque nomina exponit. Callisthenen non ut participem facinoris nominatum esse constabat, sed solitum puerorum sermonibus [p. 276] vituperantium criminantiumque regem faciles aures praebere. [25] Quidam adiciunt, cum Hermolaus apud eum quoque verberatum se a rege quereretur, dixisse Callisthenen, meminisse debere eos iam viros esse: idque ad consolandam patientiam verberum an ad incitandum iuvenum dolorem dictum esset, in ambiguo fuisse. [26] Rex animi corporisque sopore discusso, cum tanti periculi, quo evaserat, imago oculis oberraret, Eurylochum L. talentis et cuiusdam Tiridatis opulentis bonis protinus donat fratremque, [27] antequam pro salute eius precaretur, restituit, sceleris autem auctores interque eos Callisthenen vinctos adservari iubet. Quibus in regiam adductis toto die et nocte proxima mero ac vigiliis gratis adquievit. [28] Postero autem frequens consilium adhibuit, cui patres propinquire eorum, de quibus agebatur, intererant, ne de sua quidem salute securi: quippe Macedonum more perire debebant omnium devotis capitibus, [29] qui sanguine contigissent reos. Rex introduci coniuratos praeter Callisthenen iussit: [30] atque, quae agitaverant, sine cunctatione confessi sunt. Increpantibus deinde universis eos ipse rex. quo suo merito tantum in semet cogitassent facinus, interrogat.

Stupentibus ceteris Hermolaus: ‘Nos vero,’ inquit, ‘quoniam, quasi nescias, quaeris, occidendi te consilium iniimus, quia non ut ingenuis imperare coepisti, [2] sed quasi in mancipia dominari.’ Primus ex omnibus pater ipsius Sopolis parricidam etiam parentis sui clamitans esse consurgit et ad os manu obiecta scelere et malis insanientem [p. 277] ultra negat audiendum. [3] Rex inhibito patre dicere Hermolaum iubet, quae ex magistro didicisset Callisthene. Et Hermolaus: ‘Utor,’ inquit, ‘beneficio tuo et dico, quae nostris malis didici. [4] Quota pars Macedonum saevitiae tuae superest? quotus quidem non e vilissimo sanguine? Attalus et Philotas et Parmenio et Lyncestes Alexander et Clitus, quantum ad hostes pertinet, vivunt, stant in acie et clipeis suis te protegunt et pro gloria tua, pro victoria vulnera excipiunt. [5] Quibus tu egregiam gratiam rettulisti: alius mensam tuam sanguine suo adpersit, alius ne simplici quidem morte defunctus est. Duces exercituum tuorum in eculeum inpositi Persis, quos vicerant, fuere spectaculo. Parmenio indicta causa trucidatus est, per quem Attalum occideras. [6] Invicem enim miserorum uteris manibus ad expetenda supplicia et, quos paulo ante ministros caedis habuisti, [7] subito ab aliis iubes trucidari.’ Obstrepunt subinde cuncti Hermolao, pater super eum strinxerat ferrum percussurus haud dubie, ni inhibitus esset a rege: quippe Hermolaum dicere iussit petiitque, ut causas supplicii augentem patienter audirent. [8] Aegre ergo coercitis rursus Hermolaus: ‘Quam liberaliter,’ inquit, ‘pueris rudibus ad dicendum agere

permittis! at Callisthenis vox carcere inclusa est, quia solus potest [p. 278] [9] dicere. Cur enim non producitur, cum etiam confessi audiuntur? nempe quia liberam vocem innocentis audire metuis ac ne vultum quidem pateris. [10] Atqui nihil eum fecisse contendo. Sunt hic, qui mecum rem pulcherrimam cogitaverunt: nemo est, qui conscium fuisse nobis Callisthenen dicat, cum morti olim destinatus sit a iustissimo et patientissimo rege. [11] Haec ergo sunt Macedonum praemia, quorum ut supervacuo et sordido abuteris sanguine! At tibi XXX milia mulorum captivum aurum vehunt, cum milites nihil domum praeter gratuitas cicatrices relaturi sint. Quae tamen omnia tolerare potuimus, antequam nos barbaris dederes et novo more victores sub iugum mitteres. [12] Persarum te vestis et disciplina delectant, patrios mores exosus es. [13] Persarum ergo, non Macedonum regem occidere voluimus et te transfugam belli iure persequimur. Tu Macedonas voluisti genua tibi ponere venerarique te ut deum, tu Philippum patrem aversaris et, si quis deorum ante Iovem haberetur, fastidires etiam Iovem. [14] Miraris, si liberi homines superbiam tuam ferre non possumus? Quid speramus ex te, quibus aut insontibus moriendum est aut, quod tristius morte est, in Servitute vivendum? [15] Tu quidem, si emendari potes, multum mihi debes. Ex me enim scire coepisti, quid ingenui homines ferre non possint. De cetero propinquorum orbam senectutem suppliciis ne oneraveris: nos iube duci ut, quod [p. 279] ex tua morte petieramus, consequamur ex nostra.' Haec Hermolaus.

At rex: 'Quam falsa sint,' inquit, 'quae iste tradita a magistro suo dixit, [2] patientia mea ostendit. Confessum enim ultimum facinus tamen non solum ipse audiui, sed ut vos audiretis, expressi, non imprudens, cum permissem latroni huic dicere, usurum eum rabie, qua compulsus est, ut me, quem parentis loco colere deberet, vellet occidere. [3] Nuper cum procacius se in venatione gessisset, more patrio et ab antiquissimis Macedoniae regum usurpato castigari eum iussi. Hoc et oportet fieri et ferunt a tutoribus pupilli, a maritis uxores: servis quoque pueros huius aetatis verberare concedimus. [4] Haec est saevitia in ipsum mea, quam inopia caede voluit ulcisci. Nam in ceteros, qui mihi permittunt uti ingenio meo, quam mitis sim, non ignaris commemorare supervacuum est. [5] Hermolao parricidarum supplicia non probari, cum eadem ipse meruerit, minime, hercule, admiror. Nam cum Parmenionem et Philotan laudat, suae servit causae. [6] Lyncestem vero Alexandrum quamvis insidiatum capiti meo a duobus indicibus litterisque suis convictum per triennium tamen distuli, donec vos postularetis, ut tandem debito supplicio scelus lueret. [7] Attalum, antequam rex essem, hostem meo capiti fuisse meministis. Clitus [p. 280] utinam non coegisset me sibi irasci! cuius temerariam linguam probra dicentis mihi et vobis diutius tuli, quam ille eadem me dicentem tulisset. [8] Regum ducumque clementia non in ipsorum modo, sed etiam in illorum, qui parent, ingeniis sita est. Obsequio mitigantur imperia: ubi vero reverentia excessit animis et summa imis confunduntur, vi opus est, ut vim repellamus. [9] Sed quid ego mirer istum crudelitatem mihi obiecisse, qui avaritiam exprobrare ausus sit? Nolo singulos vestrum excitare, ne invisam mihi

liberalitatem meam faciam, si pudori vestro gravem fecero. Totum exercitum adspicite: qui paulo ante nihil praeter arma habebat, nunc argenteis cubat lectis, mensas auro onerant, servorum greges ducunt, spolia de hostibus sustinere non possunt. [10] At enim Persae, quos vicimus, in magno honore sunt apud me! Mihi quidem moderationis meae certissimum indicium est, quod ne victis quidem superbe impero. Veni enim in Asiam, non ut funditus everterem gentes nec ut dimidiam partem terrarum solitudinem facerem, [11] sed ut illos, quos bello subegissem, victoriae meae non paeniteret. Itaque militant vobiscum, pro imperio vestro sanguinem fundunt, qui superbe habiti rebellassent. Non est diuturna possessio, in quam gladio inducimur: beneficiorum gratia sempiterna est. [12] Si habere Asiam, non transire volumus, cum his communicanda est nostra clementia: horum fides [p. 281] stabile et aeternum faciet imperium. Et sane plus habemus, quam capimus. Insatiabilis autem avaritiae est adhuc implere velle, quod iam circumfluit. [13] Morem tamen eorum in Macedonas transfundo! In multis enim gentibus esse video, quae non erubescamus imitari: nec aliter tantum imperium apte regi potest, quam ut quaedam et tradamus illis et ab isdem discamus. [14] Illud paene dignum risu fuit, quod Hermolaus postulabat a me, ut aversarer Iovem, cuius oraculo adgnoscor. [15] An etiam, quid di respondeant, in mea potestate est? Obtulit nomen filii mihi: recipere ipsis rebus, quas agimus, haud alienum fuit. Utinam Indi quoque deum esse me credant! Fama enim bella constant, et saepe etiam, quod falso creditum est, veri vicem obtinuit. [16] An me luxuriae indulgentem putatis arma vestra auro argentoque adornasse? Adsuetis nihil vilius hac videre materia volui ostendere, Macedonas invictos ceteris ne auro quidem vinci. [17] Oculos ergo primum eorum sordida omnia et humilia despectantium capiam et docebo nos non auri aut argenti cupidos, sed orbem terrarum subacturos venire. Quam gloriam tu, parricida, intercipere voluisti et Macedonas rege adempto devictis gentibus dedere. [18] At nunc mones me, ut vestris parentibus parcam! Non oportebat quidem vos scire, as quid de his statuisssem, quo tristiores periretis, si qua vobis parentum memoria et cura est: sed olim istum morem occidendi cum scelestis insontes propinquos [p. 282] parentesque solvi et profiteor in eodem honore futuros omnes eos, in quo fuerunt. [19] Nam tuum Callisthenen, cui uni vir videris, quia latro es, scio, cur produci velis: ut coram his probra, quae in me modo iecisti, modo audisti, illius quoque ore referantur. Quem, si Macedo esset, tecum introduxissem, dignissimum te discipulo magistrum: [20] nunc Olynthio non idem iuris est.' Post haec consilium dimisit tradique damnatos hominibus, qui ex eadem cohorte erant, iussit. Illi, [21] ut fidem suam saevitia regi adprobarent, excruciatos necaverunt. Callisthenes quoque tortus interiit, initi consilii in caput regis innoxius, sed haudquaquam aulae et adsentantium accommodatus ingenio. [22] Itaque nullius caedes maiorem apud Graecos Alexandro excitavit invidiam, quod praeditum optimis moribus artibusque, a quo revocatus ad vitam erat, cum interfecto Clito mori perseveraret, non tantum occiderit, sed etiam torserit indicta quidem causa. [23] Quam crudelitatem sera paenitentia

consecuta est.

Sed ne otium serendis rumoribus natum aleret, in Indiam movit, semper bello quam post victoriam clarior. [2] India tota ferme spectat orientem, minus in latitudinem, [3] quam recta regione spatiosa. Quae austrum accipiunt, in altius terrae fastigium excedunt: plana [p. 283] sunt cetera multisque inclitis amnibus Caucaso monte ortis placidum per campos iter praebent. [4] Indus gelidior est quam ceteri: aquas vehit a colore maris haud multum abhorrentes. [5] Ganges, omnium ab Oriente fluvius maximus, ad meridianas regionem decurrit et magnorum montium iuga recto alveo stringit: inde eum obiectae rupes inclinant ad orientem. [6] Uterque Rubro mari accipitur. Indus ripas multasque arbores cum magna soli parte exorbet, saxis quoque inpeditus, quis crebro reverberatur: [7] ubi mollius solum repperit, stagnat insulasque molitur. [8] Acesines eum auget. Ganges decursurum Iomanen intercipit, magnoque motu amnis uterque colliditur: quippe Ganges asperum os influenti obicit, nec repercussae aquae cedunt. [9] Diardines minus celebris auditu est, quia per ultima Indiae currit: ceterum non crocodillos modo, uti Nilus, sed etiam delphinos ignotasque aliis gentibus beluas alit. [10] Ethymantus crebris flexibus subinde curvatus ab accolis rigantibus campos carpitur: ea causa est, cur tenues Reliquias iam sine nomine in mare emittat. [11] Multis [p. 284] praeter hos amnibus tota regio dividitur, sed ignobilibus, [12] quia non adita interfluunt. Ceterum quae propiora sunt mari, aquilone maxime deurrunt: is cohibitus iugis montium ad interiora non penetrat, ita alendis frugibus mitia. [13] Sed adeo in illa plaga mundus stas temporum vices mutat, ut, cum alia fervore solis exaestuant, Indiam nives obruant, rursusque, ubi cetera rigent, illic intolerandus aestus existat. [14] Nec, cur verterit se natura, causa. Mare certe, quo adluitur, ne colore quidem abhorret a ceteris. Ab Erythro rege inditum est nomen: propter quod ignari rubere aquas credunt. Terra lini ferax: [15] inde plerisque sunt vestes. Libri arborum teneri haud secus quam chartae litterarum notas capiunt. [16] Aves ad imitandum humanae vocis sonum dociles sunt. Animalia invisitata ceteris gentibus nisi invecta. Eadem terra rhinocerotas aliis ignotos generat. [17] Elephantorum maior est vis quam, quos in Africa domitant, et viribus magnitudo respondet. [18] Aurum flumina vehunt, quae leni modicoque lapsu segnes aquas ducunt. [19] Gemmas margaritasque mare litoribus infundit: neque alia illis maior opulentiae causa est, utique postquam vitiorum commercium vulgavere in exteris gentes. Quippe aestimantur purgamenta exaestuantis freti pretio, quod libido constituit. [20] Ingenia hominum, sicut ubique, apud [p. 285] illos locorum quoque situs format. [21] Corpora usque pedes carbaso velant, soleis pedes, capita linteis vinciunt, lapilli ex auribus pendent: brachia quoque et lacertos auro colunt, quibus inter populares aut nobilitas aut opes eminent. [22] Capillum pectunt saepius quam tondent: men tum semper intonsum est, reliquam oris cutem ad speciem levitatis exaequant. [23] Regum tamen luxuria, quam ipsi magnificentiam appellant, super omnium gentium vitia. Cum rex semet in publico conspici patitur, turibula argentea ministri ferunt totumque iter, per quod ferri

destinavit, odoribus complent. [24] Aurea lectica margaritis circumpendentibus recubat: distincta sunt auro et purpura carbasa, quae indutus est: lecticam sequuntur armati corporisque custodes, [25] inter quos ramis aves pendent, quas cantu seriis rebus obstrepere docuerunt. [26] Regia auratas columnas habet: totas eas vitis auro caelata percurrit, aviumque, quarum visu maxime gaudent, argenteae effigies opera distinguant. [27] Regia adeuntibus patet, cum capillum pectit atque ornat: tunc responsa legationibus, tunc iura popularibus reddit. Demptis soleis odoribus inlinuntur pedes. [28] Venatus maximus labor est inclusa vivario animalia inter vota cantusque pelicum figere. Binum cubitorum sagittae sunt, quas emittunt maiore nisu quam effectum: quippe telum, cuius in levitate vis omnis est, inhabili pondere oneratur. [29] Bre- [p. 286] viora itinera equo conficit: longior ubi expeditio est, elephantum vehunt currum, et tantarum beluarum corpora tota contegunt auro. Ac, ne quid perditis moribus desit, lecticis aureis pelicum longus ordo sequitur: separatum a reginae ordine agmen est aequatque luxuriam. [30] Feminae epulas parant. Ab isdem vinum ministratur, cuius omnibus Indis largus est usus. Regem mero somnoque sopitum in cubiculum pelices referunt patrio carmine noctium invocantes deos. [31] Quis credat inter haec vitia curam esse sapientiae? Unum agreste et horridum genus est, quod sapientes vocant. Apud hos occupare fati diem pulchrum, et vivos se cremari iubent, [32] quibus aut segnis aetas aut incommoda validudo est: expectatam mortem pro dedecore vitae habent, nec ullus corporibus, quae senectus solvit, honos redditur: inquinari putant ignem, nisi qui spirantes recipit. [33] Illi, qui in urbibus publicis muneribus degunt, siderum motus scite spectare dicuntur et futura praedicere. [34] Nec quem quam admove re leti diem credunt, cui expectare interrito liceat. Deos putant, quidquid colere coeperunt, arbores maxime, quas violare capital est. [35] Menses in quinos denos descripserunt dies, [36] anni plena spatia servantur. Lunae cursu notant tempora, non, ut plerique, cum orbem sidus inplevit, sed cum se curvare coepit in cornua, et idcirco breviores habent menses, quia spatium eorum ad hunc lunae [p. 287] modum dirigunt. [37] Multa et alia traduntur, quibus morari ordinem rerum haud sane operae videbatur.

Igitur Alexandro finis Indiae ingresso gentium finitimarum reguli occurrerunt imperata facturi, illum tertium Iove genitum ad ipsos pervenisse memorantes: Patrem Liberum atque Herculem fama cognitos esse, ipsum coram adesse cernique. [2] Rex benigne exceptos sequi iussit isdem itinerum ducibus usus. Ceterum cum amplius nemo occurreret, Hephaestionem et Perdican cum copiarum parte praemisit ad subigendos, qui aversarentur imperium, iussitque ad flumen Indum procedere et navigia facere, quis in ulteriora transportari posset exercitus. [3] Illi, quia plura flumina superanda erant, sic iungere naves, ut solutae plaustris vehi possent rursusque coniungi. [4] Ipse Cratero cum phalange iusso sequi equitatum ac levem armaturam eduxit eosque, qui occurrerunt, levi proelio in urbem proximam compulit. [5] Iam supervenerat Craterus: itaque, ut principio terrorem incuteret genti nondum arma Macedonum expertae, praecipit, ne cui parceretur, munimentis

urbis, quam obsidebat, incensis. [6] Ceterum, dum obequitat moenibus, sagitta ictus. Cepit tamen oppidum, et omnibus incolis eius trucidatis etiam in tecta saevitum est. [7] Inde domita ignobili gente ad Nysam urbem pervenit. Forte castris ante ipsa moenia in silvestri loco positis nocturnum frigus vehementius quam alias [p. 288] horrore corpora adfecit, opportunumque remedium ignis oblatum est. [8] Caesis quippe silvis flammam excitaverunt, quae lignis alita oppidanorum sepulcra comprehendit. Vetusta cedro erant facta conceptumque ignem late fudere, donec omnia solo aequata sunt. [9] Et ex urbe primum canum latratus, deinde etiam hominum fremitus auditus est. Tunc et oppidani hostem et Macedones ad urbem ipsos venisse cognoscunt. [10] Iamque rex eduxerat copias et moenia obsidebat, cum hostium, qui discrimen temptaverant, obruti telis sunt Aliis ergo deditionem, aliis pugnam experiri placebat. Quorum dubitatione conperta circumsederi tantum eos et abstineri caedibus iussit: tandemque obsidionis malis fatigati dedidere se. [11] A Libero Patre conditos se esse dicebant: [12] et vera haec origo erat. Sita est urbs sub radicibus montis, quem Meron incolae appellant: inde Graeci mentiendi traxere licentiam, Iovis femine Liberum Patrem esse celatum. [13] Rex situ montis cognito ex incolis cum toto exercitu praemissis com meatibus verticem eius ascendit Multa hedera vitisque toto gignitur monte, multae perennes aquae manant. [14] Pomorum quoque varii salubresque suci sunt sua sponte fortuitorum germinum fruges humo nutriente. Lauri buxique et myrti in illis rupibus agrestis est silva. [15] Credo equidem non divino instinctu, sed lascivia esse provectos, ut passim hederæ ac vitium folia [p. 289] decerperent redimitique fronde toto nemore similes bacchantibus vagarentur. [16] Vocibus ergo tot milium praesidem nemoris eius deum adorantium iuga montis vallesque resonabant, cum orta licentia a paucis, ut fere fit, in omnes se repente vulgasset. [17] Quippe velut in media pace per herbas adgestamque frondem prostravere corpora. Et rex fortuitam laetitiam non aversatus large ad epulas omnibus praebeitis per X dies Libero Patri operatum habuit exercitum. [18] Quis neget eximiam quoque gloriam saepius fortunae quam virtutis esse beneficium? Quippe ne epulantes quidem et sopitos mero adgredi ausus est hostis haud secus bacchantium ululantiumque fremitu perterritus, quam si proeliantium clamor esset auditus. Eadem felicitas ab Oceano revertentes temulentos comissantesque inter ora hostium texit. [19] Hinc ad regionem, quae Daedala vocatur, perventum est. Deseruerant incolae sedes et in avios silvestresque montes confugerant. Ergo Acadira transit aequae vasta et destituta incolentium fuga. [20] Itaque rationem belli necessitas mutavit. Divisis enim copiis pluribus simul locis arma ostendit, oppressique, ubi non expectaverant hostem, [21] omni clade perdomiti sunt. Ptolomaeus plurimas urbes, Alexander maximas cepit: rursusque, quas distribuerat, copias iunxit. [22] Superato deinde Choaspe amne Coenon in obsidione urbis [p. 290] opulentae — Beiram incolae vocant — reliquit, ipse ad Mazagas venit. Nuper Assacano, cuius regnum fuerat, demortuo regioni urbique praeerat mater eius Cleophis. [23] XXXVIII milia peditum tuebantur urbem non situ solum, sed etiam opere munitam.

Nam qua spectat orientem, cingitur amne torrenti, qui praeruptis utrimque ripis aditum ad urbem inpedit. [24] Ad occidentem ac meridiem veluti de industria rupes praealtas obmolita natura est, infra quas cavernae et voragines longa vetustate in altum cavatae iacent, [25] quaque desinunt, fossa ingentis operis obiecta est. XXXV stadium murus urbem conplectitur, cuius ima saxo, superiora crudo latere sunt structa. Lateri vinculum lapides sunt, quos interposuere, ut duriori materiae fragilis incumberet, [26] simulque terra hutnore diluta. Ne tamen universa consideret, inpositae erant trabes validae, quibus iniecta tabulata muros et tegebant et pervios fecerant. [27] Haec munimenta contemplantem Alexandrum consiliiue incertum, quia nec cavernas nisi aggere poterat implere nec tormenta aliter muris admovere, [28] quidam e muro sagitta percussit: et forte in suram incidit telum. Cuius spiculo evolso admoveri equum iussit, quo vectus ne obligato quidem vulnere haud segnius destinata exequebatur. [29] Ceterum cum crus saucium penderet, et cruore siccato frigescens vulnus adgravaret dolorem, dixisse fertur se quidem Iovis filium dici, sed corporis aegri vitia sentire. [30] Non tamen ante se recepit in castra, quam cuncta perspexit et, quae fieri vellet, [p. 291] edixit. Ergo, sicut imperatum erat, alii extra urbem tecta demoliebantur ingentemque vim materiae faciendo aggeri detrahebant, alii magnarum arborum stipites cum ramis ac moles saxorum in cavernas deiciebant. [31] Iamque agger aequaverat summae fastigium terrae: itaque turres erigebantur, quae opera ingenti militum ardore intra nonum diem absoluta sunt. Ad ea visenda rex nondum obducta vulneri cicatrice processit laudatisque militibus admoveri machinas iussit, e quibus ingens vis telorum in propugnatores effusa est. [32] Praecipue rudes talium operum terrebant mobiles turres, tantasque moles nulla ope, quae cerneretur, adiutas deorum numine agi credebant: pila quoque muralia et excussas tormentis prae graves hastas negabant convenire mortalibus. [33] Itaque desperata urbis tutela concessere in arcem. Inde, quia nihil obsessis praeter deditionem patebat, legati ad regem descenderunt veniam petitori. [34] Qua inpetrata regina venit cum magno nobilium feminarum grege aureis pateris vina libantium. [35] Ipsa genibus regis parvo filio admoto non veniam modo, sed etiam pristinae fortunae inpetravit decus: quippe appellata regina est. Et credere quidam plus formae quam miserationi datum: [36] puero quoque certe postea ex ea utcumque genito Alexandro fuit nomen.

Hinc Polypercon ad urbem Horam cum exercitu missus inconditos oppidanos proelio vicit: intra [p. 292] munimenta compulsos secutus urbem in dicionem redegit. [2] Multa ignobilia oppida deserta a suis venere in regis potestatem. Quorum incolae armati petram Aornum nomine occupaverunt. Hanc ab Hercule frustra obsessam esse terraeque motu coactum absistere fama. [3] vulgaverat. Inopem consilii Alexandrum, quia undique praeceps et abrupta rupes erat, senior quidam peritus locorum cum duobus filiis adiit, si pretium operae esset, aditum se monstraturum esse promittens. [4] LXXX talenta constituit daturum Alexander et altero ex iuvenibus obside retento ipsum ad exequenda, quae obtulerat, [5] dimisit. Leviter armatis dux datus est

Myllinas, scriba regis. Hos enim circuitu, quo fallerent hostem, in summum iugum placebat evadere. [6] Petra non, ut pleraeque, modicis ae mollibus clivis in sublime fastigium crescit, sed in metae maxime modum erecta est, cuius ima spatiosiora sunt, altiora in artius coeunt, summa in acutum cacumen exurgunt. [7] Radices eius Indus amnis subit, praealtus, utrimque asperis ripis: [8] ab altera parte voragines eluviesque praeruptae sunt. Nec alia expugnandi patebat via, quam ut replerentur. Ad manum silva erat: quam rex ita caedi iussit, ut nudi stipites iacerentur: quippe rami fronde vestiti impedissent ferentes. Ipse primus truncam arborem iecit, clamorque exercitus se, index alacritatis, secutus est nullo detrectante munus, quod rex occupavit. [9] Sic intra septimum diem cavernas expleverant, cum rex sagittarios et Agrianos iubet per ardua niti. Iuvenesque promptissimos ex sua cohorte xxx delegit: [p. 293] duces his dati sunt Charus et Alexander, [10] quem rex nominis, quod sibi cum eo commune esset, admonuit. Ac primo, quia tam manifestum periculum erat, ipsum regem discrimen subire non placuit, [11] sed ut signum tuba datum est, vir audaciae promptae conversus ad corporis custodes sequi se iubet primusque invadit in rupem. Nec deinde quisquam Macedonum substitit, relictisque stationibus sua sponte regem sequebantur. [12] Multorum miserabilis fuit casus, quos ex praerupta rupe lapsos amnis praeterfluens hausit, triste spectaculum etiam non periclitantibus: cum vero alieno exitio, quid ipsis timendum foret, admonerentur, in metum misericordia versa non extinctos, sed semetipsos deflebant. [13] Et iam eo perventum erat, unde sine pernicie nisi victores redire non possent, ingentia saxa in subeuntes provolventibus barbaris, quis perculsi instabili et lubrico gradu praecipites recidebant. [14] Evaserant tamen Alexander et Charus, quos cum XXX delectis praemisera rex, et iam pugnare comminus coeperant: sed cum superne tela barbari ingererent, saepius ipsi feriebantur quam vulnerabant. [15] Ergo Alexander et nominis sui et promissi memor, dum acrius quam cautius dimicat, confossus undique obruitur. [16] Quem ut Charus iacentem conspexit, ruere in hostem omnium praeter ultionem inmemor coepit multosque hasta, quosdam gladio interemit: sed cum tot unum incesserent manus, super amici corpus procubuit exanimis. [17] Haud secus, quam par erat, promptissimorum iuvenum ceterorumque militum interitu commotus rex signum receptui dedit. [18] Saluti fuit, quod sensim et intrepidi se rece- [p. 294] perunt, et barbari hostem depulisse contenti non institere cedentibus. [19] Ceterum Alexander cum statuisset desistere incepto — quippe nulla spes potiundae petrae offerebatur —, tamen speciem ostendit in obsidione perseverantis. [20] Nam et itinera obsideri iussit et turres admoveri et fatigatis alios succedere. Cuius pertinacia cognita Indi per biduum quidem ac duas noctes cum ostentatione non fiducia modo, sed etiam victoriae epulati sunt tympana suo more pulsantes: [21] tertia vero nocte tympanorum quidem strepitus desierat audiri, ceterum ex tota petra faces refulgebant, quas accenderant barbari, ut tutior esset ipsis fuga obscura nocte per invia saxa cursuris. [22] Rex Balacro, qui specularetur, praemisso cognoscit petram fuga Indorum esse desertam. [23] Tum dato signo, ut universi

conclamarent, inconposite fugientibus metum incussit: multique, tamquam adesset hostis, per lubrica saxa perque invias cotes praecipitati occiderunt, plures aliqua membrorum parte mulcati ab integris deserti sunt. [24] Rex locorum magis quam hostium victor tamen magnae victoriae speciem sacrificiis et cultu deum fecit. Arae in petra locatae sunt Minervae Victoriaeque. [25] Ducibus itineris, quo subire iusserat leviter armatos, etsi promissis minora praestiterant, pretium cum fide redditum est, petrae regionisque ei adiunctae Sisocosto tutela permissa.

Inde processit Ecbolima et, cum angustias itineris [p. 295] obsideri XX milibus armatorum ab Erice quodam conperisset, gravius agmen exercitus Coeno ducendum modicis itineribus tradidit, [2] ipse praegressus per funditores ac sagittarios deturbatis, qui obsederant saltum, sequentibus se copiis viam fecit. [3] Indi sive odio ducis sive gratiam victoris inituri Ericen fugientem adorti interemerunt caputque eius atque arma ad Alexandrum detulerunt. Ille facto inopinitatem dedit, honorem denegavit exemplo. [4] Hinc ad flumen Indum sextisdecumis castris pervenit omniaque, ut praeceperat, ad traiciendum praeparata ab Hephaestione repperit. Regnabat in ea regione Omphis, [5] qui patri quoque fuerat auctor dedendi regnum Alexandra et post mortem parentis legatos miserat, qui consulerent eum, regnare se interim vellet an privatum opperiri eius adventum. [6] Permissoque, ut regnaret, non tamen ius datum usurpare sustinuit. Is benigne quidem exceperat Hephaestionem gratuitum frumentum copiis eius admensus, non tamen ei occurrerat, ne fidem ullius nisi regis experiretur. [7] Itaque venienti obviam cum armato exercitu egressus est, elephantum quoque per modica intervalla militum agmini inmixti procul castellorum fecerant speciem. [8] Ac primo Alexander non socium, sed hostem adventare credebat iamque et ipse arma milites capere et equites discedere in cornua iusserat paratus ad pugnam. At Indus cognito Macedonum errore iussis subsistere ceteris ipse concitat equum, quo vehebatur: idem Alexander [p. 296] quoque fecit, sive hostis sive amicus occurreret, vel sua virtute vel illius fide tutus. [9] Coiere, quod ex utriusque vultu posset intellegi, amicis animis. Ceterum sine interprete non poterat conseri sermo: itaque adhibito eo barbaras occurrisse se dixit cum exercitu totas imperii vires protinus traditurum nec expectasse, dum per nuntios daretur fides. [10] Corpus suum et regnum permittere illi, quem sciret gloriae militantem nihil magis quam famam timere perfidiae. Laetus simplicitate barbari rex et dexteram, [11] fidei suae pignus, dedit et regnum restituit. LVI elephantum erant, quos tradidit Alexandra, multa pecora eximiae magnitudinis, tauros ad III milia, pretiosum in ea regione acceptumque animis regnantium armentum. [12] Quaerenti Alexandro, plures agricultores haberet an milites, cum duobus regibus bellanti sibi maiore militum quam agrestium manu opus esse respondit. [13] Abisares et Porus erant, sed in Poro eminebat auctoritas. Uterque ultra Hydaspem amnem regnabat et belli fortunam, quisquis arma inferret, experiri decreverat. [14] Omphis permittente Alexandro et regium insigne sumpsit et more gentis suae nomen, quod patris fuerat:

Taxilen appellavere populares sequente nomine imperium, in quemcumque transiret. [15] Igitur cum per triduum hospitaliter Alexandrum accepisset, quarto die et, quantum frumenti copiis, quas Hephaestion duxerat, praebitum a se esset, ostendit et aureas coronas ipsi amicisque omnibus, [p. 297] praeter haec signati argenti LXXX talenta dono dedit. [16] Qua benignitate eius Alexander mire laetus et, quae is dederat, remisit et M talenta ex praeda, quam vehebat, adiecit multaue convivalia ex auro et argento vasa, plurimum Persicae vestis, XXX equos ex suis cum isdem insignibus, quis adsueverant, cum ipsum veherent. [17] Quae liberalitas sicut barbarum obstrinxerat, ita amicos ipsius vehementer offendit. E quibus Meleager super cenam largiore vino usus gratulari se Alexandro dixit, quod saltem in India repperisset dignum talentis M. [18] Rex haud oblitus, quam aegre tulisset, quod Clitum ob linguae temeritatem occidisset, iram quidem tenuit, sed dixit invidos homines nihil aliud quam ipsorum esse tormenta.

Postero die legati Abisarae adiere regem: omnia dicioni eius, ita ut mandatum erat, permittebant firmataque invicem fide remittuntur ad regem. [2] Porum quoque nominis sui fama ratus ad deditionem posse compelli misit ad eum Cleocharen, qui denuntiaret ei, ut Stipendium penderet et in primo suorum finium aditu occurreret regi. Porus alterum ex his facturum sese respondit, ut intranti regnum suum praesto esset, sed armatus. [3] Iam Hydaspem Alexander superare decreverat, cum Barzaentes, defectionis Arachosiis auctor, vinctus trigintaque elephantis simul capti perducuntur, opportunum adversus Indos auxilium: quippe plus in beluis quam in exercitu spei ac virium illis erat. [4] Damaraxus quoque, rex exiguae partis Indorum, qui Barzaenti se coniunxerat, vinctus adductus est. [5] Igitur [p. 298] transfuga et regulo in custodiam, elephantis autem Taxili traditio ad amnem Hydaspem pervenit, in cuius ulteriore ripa Porus consederat transitu prohibiturus hostem. [6] LXXX et V elephantos obiecerat eximio corporum robore ultraque eos currus CCC et peditum XXX fere milia, in quis erant sagittarii, sicuti ante dictum est, gravioribus telis, quam ut apte excuti possent. [7] Ipsum vehebat elephante super ceteras beluas eminens, armaque auro et argento distincta corpus rarae magnitudinis honestabant. [8] Par animus robori corporis et, quanta inter rudes poterat esse, sapientia. Macedonas non conspectus hostium solum, sed etiam fluminis, quod transeundum erat, magnitudo terrebat. in latitudinem stadia diffusus profundo alveo et nusquam vada aperiente speciem vasti maris fecerat. [9] Nec pro spatio aquarum late stagnantium impetum coercebat, sed quasi in artum coeuntibus ripis torrens et elisus ferebatur, occultaque saxa inesse ostendebant pluribus locis undae repercussae. [10] Terribilior facies erat ripae, quam equi virique conpleverant. Stabant ingentes vastorum corporum moles et de industria inritatae horrendo Stridore aures fatigabant. [11] Hinc amnis, hinc hostis capacia quidem bonae spei pectora et saepe sane experta inproviso tamen pavore percusserant. [12] Quippe instabiles rates nec dirigi ad ripam nec tuto adplicari posse credebant. Erant in medio amne insulae crebrae, in quas et Indi et Macedones nantes levatis super capita

armis transibant. Ibi levia proelia [p. 299] conserebantur, et uterque rex parvae rei discrimine summae experiebatur eventum. [13] Ceterum in Macedonum exercitu temeritate atque audacia insignes fuere Hegesimachus et Nicanor, nobiles iuvenes et perpetua partium felicitate ad spernendum omne periculum accensi: [14] quis ducibus promptissimi iuvenum lanceis modo armati transavere in insulam, quam frequens hostis tenebat, multosque Indorum nulla re melius quam audacia armati interemerunt. [15] Abire cum gloria poterant, si umquam temeritas felix inveniret modum: sed dum supervenientes contemptim et superbe quoque expectant, circumventi ab iis, qui occulti enaverant, eminus obruti telis sunt. [16] Qui effugerant hostem, aut impetu amnis ablati sunt aut verticibus impliciti. Eaque pugna multum Pori fiduciam erexit cuncta cernentis e ripa. [17] Alexander inops consilii tandem ad fallendum hostem talem dolum intendit. Erat insula in flumine amplior ceteris, silvetris eadem et tegendis insidiis apta, fossa quoque praealta haud procul ripa, quam tenebat ipse, non pedites modo, sed etiam cum equis viros poterat abscondere: [18] igitur ut a custodia huius opportunitatis oculos hostium averteret, Ptolomaeum omnibus turmis obequitare iussit procul insula et subinde Indos clamore terrere, quasi flumen transnaturus foret. [19] Per complures dies Ptolomaeus id fecit eoque consilio Porum quoque agmen suum ei parti, quam se petere [p. 300] simulabat, coegit advertere. [20] Iam extra conspectum hostis insula erat. Alexander in diversa parte ripae statui suum tabernaculum iussit adsuetamque comitari ipsum cohortem ante id tabernaculum stare et omnem apparatus regiae magnificentiae hostium oculis de industria ostendi. [21] Attalum etiam, aequalem sibi et haud disparem habitu oris et corporis, utique cum procul viseretur, veste regia exornat praebiturum speciem, ipsum regem illi ripae praesidere nec cogitare de transitu. [22] Huius consilii effectum primo morata tempestas est, mox adiuvit incommoda quoque ad bonos eventus vertente fortuna. [23] Traicere amnem cum ceteris copiis in regionem insulae, de qua ante dictum est, parabat averso hoste in eos, qui cum Ptolomaeo inferiorem obsederant ripam, cum procilla imbrem vix sub tectis tolerabilem effundit. Obrutique milites nimbo in terram refugerunt navigiis ratibusque desertis, sed tumultuantium fremitus obstrepentibus ventis ab hoste non poterat audiri. [24] Deinde momento temporis repressus est imber, ceterum adeo spissae intendere se nubes, ut conderent lucem vixque conloquentium inter ipsos facies noscitarentur. [25] Terruisset alium obducta nox caelo, cum ignoto amne navigandum esset, forsitan hoste eam ipsam ripam, quam caeci atque improvidi petebant, tenente. [26] At rex periculo gloriam accersens et obscuritatem, quae ceteros terrebat, suam occasionem ratus dato signo, ut omnes silentio escenderent in rates, [27] eam, qua ipse vehebatur, primam iussit expelli. [p. 301] Vacua erat ab hostibus ripa, quae petebatur: quippe adhuc Porus Ptolomaeum tantum intuebatur. Una ergo navi, quam petrae fluctus inliserat, haerente ceterae evadunt, armaque capere milites et ire in ordines iussit.

Iamque agmen in cornua divisum ipse ducebat, cum Poro nuntiatur armis virisque ripam obtineri et rerum adesse discrimen. Ac primo humani ingenii

vicio spei suae indulgens Abisaren belli socium — et ita convenerat — [2] adventare credebat. Mox liquidiore luce aperiente aciem hostium C quadrigas et III milia equitum venienti agmini obiecit. Dux erat copiarum, quas praemisit, Spitaces, frater ipsius, summa virium in curribus: [3] senos viros singuli vehebant, duos clipeatos, duos sagittarios ab utroque latere dispositos, aurigae erant ceteri haud sane inermes: quippe iacula conplura, ubi comminus proeliandum erat, omissis habenis in hostem ingerebant. [4] Ceterum vix ullus usus huius auxilii eo die fuit. Namque, ut supra dictum est, imber violentius quam alias fusus campos lubricos et inequitabiles fecerat, gravesque et propemodum immobiles currus inluvie ac voraginibus haerebant. [5] Contra Alexander expedito ac levi agmine strenue invectus est. Scythae et Dahae primi omnium invasere Indos: Perdiccam deinde cum equitibus in dextrum cornu hostium emisit. [6] Iam undique pugna se moverat, cum ii, qui currus agebant, illud ultimum auxilium suorum [p. 302] rati effusis habenis in medium discrimen ruere coeperunt. [7] Anceps id malum utrisque erat. Nam et Macedonum pedites primo impetu obterebantur, et per lubrica atque invia inmissi currus excutiebant eos, a quibus regebantur. [8] Aliorum turbati equi non in voragines modo lacunasque, sed etiam in amnem praecipitavere curricula, [9] pauci telis hostium exacti penetravere ad Pomm acerrime pugnam cientem. Is, ut dissipatos tota acie currus vagari sine rectoribus vidit, proximis amicorum distribuit elephantos. [10] Post eos posuerat peditem ac sagittarios et tympana pulsare solitos: id pro cantu tubarum Indis erat, nec strepitu eorum movebantur olim ad notum sonum auribus mitigatis. [11] Herculis simulacrum agmini peditum praeferebatur: id maximum erat bellantibus incitamentum, [12] et deseruisse gestantis militare flagitium habebatur. Capitis etiam sanxerant poenam iis, qui ex acie non rettulissent, metu, quem ex illo hoste quondam conceperant, etiam in religionem venerationemque converso. Macedonas non beluarum modo, [13] sed etiam ipsius regis aspectus parumper inhibuit. Beluae dispositae inter armatos speciem turrium procul fecerant, ipse Porus humanae magnitudinis prope modum excesserat: speciem magnitudini Pori adicere videbatur belua, qua vehebatur, [14] tantum inter ceteras eminens, quanio aliis ipse praestabat. Itaque Alexander contemplatus et regem et agmen [p. 303] Indorum: ‘Tandem,’ inquit, ‘par animo meo periculum video: cum bestiis simul et cum egregiis viris res est.’ Intuensque Coenon: [15] ‘Cum ego,’ inquit, ‘Ptolomaeo Perdiccaque et Hephæstione comitatus in laevum hostium cornu impetum fecero, viderisque me in medio ardore certaminis, ipse dextrum move et turbatis signa infer. Tu, Antigene, et tu, Leonnate, et Tauron, iam invehimini in mediam aciem et urgebitis frontem. [16] Hastae nostrae praelongae et validae non alias magis quam adversus beluas rectoresque earum usui esse poterunt: deturbate eos, qui vehuntur, et ipsas confodite. Anceps genus auxilii est et in suos acrius furit: in hostem enim imperio, [17] in suos pavore agitur.’ Haec elocutus concitat equum primus. Iamque, ut destinatum erat, invaserat ordines hostium, cum Coenus ingenti vi a laevo cornu invehitur. [18] Phalanx quoque mediam Indorum aciem uno impetu

perrupit. At Porus, qua equitem invehi senserat, beluas agi iussit: sed tardum et paene immobile animal equorum velocitatem aequare non poterat. Ne sagittarum quidem ullus erat barbarie usus. [19] Quippe longas et praegraves, nisi prius in terra statuerunt arcum, haud satis apte et commode inponunt, tum humo lubrica et ob id inpediente conatum molientes ictus celeritate hostium occupantur. [p. 304] [20] Ergo spreto regis imperio — quod fere fit, ubi turbatis acrius metus quam dux imperare coepit — totidem erant imperatores, quot agmina errabant: [21] alius iungere aciem, alius dividere, stare quidam et nonnulli circumvehi terga hostium iubebant, [22] nihil in medium consulebatur. Porus tamen cum paucis, quibus metu potior fuerat pudor, colligere dispersos, obviis hosti ire pergit elephantosque ante agmen suorum agi iubet. [23] Magnum beluae iniecere terrorem, insolitusque stridor non equos modo, [24] tam pavidum ad omnia animal, sed viros quoque ordinesque turbaverat. Iam fugae circumspiciebant locum paulo ante victores, cum Alexander Agrianos et Thracas leviter armatos, meliorem concursatione quam communis militem, emisit in beluas. [25] Ingentem hi vim telorum iniecere et elephantis et regentibus eos. Phalanx quoque instare constanter territis coepit. [26] Sed quidam avidius persecuti beluas in semet inritavere vulneribus. [27] Obtriti ergo pedibus earum ceteris, ut parcius instarent, fuere documentum. [28] Praecipue terribilis ilia facies erat, cum manu arma virosque corripere et super se regentibus traderent. Anceps ergo pugna nunc sequentium, nunc fugientium elephantos in multum diei varium certamen extraxit, donec securibus — id namque genus auxilii praeparatum erat — [29] pedes amputare coeperunt. Copidas vocabant gladios leviter curvatos, falcibus similes, quis adpetebant beluarum manus. Nec quicquam inexpertum non mortis modo, sed etiam in ipsa morte novi supplicii timor omittebat. [30] Ergo elephantum vulneribus [p. 305] tandem fatigati suos impetu sternunt, et, qui rexerant eos, praecipitati in terram ab ipsis obterebantur. Iamque pecorum modo magis pavidum quam infesti ultra aciem exigebantur, [31] cum Porus destitutus a pluribus tela multa ante praeparata in circumfusos ex elephanto suo coepit ingerere. Multisque eminus vulneratis expositus ipse ad ictus undique petebatur. [32] Novem iam vulnera hinc tergo, illinc pectore exceperat multoque sanguine profuso languidis manibus magis elapsa quam excussa tela mittebat. [33] Nec segnius belua instincta rabie, nondum saucia invehebatur ordinibus, donec rector beluae regem conspexit fluentibus membris omissisque armis vix compotem mentis. [34] Tum beluam in fugam concitat sequente Alexandro: sed equus eius multis vulneribus confossus deficiensque procubuit posito magis rege quam effuso. [35] Itaque, dum equum mutat, tardius insecutus est. Interim frater Taxilis, regis Indorum, praemissus ab Alexandro monere coepit Porum, ne ultima experiri perseveraret dederetque se victori. [36] At ille, quamquam exhaustae erant vires deficiebatque sanguis, tamen ad notam vocem excitatus: ‘Agnosco,’ inquit, ‘Taxilis fratrem, imperii regnique sui proditoris,’ et telum, quod unum forte non effluserat, contorsit in eum: quod per medium pectus penetravit ad tergum. [37] Hoc ultimo virtutis opere edito fugere acrius coepit.

Sed elephantus quoque, qui multa exceperat tela, deficiebat: itaque sistit fugam [p. 306] peditemque sequenti hosti obiecit. [38] Iam Alexander consecutus erat et pertinacia Pori cognita vetabat resistentibus parci. Ergo undique et in pedites et in ipsum Porum tela congesta sunt, quis tandem gravatus labi ex belua coepit. [39] Indus, qui elephantum regebat, descendere eum ratus more solito elephantum procumbere iussit in genua: qui ut se submitit, ceteri quoque — ita enim instituti erant — demisere corpora in terram. [40] Ea res et Porum et ceteros victoribus tradidit.) Rex spoliari corpus Pori, interemptum esse credens, iubet, et, qui detraherent lorica vestemque, concurrere, cum belua dominum tueri et spoliantes coepit adpetere levatumque corpus eius rursus dorso suo inponere. Ergo telis undique obruitur, confossoque eo in vehiculum Porus inponitur. [41] Quem rex ut vidit adlevantem oculos, non odio, sed miseratione commotus: ‘Quae, malum,’ inquit, ‘amentia te coegit rerum mearum cognita fama belli fortunam experiri, cum Taxilis esset in deditos clementiae meae tam propinquum tibi exemplum?’ [42] At ille: ‘Quoniam,’ inquit, ‘percontaris, respondebo ea libertate, quam interrogando fecisti: neminem me fortiolem esse censebam. Meas enim noveram vires, nondum expertus tuas: fortiolem esse te belli docuit eventus. Sed ne sic quidem parum felix sum, secundus tibi.’ Rursus interrogatus, quid ipse victorem statuere debere censeret: [43] ‘Quod hic,’ inquit, ‘dies tibi suadet, [44] quo expertus es, quam caduca felicitas esset.’ Plus monendo profecit, quam si precatus esset: quippe magnitudinem animi eius interritam ac ne fortuna [p. 307] quidem infractam non misericordia modo, sed etiam honore excipere dignatus est. [45] Aegrum curavit haud secus, quam si pro ipso pugnasset: confirmatum contra spem omnium in amicorum numerum recepit, mox donavit ampliore regno, quam tenuit. [46] Nec sane quicquam ingenium eius solidius aut constantius habuit quam admirationem verae laudis et gloriae: simplicius tamen famam aestimabat in hoste quam in cive. Quippe a suis credebat magnitudinem suam destrui posse, eandem clariorem fore, quo maiores fuissent, quos ipse vicisset.

BOOK IX.

Alexander tam memorabili victoria laetus, qua sibi Orientis finis apertos esse censebat, Soli victimis caesis milites quoque, quo promptioribus animis reliqua belli obirent, pro contione laudatos docuit, quidquid Indis virium fuisset, illa dimicatione prostratum: [2] cetera opimam praedam fore celebratasque opes in ea regione eminere, quam peterent. Proinde iam vilia et obsoleta esse spolia de Persis: gemmis margaritisque et auro atque ebore Macedoniam Graeciamque, non suas tantum domos repleturos. [3] Avidi milites et pecuniae et gloriae, simul quia numquam eos adfirmatio eius fefellerat, pollicentur operam: dimissisque cum bona spe navigia exaedificari iubet, ut, cum totam Asiam percucurrisset, [4] finem terrarum, mare, inviseret. Multa [p. 309] materia navalis in proximis montibus erat: quam caedere adgressi magnitudinis invisitatae repperere serpentes. [5] Rhinocerotes quoque, rarum alibi animal, in isdem montibus erant. Ceterum hoc nomen beluis inditum a Graecis: sermonis eius ignari Indi aliud lingua sua usurpant. [6] Rex duabus urbibus conditis in utraque fluminis, quod superaverat, ripa copiarum duces coronis et M aureis singulos donat: ceteris quoque pro portione aut gradus, quem in amicitia obtinebant, aut navatae operae honos habitus est. [7] Abisares, qui, priusquam cum Poro dimicaretur, legatos ad Alexandrum miserat, rursus alios misit pollicentes, omnia facturum, quae imperasset, modo ne cogeretur corpus suum dedere: neque enim aut sine regio imperio victurum aut regnaturum esse captivum. [8] Cui Alexander nuntiari iussit, si gravaretur ad se venire, ipsum ad eum esse venturum. Hinc praerapido amne superato ad interiora Indiae processit. [9] Silvae erant prope in inmensum spatium diffusae procerisque et in eximiam altitudinem editis arboribus umbrosae. [10] Plerique rami instar ingentium stipitum flexi in humum rursus, qua se curvaverant, erigebantur, adeo ut species esset non rami resurgentis, sed arboris ex sua radice generatae. [11] Caeli temperies salubris: quippe et vim solis umbrae levant et aquae large manant e fontibus. [12] Ceterum hic quoque serpentium magna vis erat squamis fulgorem auri [p. 310] reddentibus. Virus haud ullum magis noxium est: quippe morsum praesens mors sequebatur, donec ab incolis remedium oblatum est. [13] Hinc per deserta ventum est ad flumen Hyraotim. Iunctum erat flumini nemus opacum arboribus alibi invisitatis agrestiumque pavonum multitudine frequens. [14] Castris inde motis oppidum haud procul positum corona capit obsidibusque acceptis Stipendium inponit. Ad magnam deinde, ut in ea regione, urbem pervenit, [15] non muro solum, sed etiam palude munitam. Ceterum barbari vehiculis inter se iunctis dimicaturi occurrerunt: tela aliis hastae, aliis secures erant, transiliebantque in vehicula strenuo saltu, cum succurrere laborantibus suis vellent. [16] Ac primo insolitum genus pugnae Macedonas terruit, cum eminus vulnerarentur: deinde spreto tam incondito auxilio ab utroque latere vehiculis circumfusi repugnantes fodere coeperunt. [17] Et vincula, quis conserta erant, iussit incidi, quo facilius singula

circumvenirentur. Itaque VIII milibus suorum amissis in oppidum refugerunt. [18] Postero die scalis undique admotis muri occupantur. Paucis pernicitas saluti fuit: qui ubi cognito urbis excidio paludem transnavere, in vicina oppida ingentem intulere terrorem invictum exercitum et deorum profecto advenisse memorantes. [19] Alexander ad vastandam eam regionem Perdicca cum expedita manu misso partem copiarum Eumeni tradidit, ut is quoque barbaros ad deditionem compelleret: ipse ceteros ad urbem validam, in quam aliarum [p. 311] quoque confugerant incolae, duxit. [20] Oppidani missis, qui regem deprecarentur, nihilo minus bellum parabant. Quippe orta seditio in diversa consilia diduxerat vulgum: alii omnia deditione potiora, quidam nullam opem in ipsis esse ducebant. [21] Sed dum nihil in commune consulitur, qui deditioni iminebant, apertis portas hostem recipiunt. [22] Alexander quamquam belli auctoribus iure poterat irasci, tamen omnibus venia data et obsidibus acceptis ad proximam deinde urbem castra movit. [23] Obsides ducebantur ante agmen: quos cum ex muris agnovissent, utpote gentis eiusdem, in colloquium incolae vocaverunt. Illi clementiam regis simulque vim commemorando ad deditionem eos compulere: ceterasque urbes simili modo domitas in fidem accepit. [24] Hinc in regnum Sopithis perventum est. Gens, ut barbari credunt, sapientia excellet bonisque moribus regitur. [25] Genitos liberos non parentum arbitrio tollunt aluntque, sed eorum, quibus spectandi infantum habitum cura mandata est. Si quos vitiis insignes aut aliqua parte membrorum inutiles notaverunt, necari iubent. [26] Nuptiis coeunt non genere ac nobilitate coniunctis, sed electa corporum specie, quia eadem aestimatur in liberis. [27] Huius gentis oppidum, cui Alexander admoverat copias, ab ipso Sopithe obtinebatur. Clausae erant portae, sed nulli in muris turribusque se armati ostendebant, dubitabantque Macedones, deseruissent urbem incolae an fraude se occulerent: [28] cum subito patefacta porta rex Indus cum duobus adultis [p. 312] filiis occurrit multum inter omnes barbaros eminens corporis specie. [29] Vestis erat auro purpuraque distincta, quae etiam crura velabat, aureis soleis inseruerat gemmas, lacerti quoque et brachia margaritis ornata erant, [30] pendebant ex auribus insignes candore ac magnitudine lapilli, baculum aureum berylli distiinguebant. Quo tradito precatus, ut sospes acciperet, se liberosque et gentem suam deditit. [31] Nobiles ad venandum canes in ea regione sunt: latratu abstinere dicuntur, cum viderunt feram, leonibus maxime infesti. [32] Horum vim ut ostenderet Alexandro, in consaeptum leonem eximiae magnitudinis iussit emitti et quattuor omnino admoveri canes. Qui celeriter feram occupaverunt: tum ex iis, qui adsueverant talibus ministeriis, unus canis leoni cum aliis inhaerentis crus avellere et, [33] quia non sequebatur, ferro amputare coepit. Ne sic quidem pertinacia victa rursus aliam partem secare institit et inde non segnius inhaerentem ferro subinde caedere: at ille in vulnere ferae dentes moribundus quoque infixerat. Tantam in illis animalibus ad venandum cupiditatem ingenerasse naturam memoriae proditum est. [34] Equidem plura transcribo quam credo: nam nec adfirmare sustineo, de quibus dubito, nee subducere, quae accepi. [35] Relicto igitur Sopithe in suo regno ad

fluvium Hypasin processit Hephaestione, qui diversam regionem subegerat, coniuncto. [36] Phegeus erat gentis proximae rex: qui popularibus suis colere agros, ut adsueverant, iussis Alexandro cum donis occurrit nihil, quod imperaret, detrectans.

Biduum apud eum substitit rex. Tertio die amnem supe- [p. 313] rare decreverat transitu difficilem non spatio solum aquarum, sed etiam saxis impeditum: [2] percontatus igitur Phegea, quae noscenda erant, XII dierum ultra flumen per vastas solitudines iter esse cognoscit, [3] excipere deinde Gangen, maximum totius Indiae fluminum, ulteriorem ripam colere gentes Gangaridas et Prasios eorumque regem esse Aggrammen XX milibus equitum ducentisque peditum obsidentem vias. [4] Ad hoc quadrigarum II milia trahere et, praecipuum terrorem, elephantos, quos III milium numerum explere dicebat. [5] Incredibilia regi omnia videbantur: igitur Porum — nam cum eo erat — percontatur, an vera essent, quae dicerentur. [6] Ille vires quidem gentis et regni haud falso iactari adfirmat, ceterum, qui regnaret, non modo ignobilem esse, sed etiam ultimae sortis: quippe patrem eius, tonsorem vix diurno quaestu propulsantem famem, propter habitum haud indecorum cordi fuisse reginae. [7] Ab ea in propiorem eius, qui tum regnasset, amicitiae locum admotum interfecto eo per insidias sub specie tutelae liberum eius invasisse regnum necatisque pueris hunc, qui nunc regnat, generasse, invisum vilemque popularibus, magis paternae fortunae quam suae memorem. [8] Adfirmatio Pori multiplicem animo regis iniecerat curam. Hostem beluasque spernebat, situm locorum et vim fluminum extimescebat: [9] relegatos in ultimum paene rerum humanarum persequi terminum et eruere arduum videbatur, rursus avaritia gloriae et insatiabilis cupido famae nihil invium, nihil remotum videri sinebat. [10] Et interdum dubitabat, an Macedones tot emensi spatia terrarum, in acie et in castris senes [p. 314] facti per obiecta flumina, per tot naturae obstantes difficultates secuturi essent: abundantes onustosque praeda magis parta frui velle quam acquirenda fatigari. [11] Non idem sibi et militibus animi: sese totius orbis imperium mente complexum adhuc in operum suorum primordio stare, militem labore defetigatum proximum quemque fructum finito tandem periculo expetere. [12] Vicit ergo cupido rationem, et ad contionem vocatis militibus ad hunc maxime modum disseruit: ‘Non ignoro, [13] milites, multa, quae terrere vos possent, ab incolis Indiae per hos dies de industria esse iactata: sed non est improvisa vobis mentientium vanitas. Sic Ciliciae fauces, sic Mesopotamiae campos, Tigrim et Euphraten, quorum alterum vado transiimus, alterum ponte, terribiles fecerant Persae. [14] Nil umquam ad liquidum fama perducitur: omnia illa tradente maiora sunt vero. Nostra quoque gloria, cum sit ex solido, plus tamen habet nominis quam operis. [15] Modo quis beluas offerentes moenium speciem, quis Hydaspem amnem, quis cetera auditu maiora quam vero sustineri posse credebat? Olim, hercules, fugissemus ex Asia, si nos fabulae debellare potuissent. [16] Creditisne elephantorum greges maiores esse, quam usquam armentorum sunt, cum et rarum sit animal nec facile capiatur multo que difficilius mitigetur? [17] Atqui

eadem vanitas copias peditum [p. 315] equitumque numeravit. Nam flumen, quo latius fusum est, hoc placidius stagnat: quippe angustis ripis coercita et in angustiore alveum elisa torrentes aquas invehunt, contra spatio alvei segnior cursus est. [18] Praeterea in ripa omne periculum est, ubi adplicantes navigia hostis expectat. Ita, quantumcumque flumen intervenit, idem futurum discrimen est evadentium in terram. [19] Sed omnia ista vera esse fingamus: utrumne nos magnitudo beluarum an multitudo hostium terret? Quod pertinet ad elephantos, praesens habemus exemplum: in suos vehementius quam in nos incucurrerunt: tam vasta corpora securibus falcibusque mutilata sunt. [20] Quid autem interest, totidem sint, quot Porus habuit, an in milia, cum uno aut altero vulnerato videritis ceteros in fugam declinari? Dein paucos aegre et incommode regunt: [21] congregata vero tot milia ipsa se elidunt, ubi nec stare nec fugere potuerint inhabiles vastorum corporum moles. Equidem sic animalia ista contempsi, ut, cum haberem ipse, non opposuerim, satis gnarus, plus suis quam hostibus periculi inferre. [22] At enim equitum peditumque multitudo vos commovet! Cum paucis enim pugnare soliti estis et nunc primum inconditam sustinebitis turbam. [23] Testis adversus multitudinem invicti Macedonum roboris Granicus amnis et Cilicia inundata cruore Persarum et Arbela, cuius campi devictorum a nobis ossibus strati sunt. [24] Sero hostium legiones numerare coepistis, postquam solitudinem in Asia vincendo fecistis. Cum per Hellespontum navigaremus, de paucitate nostra cogitandum fuit: [p. 316] nunc nos Scythae sequuntur, Bactriana auxilia praesto sunt, Dahae Sogdianique inter nos militant. [25] Nec tamen illi turbae confido: vestras manus intueor, vestram virtutem rerum, quas gesturus sum, vadem praedemque habeo. Quamdiu vobiscum in acie stabo, nec mei nee hostium exercitus numero: vos modo animos mihi plenos alacritatis ac fiduciae adhibete. [26] Non in limine operum laborumque nostrorum, sed in exitu stamus: pervenimus ad solis ortum et Oceanum. Nisi obstat ignavia, inde victores perdomito fine terrarum revertemur in patriam. Nolite, quod pigri agricolae faciunt, maturos fructus per inertiam amittere e manibus. [27] Maiora sunt periculis praemia: dives eadem et inbellis est regio. Itaque non tam ad gloriam vos duco quam ad praedam. Digni estis, qui opes, quas illud mare litoribus invehit, referatis in patriam, digni, qui nihil inexpertum, nihil metu omissum relinquantis. [28] Per vos gloriamque vestram, qua humanum fastigium exceditis, perque et mea in vos et in me vestra merita, quibus invicem contendimus, oro quaesoque, ne humanarum rerum terminos adeuntem alumnum commilitonemque vestrum, ne dicam regem, deseratis. [29] Cetera vobis imperavi: hoc unum debiturus sum. Et is vos rogo, qui nihil umquam vobis praecepi, quin primus me periculis obtulerim, qui saepe aciem clipeo meo texi. Ne infregeritis in manibus meis palmam, qua Herculem Liberumque Patrem, si invidia afuerit, aequabo. [30] Date [p. 317] hoc precibus meis et tandem obstinatum silentium rumpite. Ubi est ille clamor, alacritatis vestrae index? ubi ille meorum Macedonum vultus? Non agnosco vos, milites, nec agnosci videor a vobis. Surdas iamdudum aures pulso, aversos animos et infractos

excitare conor.’ Cumque illi in terram demissis capitibus tacere perseverarent: [31] ‘Nescio quid,’ inquit, ‘in vos imprudens deliqui, quod me ne intueri quidem vultis. In solitudine mihi videor esse. Nemo respondet, nemo saltem negat. [32] Quos adloquor? quid autem postulo? Vestram gloriam et magnitudinem vindicamus. Ubi sunt illi, quorum certamen paulo ante vidi contententium, qui potissimum vulnerati regis corpus exciperent? Desertus, destitutus sum, hostibus deditus. [33] Sed solus quoque ire perseverabo. Obicite me fluminibus et beluis et illis gentibus, quarum nomina horretis: inveniam, qui desertum a vobis sequantur. Scythae Bactrianique erunt mecum, hostes paulo ante, nunc milites nostri. [34] Mori praestat quam precario imperatorem esse. Ite reduces domos! ite deserto rege ovantes! Ego hic aut vobis desperatae victoriae aut honestae morti locum inveniam.’

Ne sic quidem ulli militum vox exprimi potuit. Expectabant, ut duces principesque ad regem perferrent vulneribus et continuo labore militiae fatigatos non detrectare munia, sed sustinere non posse. Ceterum illi metu attoniti in terram ora defixerant. [2] Igitur primo fremitus sua sponte, deinde gemitus quoque oritur, paulatimque liberius dolor egeri coepit manantibus [p. 318] lacrimis, adeo ut rex ira in misericordiam versa ne ipse quidem, quamquam cupiebat, temperare oculis potuerit. [3] Tandem universa contione effusius flente Coenus ausus est cunctantibus ceteris propius tribunal accedere significans se loqui velle. [4] Quem ut videre milites detrahentem galeam capiti — ita enim regem adloqui mos est —, hortari coeperunt, ut causam exercitus ageret. [5] Tum Coenus: ‘Dii prohibeant,’ inquit, ‘a nobis inpias mentes! Et profecto prohibent: idem animus est tuis, qui fuit semper, ire, quo iusseris, pugnare, periclitari, sanguine nostro commendare posteritati tuum nomen. Proinde, si perseveras, inermes quoque et nudi et exangues, utcumque tibi cordi est, [6] sequimur vel anteceditimus. Sed si audire vis non fictas tuorum militum voces, verum necessitate ultima expressas, praebe, quaeso, propitias aures imperium atque auspiciu tuum constantissime secutis et, quocumque pergis, secuturis. [7] Vicisti, rex, magnitudine rerum non hostes modo, sed etiam milites. Quidquid mortalitas capere poterat, inplevimus. [8] Emensis maria terrasque melius nobis quam incolis omnia nota sunt. Paene in ultimo mundi fine consistimus. In alium orbem paras ire et Indiam quaeris Indis quoque ignotam. Inter feras serpentesque degentes eruere ex latebris et cubilibus suis expetis, [9] ut plura, quam sol videt, victoria lustres. Digna prorsus cogitatio animo tuo, sed altior nostro. Virtus enim tua semper in incremento erit, nostra vis iam in fine est. [10] Intuere corpora exanguia, tot perfossa vulneribus, tot cicatricibus [p. 319] putria. Iam tela hebetia sunt, iam arma deficiunt. Vestem Persicam induti, quia domestica subvehi non potest, in externum degeneravimus cultum. [11] Quoto cuique lorica est? quis equum habet? Iube quaeri, quam multos servi ipsorum persecuti sint, quid cuique supersit ex praeda. Omnium victores omnium inopes sumus. Nec luxuria laboramus, sed bello instrumenta belli consumpsimus. [12] Hunc tu pulcherrimum exercitum nudum obicies beluis? Quarum ut multitudinem

augeant de industria barbari, magnum tamen esse numerum etiam ex mendacio intellego. [13] Quodsi adhuc penetrare in Indiam certum est, regio a meridie minus vasta est: qua subacta licebit decurrere in illud mare, quod rebus humanis terminum voluit esse natura. [14] Cur circuitu petis gloriam, quae ad manum posita est? Hic quoque occurrit Oceanus. Nisi mavis errare, pervenimus, quo tua fortuna ducit. [15] Haec tecum quam sine te cum his loqui malui, non uti inirem circumstantis exercitus gratiam, sed ut vocem loquentium potius quam gemitum murmurantium audires.’ [16] Ut finem orationi Coenus inposuit, clamor undique cum ploratu oritur regem, patrem, dominum confusis appellantium vocibus. [17] Iamque et alii duces praecipueque seniores, quis ob aetatem et excusatio honestior erat et auctoritas maior, eadem precabantur. [18] Ille nee castigare obstinatos nec mitigari poterat iratus: itaque inops consilii desiluit ex tribunali claudique regiam iussit omnibus praeter adsuetos adire prohibitis. [19] Biduum irae [p. 320] datum est: tertio die processit erigique duodecim aras ex quadrato saxo, monumentum expeditionis suae, munimenta quoque castrorum iussit extendi cubiliaque amplioris formae quam pro corporum habitu relinqui, ut speciem omnium augeret, posteritati fallax miraculum praeparans. [20] Hinc repetens, quae emensus erat, ad flumen Acesinen locat castra. Ibi forte Coenus morbo extinctus est: cuius morte ingemuit quidem rex, adiecit tamen propter paucos dies longam orationem eum exorsum, [21] tamquam solus Macedoniam visurus esset. Iam in aqua classis, quam aedificari iusserat, stabat. Inter haec Memnon ex Thracia in supplementum equitum milia, praeter eos ab Harpalo peditum VII milia adduxerat armaque XXV milibus auro et argento caelata pertulerat. Quis distributis vetera cremari iussit. [22] Mille navigiis aditurus Oceanum discordesque et vetera odia retractantes Porum et Taxilen, Indiae reges, firmatae per adfinitatem gratiae reliquit in suis regnis summo in aedificanda classe amborum studio usus. [23] Oppida quoque duo condidit: quorum alterum Nicaeam appellavit, alterum Bucephala, equi, quem amiserat, memoriae ac nomini dedicans urbem. [24] Elephantis deinde et inpedimentis terra sequi iussis secundo amne defluxit quadraginta ferme stadia singulis diebus pro- [p. 321] cedens, ut opportunis locis exponi subinde copiae possent.

Perventum erat in regionem, in qua Hydaspes amnis Acesini committitur: [2] hinc decurrit in fines Siborum. Hi de exercitu Herculis maiores suos esse memorant: aegros relictos esse cepisse sedem, quam ipsi obtinebant. [3] Pelles ferarum pro veste, clavae tela erant, multaque etiam, cum Graeci mores exolevissent, stirpis ostendebant vestigia. [4] Hinc escensione facta CC et L stadia excessit depopulatusque regionem oppidum, caput eius, corona cepit. [5] XL milia peditum alia gens in ripa fluminum opposuerat: quae amne superato in fugam compulit inclusosque moenibus expugnat. [6] Puberes interfecti sunt, ceteri venierunt. Alteram deinde urbem expugnare adortus magnaue vi defendentium pulsus multos Macedonum amisit. Sed cum in obsidione perseverasset, oppidani desperata salute ignem subiecere tectis seque ac liberos coniugesque, incendio cremant. [7] Quod cum ipsi augerent, hostes

extinguerent, nova forma pugnae erat: debebant incolae urbem, hostes defendebant. Adeo etiam naturae iura bellum in contrarium mutat. [8] Arx erat oppidi intacta, in qua praesidium dereliquit. Ipse e*t navigiis circumvectus arcem. Quippe III flumina tota India praeter Gangem maxima munimento arcis adplicant undas: a septentrione Indus adluit, a meridie Acesines Hydaspi confunditur. [9] Cete- [p. 322] rum amnium coetus maritimis similes fluctus movet, multoque ac turbido limo, quod aquarum concursu subinde turbatur, iter, qua meatur navigiis, in tenuem alveum cogitur. [10] Itaque cum crebri fluctus se inveherent et navium hinc proras, hinc latera pulsarent, subducere nautae vela coeperunt. Sed ministeria eorum hinc aestu, hinc praerapida celeritate fluminum occupantur. [11] In oculis omnium duo maiora navigia submersa sunt: leviora, cum et ipsa nequirent regi, in ripam tamen innoxia expulsa sunt. Ipse rex in rapidissimos vertices incidit, quibus intorta navis obliqua et gubernaculi inpatiens agebatur. [12] Iam vestem detraxerat corpori proiecturus semet in flumen, amicique, ut exciperent eum, haud procul nabant, adparebatque anceps periculum tam nataturi quam navigare perseverantis: [13] ergo ingenti certamine concitant remos, quantaque vis humana esse poterat, admota est, ut fluctus, [14] qui se invehebant, everberarentur. Findi crederes undas et retro gurgites cedere. Quibus tandem navis erepta non tamen ripae adplicatur, sed in proximum vadum inluditur. Cum amne bellum fuisse crederes. Ergo aris pro numero fluminum positis sacrificioque facto XXX stadia processit. [15] Inde ventum est in regionem Sudracarum Mallorumque, quos alias bellare inter se solitos tunc periculi societas iunxerat. Nonaginta milia iuniorum peditum in armis erant, praeter hos equitum X milia [p. 323] nongentaeque quadrigae. [16] At Macedones, qui omni discrimine iam defunctos se esse crediderant, postquam integrum bellum cum ferocissimis Indiae gentibus superesse cognoverunt, inproviso metu terrii rursus seditiosis vocibus regem increpare coeperunt: [17] Gangem amnem et, quae ultra essent, coactum transmittere non tamen finisse, sed mutasse bellum. Indomitis gentibus se obiectos, ut sanguine suo aperirent ei Oceanum. [18] Trahi extra sidera et solem cogique adire, quae mortalium oculis natura subduxerit. Novis identidem armis novos hostes existere. Quos ut omnes fundant fugentque, quod praemium ipsos manere? caliginem ac tenebras et perpetuam noctem profundo incubantem mari, repletum inmanium beluarum gregibus fretum, immobiles undas, in quibus emoriens natura defecerit. [19] Rex non sua, sed militum sollicitudine anxius contione advocata docet inbelles esse, quos metuant. Nihil deinde praeter has gentes obstare, quominus terrarum spatia emensi ad finem simul mundi laborumque perveniant. [20] Concessisse illis metuentibus Gangem et multitudinem nationum, quae ultra amnem essent: declinasse iter eo, ubi par gloria, minus periculum esset. [21] Iam prospicere se Oceanum, iam perflare ad ipsos auram maris: ne inviderent sibi laudem, quam peteret. Herculis et Liberi Patris terminos transituros illos, regi suo parvo incendio immortalitatem famae daturos. Paterentur se ex India redire, non fugere. [22] Omnis multitudo et maxime militaris mobilis impetu effertur: ita

seditionis non [p. 324] [23] remedia quam principia maiora sunt. Non alias tam alacer clamor ab exercitu est redditus: iubent eum ducere dis secundis aequareque gloria, quos aemularetur. Laetus his adclamationibus ad hostes protinus castra movit. [24] Validissimae Indorum gentes erant et bellum impigre parabant ducemque ex natione Sudracarum spectatae virtutis elegerant: qui sub radicibus montis castra posuit lateque ignes, ut speciem multitudinis augeret, ostendit, clamore quoque ac sui moris ululatu identidem adquiescentes Macedonas frustra terrere conatus. [25] Iam lux adpetebat, cum rex fiduciae ac spei plenus alacres milites arma capere et exire in aciem iubet. Sed — haud traditur, metune an oborta seditione inter ipsos — subito profugerunt barbari certe et avios montes et ineditos occupaverunt. [26] Quorum agmen rex frustra persecutus impedimenta cepit. Perventum deinde est ad oppidum Sudracarum, in quod plerique confugerant, haud maiore fiducia moenium quam armorum. [27] Iam admovebat rex, cum vates monere eum coepit, [28] ne committeret aut certe differret obsidionem: vitae eius periculum ostendi. Rex Demophontem — is namque vates erat — intuens: ‘Si quis,’ inquit, ‘te arti tuae intentum et exta spectantem sic interpellet, non dubitem, quin incommodus ac molestus videri tibi possit.’ Et cum ille ita prorsus futurum respondisset: [29] ‘Censesne,’ inquit, ‘tantas res, non pecudum fibras ante oculos habenti ullum esse [p. 325] maius impedimentum quam vatem superstitione captum?’ Nec diutius, [30] quam respondit, moratus admoveri iubet scalas cunctantibusque ceteris evadit in murum. Augusta muri corona erat: non pinnae sicut alibi fastigium eius distinxerant, sed perpetua lorica obducta transitum saepserat. [31] Itaque rex haerebat magis quam stabat in margine clipeo undique incidentia tela propulsans: [32] nam ipse eminus ex turribus petebatur, nec subire milites poterant, quia superne vi telorum obruebantur. Tandem magnitudinem telorum periculi pudor vicit: quippe cernebant cunctatione sua dedi hostibus regem. [33] Sed festinando morabantur auxilia. Nam dum pro se quisque certat evadere, oneravere scalas: quis non sufficientibus devoluti unicam spem regis fefellerunt. Stabat enim in conspectu tanti exercitus velut in solitudine destitutus.

Iamque laevam, qua clipeum ad ictus circumferebat, lassaverat clamantibus amicis, ut ad ipsos desiliret, stabantque excepturi: cum ille rem ausus est incredibilem atque inauditam multoque magis ad famam temeritatis quam gloriae insinem. [2] Namque in urbem hostium plenam praecipiti saltu semet ipse inmisit. cum vix sperare posset dimicantem certe et non inultum esse moriturum: quippe, antequam adsurgeret, opprimi poterat et capi vivus Sed forte ita libraverat corpus, [3] ut se pedibus exciperet: itaque stans init pugnam. Et, ne circumiri posset, fortuna providerat. [4] Vetusta arbor haud procul muro ramos multa fronde vestitos, velut de industria regem protegentes, obiecerat: huius spatioso stipiti corpus, ne circumiri posset, adplicuit clipeo tela, quae ex [p. 326] adverso ingerebantur, excipiens. [5] Nam cum comminus unum procul tot manas peterent, nemo tamen auderet propius accedere, missilia ramis plura quam clipeo incidebant. [6] Pugnat pro rege primum celebrati nominas fama,

[7] deinde desperatio, magnum ad honeste moriendum incitamentum. Sed cum subinde hostis adflueret, iam ingentem vim telorum exceperat clipeo, iam galeam saxa perfregerant, iam continuo labore gravata genua succiderant. [8] Itaque contemptim et incaute, qui proximi steterant, incurrerunt: e quibus duos gladio ita excepit, ut ante ipsum exanimis procumberent. Nec cuiquam deinde propius incessendi eum animus fuit: [9] procul iacula sagittasque mittebant. Ille ad omnes ictus expositus non aegre tamen exceptum poplitibus corpus tuebatur, donec Indus duorum cubitorum sagittam — namque Indis, ut antea diximus, huius magnitudinis sagittae erant — ita excussit, ut per thoracem paulum super latus dextrum infigeret. [10] Quo vulnere adflictus magna vi sanguinis emicante remisit arma moribundo similis adeoque resolutus, [11] ut ne ad vellendum quidem telum sufficeret dextra. Itaque ad spoliandum corpus, qui vulneraverat, alacer gaudio accurrit. Quem ut inicere corpori suo manus sensit, credo, ultimi dedecoris indignitate commotus linquentem revocavit animum et nudum hostis latus subrecto mucrone hausit. [12] Iacebant circa regem tria corpora procul stupentibus ceteris. Ille ut, antequam ultimus spiritus deficeret, dimicans tamen extingueretur, [p. 327] clipeo se adlevare conatus est et, [13] postquam ad conitendum nihil supererat virium, dextera independentes ramos complexus temptabat adsurgere. Sed ne sic quidem potens corporis rursus in genua procumbit manu provocans hostes, si quis congredi auderet. [14] Tandem Peucestes per aliam oppidi partem deturbatis propugnatoribus muri vestigia persequens regis supervenit. [15] Quo conspecto Alexander iam non vitae spem, sed mortis solacium supervenisse ratus clipeo fatigatum corpus excepit. Subinde Timaeus et paulo post Leonnatus, huic Aristonus supervenit. [16] Indi quoque, cum intra moenia regem esse conperissent, omissis ceteris illuc concurrerunt urgebantque protegentes eum. E quibus Timaeus multis adverso corpore vulneribus acceptis egregiaque edita pugna cecidit: [17] Peucestes quoque tribus iaculis confossus non se tamen scuto, sed regem tuebatur: Leonnatus, dum avide ruentes barbaros submovet, cervice graviter icta semianimis procubuit ante regis pedes. [18] Iam et Peucestes vulneribus fatigatus submiserat clipeum: in Aristono spes ultima haerebat. Hic quoque graviter saucius tantam vim hostium ultra sustinere non poterat. [19] Inter haec ad Macedonas regem cecidisse fama perlata est. Terruisset alios, quod illos incitavit. Namque periculi omnis inmemores dolabris perfringere murum et, qua moliti erant aditum, inrupere in urbem Indosque plures fugientes quam congredi ausos ceciderunt. [20] Non senibus, non feminis, non infantibus parcitur: quisquis occurrerat, ab illo [p. 328] vulneratum regem esse credebant. Tandemque internecione hostium iustae irae parentatum est. [21] Ptolomaeum, qui postea regnavit, huic pugnae adfuisse auctor est Clitarchus et Timagenes, sed ipse scilicet gloriae suae non refragatus afuisse se missum in expeditionem memoriae tradidit. Tanta componentium vetusta rerum monimenta vel securitas vel, par huic vitium, credulitas fuit. [22] Rege in tabernaculum relato medici lignum sagittae corpori infixae ita, ne spiculum moveretur, [23] abscidunt. Corpore deinde nudato

animadvertunt hamos inesse telo nec aliter id sine pernicie corporis extrahi posse quam, ut secando vulnus augerent. [24] Ceterum, ne secantes profluvium sanguinis occuparet, verebantur: quippe ingens telum adactum erat et penetrasse in viscera videbatur. [25] Critobulus, inter medicos artis eximiae, sed in tanto periculo territus, manus admovere metuebat, ne in ipsius caput parum prosperae curationis recideret eventus. [26] Lacrimantem eum ae metu et sollicitudine propemodum exanguem rex conspexerat: ‘Quid,’ inquit, ‘quodve tempus expectas et non quam primum hoc dolore me saltem moriturum liberas?’ [27] An times, ne reus sis, cum insanabile vulnus acceperim?’ At Critobulus tandem vel finito vel dissimulato metu hortari eum coepit, ut se continendum praeberet, dum spiculum evelleret: etiam levem corpo- [p. 329] ris motum noxium fore. [28] Rex cum adfirmasset nihil opus esse iis, qui semet continerent, sicut praeceptum erat, sine motu praebuit corpus. Igitur patefacto latius vulnere et spiculo evolso ingens vis sanguinis manare coepit linquique animo rex et caligine oculis offusa velut moribundus extendi. [29] Cumque profluvium medicamentis frustra inhiherent, clamor simul atque ploratus amicorum oritur regem expirasse credentium. Tandem constitit sanguis, paulatimque animum recepit et circumstantes coepit agnoscere. [30] Toto eo die ac nocte, quae secuta est, armatus exercitus regiam obsedit confessus omnes unius spiritu vivere. Nec prius recesserunt, quam conpertum est somno paulisper adquiescere. Hinc certiore spem salutis eius in castra rettulerunt.

Rex VII diebus curato vulnere necdum obducta cicatrice, cum audisset convaluisse apud barbaros famam mortis suae, duobus navigiis iunctis statui in medium undique conspicuum tabernaculum iussit, ex quo se ostenderet perisse credentibus, conspectusque ab incolis spem hostium falso nuntio conceptam inhibuit. [2] Secundo deinde amne defluxit aliquantum intervalli a cetera classe praecipiens, ne quies perinvalido adhuc necessaria pulsu remorum impediretur. [3] Quarto, postquam navigare coeperat, die pervenit in regionem desertam quidem ab incolis, sed frumento et pecoribus abundantem. Placuit is locus et ad suam et ad militum requiem. [4] Mos erat principibus amicorum et custodibus corporis excubare ante praetorium, [p. 330] quotiens adversa regi validudo incidisset: hoc tum quoque more servato universi cubiculum eius intrant. [5] Ille sollicitas, ne quid novi adferrent, quia simul venerant, percontatur, num hostium recens nuntiaretur adventus. [6] At Craterus, cui mandatum erat, ut amicorum preces perferret ad eum: ‘Credisne,’ inquit, ‘adventu magis hostium, ut iam in vallo consisterent, sollicitos esse quam cura salutis tuae, [7] ut nunc est, tibi vilis? Quantalibet vis omnium gentium conspiret in nos, inpleat armis virisque totum orbem, classibus maria consternat, invisitatas beluas inducat: [8] tu nos praestabis invictos. Sed quis deorum hoc Macedoniae columnen ac sidus diuturnum fore polliceri potest, cum tam avide manifestis periculis offeras corpus oblitus tot civium animas trahere te in casum? Quis enim tibi superstes aut optat esse aut potest? [9] Eo pervenimus auspiciū atque imperium secuti tuum, unde nisi te reduce nulli ad penates suos iter est. [10] Quodsi adhuc de Persidis regno cum

Dareo dimicare, etsi nemo vellet, tamen ne admirari quidem posset tam promptae esse te ad omne discrimen audaciae: nam ubi paria sunt periculum ac praemium, et secundis rebus amplior fructus est et adversis solacium maius. [11] Tuo vero capite ignobilem vicum emi, quis ferat non tuorum modo militum, [12] sed ullius gentis barbarae civis, qui tuam magnitudinem novit? Horret animus cogitationem rei, quam paulo ante vidimus. Eloqui timeo invicti corporis spolia inertissimas manus fuisse infecturas, nisi te interceptum misericors in nos fortuna servasset. [13] [p. 331] Totidem proditores, totidem desertores sumus, quot te non potuimus persequi. Universos licet milites ignominia notes, nemo recusabit luere id, quod ne admitteret, praestare non potuit. Patere nos, quaeso, alio modo esse viles tibi. [14] Quocumque iusseris, ibimus. Obscura pericula et ignobiles pugnas nobis deposcimus: temet ipsum ad ea serva, quae magnitudinem tuam capiunt. Cito gloria obsolescit in sordidis hostibus, nec quicquam indignius est quam consumi eam, ubi non possit ostendi.’ [15] Eadem fere Ptolomaeus et similia his ceteri. Iamque confusis vocibus flentes eum orabant, ut tandem ex satietate laudi modum faceret ac saluti suae id est publicae parceret. [16] Grata erat regi pietas amicorum: itaque singulos familiarius amplexus considerare iubet altiusque sermone repetito: [17] ‘Vobis quidem,’ inquit, ‘o fidissimi piissimique civium atque amicorum, grates ago habeoque non solum eo nomine, quod hodie salutem meam vestrae praeponitis, sed quod a primordiis belli nullum erga me benivolentiae pignus atque indicium omisistis, adeo ut confitendum sit numquam mihi vi tam meam fuisse tam caram, quam esse coepit, ut vobis diu frui possim. [18] Ceterum non eadem est cogitatio eorum, qui pro me mori optant, et mea, qui pridem hanc benivolentiam vestram virtute meruisse me iudico. Vos enim diuturnum fructum ex me, forsitan etiam perpetuum percipere [p. 332] cupiatis: [19] ego me metior non aetatis spatio, sed gloriae. Licuit paternis opibus contento intra Macedoniae terminos per otium corporis expectare obscuram et ignobilem senectutem. Quamquam ne pigri quidem sibi fata disponunt, sed unicum bonum diuturnam vitam existimantes saepe acerba mors occupat. Verum ego, qui non annos meos, sed victorias numero, si munera fortunae bene conputo, diu vixi. [20] Orsus a Macedonia imperium Graeciae teneo, Thraciam et Illyrios subegi, Triballis Maedisque imperito, Asiam, qua Hellesponto, qua Rubro mari subluitur, possideo. Iamque haud procul absum fine mundi, quem egressus aliam naturam, [21] alium orbem aperire mihi statui. Ex Asia in Europae terminos momento unius horae transivi. Victor utriusque regionis post nonum regni mei, post vicesimum atque octavum annum vitae videorne vobis in excolenda gloria, cui me uni devovi, posse cessare? Ego vero non deero et, ubicumque pugnabo, in theatro terrarum orbis esse me credam. [22] Dabo nobilitatem ignobilibus locis, aperiam cunctis gentibus terras, quas natura longe submoverat. In his operibus extinguere mihi, si fors ita feret, pulchrum est: ea stirpe sum genitus, ut multam prius quam longam vitam debeam optare. [23] Obsecro vos, cogitate nos pervenisse in terras, quibus feminae ob virtutem celeberrimum nomen est.

Quas urbes Samiramis condidit! quas gentis redegit in potestatem! quanta opera molita est! Nondum feminam aequavimus gloria, et iam nos laudis satietas cepit? [24] Di faveant, maiora adhuc restant. Sed ita nostra [p. 333] erunt, quae nondum adiimus, si nihil parvum duxerimus, in quo magnae gloriae locus est. Vos modo me ab intestina fraude et domesticorum insidiis praestate securum: belli Martisque discrimen inpavidus subibo. [25] Philippus in acie tutior quam in theatro fuit: hostium manus saepe evitavit, suorum effugere non valuit. Aliorum quoque regum exitus si reputaveritis, plures a suis quam ab hoste interemptos numerabitis. [26] Ceterum, quoniam olim rei agitatae in animo meo nunc promendae occasio oblata est, mihi maximus laborum atque operum meorum erit fructus, si Olympias mater immortalitati consecratur, quandoque excesserit vita. Hoc, si licuerit, ipse praestabo: hoc, si me praeceperit fatum, vos mandasse me mementote.' Ac tum quidem amicos dimisit. Ceterum per conplures dies ibi stativa habuit.

Haec dum in India geruntur, Graeci milites nuper in colonias a rege deducti circa Bactra orta inter ipsos seditione defecerant non tam Alexandro infensi quam metu supplicii. [2] Quippe occisis quibusdam popularium, qui validiores erant, arma spectare coeperunt et Bactriana arce, quae quasi tuta neglegentius adservata erat, occupata barbaros quoque in societatem defectionis inpulerant. [3] Athenodorus erat princeps eorum, qui regis quoque nomen adsumpserat non tam imperii cupidine quam in patriam revertendi cum iis, qui [p. 334] [4] auctoritatem ipsius sequebantur. Huic Biton quidam nationis eiusdem, sed ob aemulationem infestus conparavit insidias invitatumque ad epulas per Boxum quendam Bactrianum in convivio occidit. [5] Postero die contione advocata Bito nitro insidiatum sibi Athenodorum plerisque persuaserat: sed aliis suspecta erat fraus Bitonis, et paulatim in plures coepit manare suspicio. [6] Itaque Graeci milites arma capiunt occisuri Bitonem, si daretur occasio: ceterum principes eorum iram multitudinis mitigaverunt. [7] Praeter spem suam Biton praesenti periculo ereptus paulo post est insidiatus auctoribus salutis suae. Cuius dolo cognito et ipsum comprehenderunt et Boxum. [8] Ceterum Boxum protinus placuit interfici, Bitonem etiam per cruciatum necari. Iamque corpori tormenta admovebantur, cum Graeci — incertum, ob quam causam — lymphatis similes ad arma discurrent. [9] Quorum fremitu exaudito, qui torquere Bitonem iussi erant, omisere veriti, ne id facere tumultuantium vociferatione prohiberentur. [10] Ille, sicut nudatus erat, pervenit ad Graecos, et miserabilis facies supplicio destinati in diversum animos repente mutavit, dimittique eum iusserunt. [11] Hoc modo poena bis liberatus cum ceteris, qui colonias a rege attributas reliquerunt, revertit in patriam. Haec circa Bactra et Scytharum terminos gesta. [p. 335] Interim regem duarum gentium, [12] de quibus ante dictum est, C legati adeunt. Omnes curru vehebantur eximia magnitudine corporum, decore habitu: lineae vestes in texto auro purpuraque distinctae. [13] Ei se dedere ipsos, urbes agrosque referebant, per tot aetates inviolatam libertatem illius primum fidei dicionique permissuros: deos sibi deditionis auctores, non metum: [14] quippe intactis viribus iugum excipere. Rex coasilio

habito deditos in fidem accepit stipendio, quod Arachosiis utraque natio pensitabat, inposito: praeterea milia et D equites imperat. Et omnia oboedienter a barbaris facta. [15] Invitatis deinde ad epulas legatis gentium regulisque exornari convivium iussit. C aurei lecti modicis intervallis positi erant, lectis circumdederat aulaea purpura auroque fulgentia, quidquid aut apud Persas vetere luxu aut apud Macedonas nova inmutatione corruptum erat, confusis utriusque gentis vitiis in illo convivio ostendens. [16] Intererat epulis Dioxippus Atheniensis, pugil nobilis et ob eximiam virtutem virium iam et regi pernotus et gratus. In vidi malignique increpabant per seria et ludum saginati corporis sequi inutilem beluam: cum ipsi proelium imirent, oleo madentem praeparare ventrem epulis. [17] Eadem igitur in convivio Corratas Macedo iam temulentus exit probrare ei coepit et postulare, ut, si vir esset, postero die secum ferro decerneret: regem tandem vel de sua temeritate vel de illius ignavia iudicaturum. [18] Et a Dioxippo contemptim militarem eludente ferociam [p. 336] accepta condicio est. Ac postero die rex, cum etiam acrius certamen exposcerent, quia deterrire non poterat, [19] destinata exequi passus est. Ingens vis militum, inter quos erant Graeci, Dioxippo studebant. Macedo iusta arma sumpserat, aereum clipeum hastamque — sarisam vocant — laeva tenens, dextera lanceam gladioque cinctus, velut cum pluribus simul dimicaturus: [20] Dioxippus oleo nitens et coronatus laeva puniceum amiculum, dextra validum nodosumque stipitem praeferebat. [21] Ea ipsa res omnium animos expectatione suspenderat: quippe armato congredi nudum dementia, non temeritas videbatur. Igitur Macedo, haud dubius eminens interfici posse, lanceam emisit. Quam Dioxippus cum exigua corporis declinatione vitasset, [22] antequam ille hastam transferret in dextram, adsiluit et stipite mediam eam fregit. Amisso utroque telo Macedo gladium coeperat stringere, cum occupatum complexu pedibus repente subductis Dioxippus arietavit in terram ereptoque gladio pedem super cervicem iacenti inposuit stipitem intentans elisurusque eo victum, [23] ni prohibitus esset a rege. Tristis spectacula eventus non Macedonibus modo, sed etiam Alexandro fuit, maxime quia barbari adfuerant: quippe celebratam Macedonum fortitudinem ad ludibrium recidissee querebatur. [24] Hinc ad criminationem invidorum adapertae sunt regis aures. Et post paucos dies inter epulas aureum poculum ex conposito subducitur, ministrique, quasi amisissent, [25] quod amoverant, regem adeunt. Saepe minus est [p. 337] constantiae in rubore, quam in culpa: coniectum oculorum, quibus ut fur destinabatur, Dioxippus ferre non potuit et, cum excessisset convivio, litteris conscriptis, quae regi redderentur, ferro se interemit. [26] Graviter mortem eius tulit rex existimans indignationis esse, non paenitentiae testem, utique postquam falso insimulatum eum nimium invidorum gaudium ostendit.

Indorum legati dimissi domos paucis post diebus cum donis revertuntur. CCC erant equites, MXXX currus, quos quadriiugi equi ducebant, lineae vestis aliquantum, mille scuta Indica et ferri candidi talenta C leonesque raras magnitudinis et tigres, [2] utrumque animal ad mansuetudinem domitum, lacertarum quoque ingentium pelles et dorsa testudinum. [3] Cratero deinde

imperat rex, haud procul amne, per quem erat ipse navigaturus, copias duceret: eos autem, qui comitari eum solebant, inponit in naves et in fines Mallorum secundo amne devehitur. [4] Inde Sambagras adiit, validam Indiae gentem, quae populi, non regum imperio regebatur. LX milia peditum habebant, equitum VI milia: has copias currus D sequebantur. in duces spectatos virtute bellica elegerant. [5] At, qui in agris erant proximis flumini — frequentes autem vicos maxime in ripa habebant — ut videre totum amnem, qua prospici poterat, navigiis constratum et tot militum arma fulgentia, territi nova facie deorum exercitum et alium Liberum Patrem, celebre in illis gentibus nomen, adventare credebant. [p. 338] [6] Hinc militum clamor, hinc remorum pulsus variaequae nautarum voces hortantium pavidas aures inpleverant. [7] Ergo universi ad eos, qui in armis erant, currant furere clamitantes et cum dis proelium inituros: navigia non posse numerari, quae invictos viros veherent. Tantumque in exercitum suorum intulere terroris, ut legatos mitterent gentem dedituros. [8] His in fidem acceptis ad alias deinde gentes quarto die pervenit. Nihilo plus animi his fuit, quam ceteris fuerat. [9] Itaque oppido ibi condito, quod Alexandream appellari iusserat, fines eorum, qui Musicani appellantur, intravit. Hic de Teriolte satrape, quem Parapanisadis praefecerat, isdem arguentibus cognovit multaque avare ac superbe fecisse convictum interfici iussit. [10] Oxyartes, praetor Bactrianorum, non absolutus modo, sed etiam iure amoris amplioris imperii donatus est finibus. Musicanis deinde in dicionem redactis urbi eorum praesidium inposuit. [11] Inde per silvas ad asperam Indiae gentem, perventum est. Porticanus rex erat, qui se munitae urbi cum magna manu popularium incluserat. Hanc Alexander tertio die, quam coeperat obsidere, expugnavit. [12] Et Porticanus, cum in arcem confugisset, legatos de condicione deditionis misit ad regem. Sed antequam adirent eum, duae turres cum ingenti fragore prociderant: per quarum ruinas Macedones evasere in arcem. Qua capta Porticanus cum paucis repugnans occiditur. [13] Diruta igitur arce et omnibus captivis venundatis [p. 339] Sambis regis fines ingressus est multisque oppidis in fidem acceptis validissimam gentis urbem cuniculo cepit. [14] Barbarie simile monstri visum est rudibus militarium operum: quippe in media ferme urbe armati terra existebant nullo suffossi specus ante vestigio facto. [15] LXXX milia Indorum in ea regione caesa Clitarchus est auctor multosque captivos sub corona venisse. [16] Rursus Musicani defecerunt: ad quos opprimendos missus est Pithon, qui captum principem gentis eundemque defectionis auctorem adduxit ad regem. Quo Alexander in crucem sublato rursus amnem, in quo classem expectare se iusserat, repetit. [17] Quarto deinde die secundo amne pervenit ad oppidum, quod in regno imo erat Sambis. Nuper se ille dederat, sed oppidani detrectabant imperium et clausurant portas. [18] Quorum paucitate contempta rex D Agrianos moenia subire iussit et sensim recedentes elicere extra muros hostem, secuturum profecto, si fugere eos crederet. [19] Agriani, sicut imperatum erat, lacessito hoste subito terga verterunt: quos barbari effuse sequentes in alios, inter quos ipse rex erat,

incidunt. Renovato ergo proelio ex III milibus barbarorum DC caesi sunt, m capti, ceteri moenibus urbis inclusi. [20] Sed non ut prima specie laeta victoria, ita eventu quoque fuit: quippe barbari veneno tinxerant gladios. Itaque saucii subinde expirabant, nec causa tam strenuae mortis excogitan poterat a medicis, cum etiam leves plagae insanabiles essent. [21] Barbari autem speraverant in- [p. 340] cautum et temerarium regem excipi posse. Sed forte inter promptissimos dimicans intactus evaserat. [22] Praecipue Ptolomaeus, laevo humero leviter quidem saucius, sed maiore periculo quam vulnere adfectus, regis sollicitudinem in se converterat. Sanguine coniunctus erat, et quidam Philippo genitum esse credebant: certe pelice eius ortum constabat. [23] Idem corporis custos promptissimusque bellator et pacis artibus quam militiae maior et clarior: modico civilique cultu, liberalis inprimis adituque facili nihil ex fastu regiae adsumpserat. [24] Ob haec regi an popularibus carior esset, dubitari poterat: tum certe primum expertus suorum animos, adeo ut fortunam, in quam postea ascendit, in illo periculo Macedones ominati esse videantur. [25] Quippe non levior illis Ptolomaei fuit cura quam regi. Qui et proelio et sollicitudine fatigatus cum Ptolomaeo adsideret, lectum, in quo ipse adquiesceret, iussit inferri. [26] In quem ut se recepit, protinus altior insecutus est somnus. Ex quo excitatus per quietem vidisse se exponit speciem draconis oblatam herbam ferentis ore, [27] quam veneni remedium esse monstrasset: colorem quoque herbae referebat agniturum, si quis repperisset, adfirmans. Inventam deinde — quippe a multis simul erat requisita — vulneri inposuit, protinusque dolore finito intra breve spatium cicatrix quoque obducta est. [28] Barbaros ut prima spes fefellerat, se ipsos urbemque dederunt. Hinc in proximam gentem Patalium perventum est. [p. 341] Rex erat Soeris, qui urbe deserta in montes profugerat: [29] itaque Alexander oppido potitur agrosque populatur. Magnae inde praedae actae sunt pecorum armentorumque, magna vis reperta frumenti. [30] Ducibus deinde sumptis amnis peritis defluxit ad insulam medio ferme alveo enatam.

Ibi diutius subsistere coactus, quia duces socordius adservati profugerant, misit, qui conquirent alios. Nec repertis pervicit cupido visendi Oceanum adeundique terminos mundi sine regionis peritis flumini ignoto caput suum totque fortissimorum virorum salutem permittere: [2] navigabant ergo omnium, per quae ferebantur, ignari. Quantum inde abesset mare, quae gentes colerent, quam placidum amnis os, quam patiens longarum navium esset, anceps et caeca aestimatio augurabatur: unum erat temeritatis solacium perpetua felicitas. [3] Iam CCCC stadia processerant, cum gubernatores agnoscere ipsos auram maris et haud procul videri sibi Oceanum abesse indicant regi. [4] Laetus ille hortari nauticos coepit, incumberent remis: adesse finem laboris omnibus votis expetitur: iam nihil gloriae deesse, nihil obstare virtuti, sine ullo Martis discrimine, sine sanguine oram terrae ab illis capi: ne naturam quidem longius posse procedere: brevi incognita nisi immortalibus esse viuros. [5] Paucos tamen navigio emisit in ripam, qui agrestes vagos exciperent, e quibus certiora nosci posse sperabat. Illi scrutati omnia tuguria

tandem latentes repperere. [6] Qui interrogati, quam procul abessent mari, responderunt nullum ipsos mare ne fama [p. 342] quidem accepisse: ceterum tertio die perveniri posse ad aquam amaram, quae corrumperet dulcem. Intellectum est mare destinari ab ignaris naturae eius. [7] Itaque ingenti alacritate nautici remigant, et proximo quoque die, quo propius spes admovebatur, crescebat : ardor animorum. Tertio iam die mixtum flumini subibat mare leni adhuc aestu confundente dispaes undas. [8] Tum aliam insulam medio amni sitam evecti paulo lentius, quia cursus aestu reverberabatur, adplicant classem et ad commeatus petendos discurrunt, [9] securi casus eius, qui supervenit ignaris. Tertia ferme hora erat, cum stata vice Oceanus exaestuans invehi coepit et retro flumen urgere. Quod primo coercitum, deinde vehementius pulsum maiore impetu adversum agebatur. [10] quam torrentia praecipiti alveo incurrunt. Ignota vulgo freti natura erat, monstraque et irae deum indicia cernere videbantur, identidem intumescens mare et in campos paulo ante siccos descendere superfusum. [11] Iamque levatis navigiis et tota classe dispersa, qui expositi erant, undique ad naves trepidi et improviso malo a attoniti recurrunt. [12] Sed in tumultu festinatio quoque tarda est. Hi contis navigia pellebant, hi, dum remos aptari prohibebant, [13] consederant, quidam enavigare properantes, sed non expectatis, qui simul esse debebant, clauda et inhabilia navigia languide moliebantur, aliae a navium inconsulte ruentes non receperant: pariterque et multitudo et paucitas festinantes morabatur. [14] Clamor hinc expectare, hinc ire iubentium dissonaeque voces numquam idem atque unum tendentium non oculorum [p. 343] modo usum, sed etiam aurium abstulerant. [15] Ne in gubernatoribus quidem quicquam opis erat, quorum nec exaudiri vox a tumultuantibus poterat nec imperium a territis inconpositisque servari. [16] Ergo conlidi inter se naves abstergerique invicem remi et alii aliorum navigia urgere coeperunt. Crederes non unius exercitus classem vehi, sed duorum navale inisse certamen. [17] Incutiebantur puppibus prorae, premebantur a sequentibus, qui antecedentes turbaverant: iurgantium ira perveniebat etiam ad manus. [18] Iamque aestus totos circa flumen campos inundaverat tumulis dumtaxat eminentibus velut insulis parvis, in quos plerique trepidi omissis navigiis enare properant. [19] Dispersa classis partim in praealta aqua stabat, qua subsederant valles, partim in vado haerebat, utcumque inaequale terrae fastigium occupaverant undae: cum subito novus et pristino maior terror incutitur. [20] Reciprocari coepit mare magno tractu aquis in suum fretum recurrentibus reddebatque terras paulo ante profundo salo mersas. Igitur destituta navigia alia praecipitantur in proras, alia in latera procumbunt. Strati erant campi sarcinis, armis, avulsarum tabularum remorumque fragmentis. [21] Miles nec egredi in terram nec in nave subsistere audebat identidem praesentibus graviora, quae sequerentur, expectans. Vix, quae perpetiebantur, videre ipsos credebant, in sicco naufragia, in amni mare. [22] Nec finis malorum: quippe aestum paulo post mare relaturum, quo navigia adlevarentur, ignari famem et [p. 344] ultima sibimet ominabantur. Beluae quoque fluctibus

destitutae terribiles vagabantur. [23] Iamque nox adpetebat, et regem quoque desperatio salutis aegritudine adfecerat. Non tamen invictum animum curae obruunt, quin tota nocte persederet in speculis equitesque praemitteret ad os amnis, ut, cum mare rursus exaestuare sensissent, praecederent. [24] Navigia quoque et lacerata refici et eversa fluctibus erigi iubet paratosque esse et intentos, cum rursus mare terras inundasset. [25] Tota ea nocte inter vigilias adhortationesque consumpta celeriter et equites ingenti cursu refugere et secutus est aestus. Qui primo aquis leni tractu subeuntibus coepit levare navigia, mox totis campis inundatis etiam inpulit classem. [26] Plaususque militum nauticorumque insperatam salutem inmodico celebrantium gaudio litoribus ripisque resonabat. Unde tantum redisset subito mare, quo pridie refugisset, quatenam esset eiusdem elementi natura modo discors, modo imperio temporum obnoxia, mirabundi requirebant. [27] Rex cum ex eo, quod acciderat, coniectaret post solis ortum statum tempus esse, media nocte, ut aestum occuparet, cum paucis navigiis secundo amne defluxit evectusque os eius CCC stadia processit in mare tandem voti sui compos. Praesidibusque et maris et locorum dis sacrificio facto ad classem rediit.

Hinc adversum flumen subit classis et altero die adpulsa est haud procul lacu salso, cuius incognita natura plerosque decepit temere ingressos aquam. Quippe scabies corpora invasit, et contagium morbi etiam in alios vulgatum est. [2] Oleum remedio fuit. Leonnato [p. 345] deinde praemisso, ut puteos foderet, qua terrestri itinere ducturus exercitum videbatur — quippe sicca erat regio —, ipse cum copiis subsistit vernum tempus expectans. [3] Interim et urbes plerasque condidit et Nearchos atque Onesicriton nauticae rei peritis imperavit, ut validissimas navium deducerent in Oceanum progressique, quoad tuto possent, naturam maris noscerent: vel eodem amne vel Euphrate subire eos posse, cum reverti ad se vellent. [4] Iamque mitigata hieme et navibus, quae inutiles videbantur, crematis terra ducebat exercitum. [5] Nonis castris in regionem Arabiton, inde totidem diebus in Cedrosiorum perventum est. Liber hic populus concilio habito dedit se, nec quicquam deditis praeter commeatus imperatum est. [6] Quinto hinc die venit ad flumen: Arabum incolae appellant. Regio deserta et aquarum inops excipit: quam emensus in Horitas transit. Ibi maiorem exercitus partem Hephaestioni tradidit, levem armaturam cum Ptolomaeo Leonnatoque partitus est. [7] Tria simul agmina populabantur Indos, magnaeque praedae actae sunt: maritimos Ptolomaeus, ceteros ipse rex et ab alia parte Leonnatus urebant. In hac quoque regione urbem condidit, deductique sunt in eam Arachosii. [8] Hinc pervenit ad maritimos Indos. Desertam vastamque regionem late tenent ac ne cum finitimis quidem ullo commercii iure miscentur. [9] Ipsa solitudo [p. 346] natura quoque ininitia efferavit ingenia: prominent ungues numquam recisi, comae hirsutae et intonsae sunt. [10] Tuguria conchis et ceteris purgamentis maris instruunt. Ferarum pellibus tecti piscibus sole duratis et maiorum quoque beluarum, [11] quas fluctus eiecit, carne vescuntur. Consumptis igitur alimentis Macedones primo inopiam, deinde ad ultimum famem sentire coeperunt

radices palmarum — namque sola ea arbor gignitur — ubique rimantes. [12] Et cum haec quoque alimenta defecerant, iumenta cadere adgressi ne equis quidem abstinebant. Et cum deessent, quae sarcinas veherent, spolia de hostibus, propter quae ultima Orientis peragraverant, [13] cremabant incendio. Famem deinde pestilentia secuta est. Quippe insalubrium ciborum noxii suci, ad hoc itineris labor et aegritudo animi vulgaverant morbos, et nec manere sine clade nec progredi poterant: [14] manentes fames, progressos acrior pestilentia urgebat. Ergo strati erant campi paene pluribus semivivis quam cadaveribus. Ac ne levius quidem aegri sequi poterant: quippe agmen raptim agebatur tantum singulis ad spem salutis ipsos proficere credentibus, quantum itineris festinando praeciperent. [15] Igitur, qui defecerant, notos ignotosque, ut adlevarentur, orabant: sed nec iumenta erant, quibus excipi possent, et miles vix arma portabat, imminentisque et ipsis facies mali ante oculos erat. Ergo saepius revocati ne respicere quidem suos sustinebant misericordia in formidinem versa. [16] Illi relictis deos testes et sacra communia regisque inplorabant opem, cumque frustra surdas aures fatigarent, in [p. 347] rabiem desperatione versi parem suo exitum similesque ipsis amicos et contubernales precabantur. [17] Rex dolore simul ac pudore anxius, quia causa tantae cladis ipse esset, ad Phrataphernen, Parthyaeorum satrapen, misit; qui iuberet camelis cocta cibaria adferri, aliosque finitimarum regionum praefectos certiores necessitatis suae fecit. [18] Nec cessatum est ab his. Itaque fame dumtaxat vindicatus exercitus tandem in Cedrosiae fines perducitur. Omnium rerum solo fertili regio est: in qua stativa habuit, ut vexatos milites quiete firmare! [19] Hic Leonnati litteras accepit conflixisse ipsum cum VIII milibus peditum et CCCC equitibus Horitarum prospero eventu. A Cratero quoque nuntius venit Ozinen et Zariaspen, nobilis Persas, defectionem molientes oppressos a se in vinculis esse. [20] Praeposito igitur regioni Sibyrtio — namque Menon, praefectus eius, nuper interierat morbo — in Carmaniam ipse processit. [21] Astaspes erat satrapes gentis, suspectus res novare voluisse, dum in India rex est: quem occurrentem dissimulata ira comiter adlocutus, dum exploraret, quae delata erant, in eodem honore habuit. [22] Cum inde praefecti, sicut imperatum erat, equorum iumentorumque iugalium vim ingentem ex omni, quae sub imperio erat, regione misissent, quibus deerant inpedimenta, as restituit. [23] Arma quoque ad pristinum refecta sunt cultum: quippe haud procul a Perside aberant non pacata [p. 348] modo, sed etiam opulenta. [24] Igitur, ut supra dictum est, aemulatus Patris Liberi non gloriam solum, quam ex illis gentibus deportaverat, sed etiam pompam, sive illud triumphus fuit ab eo primum institutus sive bacchantium lusus, [25] statuit imitari animo super humanum fastigium elato. Vicos, per quos iter erat, floribus coronisque sterni iubet, liminibus aedium cret terras vino repletas et alia eximiae magnitudinis vasa disponi, vehicula deinde constrata, ut plures capere milites possent, [26] in tabernaculorum modum ornari, alia candidis velis, alia veste pretiosa. Primi ibant amici et cohors regia variis redimita floribus coronisque: alibi tibicinum cantus, alibi lyrae sonus audiebatur: item vehiculis pro copia cuiusque

adornatis comissabundus exercitus armis, quae maxime decora erant, circumpendentibus. Ipsum convivasque currus vehebat creterris aureis eiusdemque materiae ingentibus poculis praegravis. [27] Hoc modo per dies VII bacchabundum agmen incessit, parata praeda, si quid victis saltem adversus comissantes animi fuisset: mille, hercule, viri modo et sobrii VII dierum crapula graves in suo triumpho capere potuerunt. [28] Sed fortuna, quae rebus famam pretiumque constituit, hoc quoque militiae probrum vertit in gloriam. Et praesens aetas et posteritas deinde mirata est per gentes nondum satis domitas incessisse temulentos barbaris, quod temeritas erat, fiduciam esse credentibus. [29] Hunc apparatus carnifex sequebatur: [p. 349] quippe satrapes Astaspes, de quo ante dictum est, interfici iussus est: [30] adeo nec luxuriae quicquam crudelitas nec crudelitati luxuria obstat.

BOOK X.

Isdem fere diebus Cleander et Sitalces et cum Agathone Heracon superveniunt, qui Parmenionem iussu regis occiderant. [2] V milia peditum cum equitibus M, sed et accusatores eos e provincia, cui praefuerant, sequebantur. [3] Nec tot facinora, quot admiserant, compensare poterat caedis perquam gratae regi ministerium. Quippe cum omnia profana spoliassent, ne sacris quidem abstinerant, virginesque et principes feminarum stupra perpressae corporum ludibria deflebant. [4] Invisum Macedonum nomen avaritia eorum ac libido barbaris fecerat. [5] Inter omnes tamen eminebat Cleandri furor, qui nobilem virginem constupratam servo suo pelicem dederat. [6] Plerique amicorum Alexandri non tam criminum, quae palam obiciebantur, atrocitatem, quam [p. 351] memoriam occisi per illos Parmenionis, quod tacitum prodesse reis apud regem poterat, intuebantur laeti reccidisse iram in irae ministros nec ullam potentiam scelere quaesitam cuiquam esse diuturnam. [7] Rex cognita causa pronuntiavit ab accusatoribus unum et id maximum crimen esse praeteritum, desperationem salutis suae: numquam enim talia ausuros, qui ipsum ex India sospitem aut optassent reverti aut credidissent reversurum. [8] Igitur hos quidem vinxit, DC autem militum, qui saevitiae eorum ministri fuerant, interfici iussit. [9] Eodem die sumptum est supplicium de iis quoque, quos auctores defectionis Persarum Craterus adduxerat Haud multo post Nearchus et Onesicritus, [10] quos longius in Oceanum procedere iusserat, superveniunt. [11] Nuntiabant autem quaedam audita, alia conperta: insulam ostio amnis obiectam auro abundare, inopem equorum esse — singulos eos conpererant ab iis, qui ex continenti traicere auderent, singulis talentis emi. [12] plenum esse beluarum mare: aestu secundo eas ferri magnarum navium corpora aequantes, tubae cantu deterritas sequi classem cum magno aequoris strepitu velut demersa navigia subisse aquas. [13] Cetera incolis crediderant, inter quae: Rubrum mare non a colore undarum, ut plerique crederent, sed ab Erythro rege appellari: [14] esse haud procul a continenti insulam pal- [p. 352] metis frequentibus consitam et in medio fere nemore columnam eminere, Erythri regis monumentum, litteris gentis eius scriptam. [15] Adiciebant navigia, quae lixas mercatoresque vexissent, famam auri secutis gubernatoribus in insulam esse transmissa nec deinde ab iis postea visa. [16] Rex cognoscendi plura cupidine accensus rursus eos terram legere iubet, donec ad Euphratis os adpellerent classem: inde adverso amne Babylona subituros. [17] Ipse animo infinita complexus statuerat omni ad orientem maritima regione perdomita ex Syria petere Africam, Carthagini infensus, inde Numidia solitudinibus peragratis cursum Gadis dirigere — ibi namque columnas Herculis esse fama vulgaverat — , [18] Hispanias deinde, quas Hiberiam Graeci a flumine Hiberno vocabant, adire et praetervehi Alpes Italiaeque oram, unde in Epirum brevis cursus est. [19] Igitur Mesopotamiae praetoribus imperavit ut materia in Libano monte caesa devectaque ad urbem

Syriae Thapsacum septingentarum carinas navium ponere: septemremis omnes esse deducique Babylona. Cypriorum regibus imperatum, ut aes stuppamque et vela praeberent. [20] Haec agenti Pori et Taxilis regum litterae traduntur, Abisaren morbo, Philippum, praefectum ipsius, ex [p. 353] vulnere interisse oppressosque, qui vulnerassent eum. [21] Igitur Philippo substituit Eudaemonem — dux erat Thracum —, Abisaris regnum filio eius attribuit. [22] Ventum est deinde Parsagada: Persica est gens, cuius satrapes Orsines erat, nobilitate ac divitiis inter omnes barbaros eminens. [23] Genus ducebat a Cyro, quondam rege Persarum: opes et a maioribus traditas habebat et ipse longa imperii possessione cumulaverat. [24] Is regi cum omnis generis donis, non ipsi modo ea, sed etiam amicis eius daturus, occurrit. Equorum domiti greges sequebantur currusque argento et auro adornati, pretiosa supellex et nobiles gemmae, aurea magni ponderis vasa vestesque purpureae et signati argenti talentum III milia. [25] Ceterum tanta benignitas barbaro causa mortis fuit. Nam cum omnes amicos regis donis super ipsorum vota coluisset, Bagoae spadoni, qui Alexandrum obsequio corporis devinxerat sibi, [26] nullum honorem habuit admonitusque a quibusdam Bagoam Alexandro cordi esse respondit, amicos regis, non scorta se colere nec moris esse Persis, mares ducere, qui stupro effeminarentur. [27] His auditis spado potentiam flagitio et dedecore quaesitam in caput nobilissimi et insontis exercuit. Namque gentis eiusdem levissimos falsis criminibus clam struxit, monitos tum demum ea deferre, cum ipse iussisset. [28] In- [p. 354] terim, quotiens sine arbitris erat, credulas regis aures inplebat, dissimulans causam irae, quo gravior criminantis auctoritas esset. [29] Nondum suspectus erat Orsines, iam tamen vilior: reus enim in secreto agebatur latentis periculi ignarus. Et inportunissimum scortum ne in stupro quidem et dedecoris patientia fraudis oblitum, quotiens amorem regis in se accenderat, Orsinen modo avaritiae, interdum etiam defectionis arguebat. [30] Iam matura erant in perniciem innocentis mendacia, et fatum, cuius inevitabilis sors est, adpetebat. Forte enim sepulchrum Cyri Alexander iussit aperiri, in quo erat conditum eius corpus, cui dare volebat inferias. [31] Auro argentoque conditorium repletum esse crediderat — quippe ita fama Persae vulgaverant —, sed praeter clipeum eius putrem et arcus duos Scythicos et acinacem nihil repperit. [32] Ceterum corona aurea inposita amiculo, cui adsuerat ipse, solum, in quo corpus iacebat, velavit miratus tanti nominis regem tantis praeditum opibus haud pretiosius sepultum esse, quam si fuisset e plebe. [33] Proximus erat lateri spado: qui regem intuens: ‘Quid mirum,’ inquit, ‘est inania sepulchra esse regum, cum satraparum domus aurum inde egestum capere non possint?’ [34] Quod ad me attinet, ipse hoc bustum antea non videram, sed ex Dareo ita accepi in milia talentum condita esse cum Cyro. [35] Hinc ilia benignitas in te, ut, quod inpune habere non poterat Orsines, donando etiam gratiam iniret.’ [36] Concitaverat iam animum in iram, cum ii, quibus negotium idem dederat, [p. 355] superveniunt. Hinc Bagoas, hinc ab eo subornati falsis criminibus occupant aures. [37] Antequam accusari se suspicaretur Orsines, in vincula est traditus. Non contentus supplicio insontis

spado ipse morituro manum iniecit. Quem Orsines intuens: ‘Audieram,’ inquit, ‘in Asia olim regnasse feminas: hoc vero novum est regnare castratum!’ [38] Hic fuit exitus nobilissimi Persarum nec insontis modo, sed eximiae quoque benignitatis in regem. [39] Eodem tempore Phradates regnum adfectasse suspectus occiditur. Coeperat esse praeceps ad repraesentanda supplicia, item ad deteriora credenda: [40] scilicet res secundae valent commutare naturam, et raro quisquam erga bona sua satis cautus est. Idem enim paulo ante Lyncestem Alexandrum delatum a duobus indicibus damnare non sustinuerat, [41] humiliores quoque reos contra suam voluntatem, quia ceteris videbantur insontes, passus absolvi, hostibus victis regna reddiderat: [42] ad ultimum vitae tantum ab semetipso degeneravit, ut invicti quondam adversus libidinem animi arbitrio scorti aliis regna daret, aliis adimeret vitam. [43] Isdem fere diebus litteras a Coeno accipit de rebus in Europa et Asia gestis, dum ipse Indiam subegit. [44] Zopyrio, Thraciae praepositus, cum expeditionem in Getas faceret, tempestatibus procellisque subito [p. 356] [45] coortis cum toto exercitu oppressus erat. Qua cognita clade Seuthes Odrysas, populares suos, ad defectionem compulerat. Amissa propemodum Thracia ne Graecia quidem tumultibus inconcussa mansit. Nam Alexander punita insolentia satraparum quorundum, qui, dum in extremo orbe Indorum armis retinetur, summa scelera atque flagitia in provinciales exercuerant, ceteris metum iniecerat. Hi in paribus delictis eandem facinorum poenam veriti ad mercennariorum militum fidem confugerunt illorum manibus, si ad supplicium poscerentur, se tutaturi aut pecunia, quanta poterat, coacta fuga salutem petiverunt. Qua re cognita litterae ad omnes Asiae praetores missae sunt, quibus inspectis e vestigio omnes peregrinos milites, qui stipendia sub ipsis facerent, dimittere iuebantur. Erat inter eos Harpalus, quem Alexander, quod propter ipsius amicitiam olim a Philippo eiectus solum verterat, inter fidissimos habebat et post Mazaei mortem satrapeam Babyloniae attribuerat thesaurorumque custodiae praefecerat. Is igitur cum fiduciam, quam in singulari regis gratia habere poterat, magnitudine flagitiorum consumpsisset, quinque milia talentorum ex gaza regia abstulit conductaque sex milium mercennariorum manu in Europam evasit. Iampridem enim luxu et libidinibus in praeceps tractus desperataque regis venia adversus iram eius alienum subsidium circumspexerat et Athenienses, quorum cum potentiam et auctoritatem apud ceteros Graecos, tum occultum in Macedonas odium norat, sedulo coluerat. Itaque spem suis ostendit Athenienses adventu suo cognito copiisque et pecuniis, quas adduceret, coram inspectis protinus arma consiliaque esse sociaturos. Nam a populo inperito et mobili per homines improbos et venales omnia se muneribus conseculorum existimabat. [p. 357]

Igitur XXX navibus Sunium transmittunt — promuntorium est Atticae terrae — , unde portum urbis petere decreverant. [2] His cognitis rex Harpalo Atheniensibusque iuxta infestus classem parari iubet Athenas protinus petiturus. [3] Quod consilium clam agitant litterae redduntur Harpalum intrasse quidem Athenas, pecunia conciliasse sibi principum animos: mox

concilio plebis habito iussum urbe excedere ad Graecos milites pervenisse, navibus inde Cretam transvectum amico quodam auctore interemptum per insidias. [4] His laetus in Europam traiciendi consilium omisit, sed exules praeter eos, qui civili sanguine aspersi erant, recipi ab omnibus Graecorum civitatibus, quis pulsi erant, iussit. [5] Et Graeci haud ausi imperium aspernari, quamquam solvendarum legum id principium esse censebant, bona quoque, quae extarent, restituere damnatis. [6] Soli Athenienses, non sui modo, sed etiam Graeciae vindices, colluvionem ordinum hominumque aegre ferebant non regio imperio, [7] sed legibus moribusque patriis regi adsueti: prohibuere igitur exules finibus omnia potius toleraturi quam purgamenta quondam urbis suae, tunc etiam exilii admitterent. [8] Alexander senioribus militum in patriam remissis XIII milia peditum et II milia equitum, quae in Asia retineret, eligi iussit existimans modico exercitu continere posse Asiam, quia pluribus locis praesidia [p. 358] disposuisset unperque conditas urbes colonis replisset res retinere cupientibus. [9] Ceterum priusquam excerneret, quos erat retenturus, edixit, ut omnes milites aes alienum profiterentur. Grave plerisque esse conpererat et, [10] quamquam ipsorum luxu contractum erat, dissolvere tamen ipse decreverat. Illi temptari ipsos rati, quo facilius ab integris sumptuosos discerneret, prolatando aliquantum extraxerant temporis. Et rex satis gnarus, professioni aeris pudorem, non contumaciam obstare, [11] mensas totis castris poni iussit et X milia talentum proferri. Tum demum cum fide facta professio est. Nec amplius ex tanta pecunia quam C et XXX talenta superfuere. Adeo ille exercitus, tot divitissimarum gentium victor, plus tamen victoriae quam praedae deportavit ex Asia. [12] Ceterum ut cognitum est alios remitti domos, alios retineri, perpetuam eum regni sedem in Asia habiturum rati vaecordes et disciplinae militaris inmemores seditiosis vocibus castra complent regemque ferocius quam alias adorti omnes simul missionem postulare coeperunt deformia ora cicatricibus canitiemque capitum ostentantes. [13] Nec aut praefectorum castigatione aut verecundia regis deterriti tumultuoso clamore et militari violentia volentem loqui inhibebant, palam professi nusquam inde nisi in patriam vestigium esse moturos. [14] Tandem silentio facto magis, quia motum esse credebant, quam quia ipsi moveri poterant, [p. 359] quidnam acturus esset, expectabant: [15] cum ille: ‘Quid haec,’ inquit, ‘repens consternatio et tam procax atque effusa licentia denuntiat? Eloqui metuo, palam certe: rupistis imperium, et precario rex sum, cui non adloquendi, non noscendi monendique aut intuendi vos ius reliquistis. [16] Equidem cum alios dimittere in patriam, alios mecum paulo post deportare statuerim, tam illos adclamantes video, qui abituri sunt, quam hos, cum quibus praemissos subsequi statui. [17] Quid hoc est rei? dispari in causa idem omnium clamor est! Pervelim scire, utrum, qui discedunt, an, qui retinentur, de me querantur.’ [18] Crederes uno ore omnes sustulisse clamorem: ita pariter ex tota contione responsum est omnes queri. [19] Tum ille: ‘Non, hercule,’ inquit, ‘potest fieri, ut adducar querendi simul omnibus hanc causam esse, quam ostenditis, in qua maior pars exercitus non est, utpote cum plures dimiserim, quam retenturus sum. [20] Subest nimirum

altius malum, quod omnes avertit a me. Quando enim regem universus deseruit exercitus? Ne servi quidem uno grege profugiunt dominos, sed est quidam in illis pudor a ceteris destitutos relinquendi. [21] Verum ego tam furiosae consternationis oblitus remedia insanabilibus conor adhibere. Omnem, hercule, spem, quam ex vobis conceperam, damno nec ut cum militibus meis — iam enim esse desistis — , [22] sed ut cum ingratis operis agere decrevi. Secundis rebus, quae circumfluunt vos, insanire coepistis [p. 360] obliti status eius, quem beneficio exuistis meo, digni, hercule, qui in eodem consenescentis, quoniam facilius est vobis adversam quam secundam regere fortunam. [23] En insolentiam! Illyriorum paulo ante et Persarum tributariis Asia et tot gentium spolia fastidio sunt! modo sub Philippo seminudis amicula ex purpura sordent! aurum et argentum oculi ferre non possunt! Ligna enim vasa desiderant et ex cratibus scuta robiginemque gladiatorum. [24] Hoc cultu nitentes vos accepi et D talenta aeris alieni, cum omnis regia supellex esset haud amplius quam LX talenta, meorum mox operum fundamenta. Quibus tamen — absit invidia — [25] Imperium maximae terrarum parti inposui. Asiaene pertaesum est, quae vos gloria rerum gestarum dis pares fecit? In Europam ire properatis rege deserto, cum pluribus vestrum defuturum viaticum fuerit, ni aes alienum luissem, nempe in Asiatica praeda. [26] Nee pudet profundo ventre devictarum gentium spolia circumferentes reverti velle ad liberos coniugesque, quibus pauci praemia victoriae potestis ostendere: nam ceterorum, dum etiam spei vestrae obviam istis, arma quoque pignori sunt. [27] Bonis vero militibus cariturus sum, pelicum suarum concubinis, quibus hoc solum ex tantis opibus superest, in quod inpenditur! Proinde fugientibus me pateant limites! facessite hinc ocus! ego cum Persis abeuntium terga tutabor. Neminem teneo: [28] liberate oculos meos, ingratis cives! Laeti vos excipient parentes liberique sine vestro rege [p. 361] redeuntes! obviam ibunt desertoribus transfugisque! [29] Triumphabo, mehercule, de fuga vestra et, ubicumque ero, expetam poenas hos, cum quibus me relinquitis, colendo praeferendoque vobis. Iam autem scietis, et quantum sine rege valeat exercitus, et quid opis in me uno sit.' [30] Desiluit deinde frendens de tribunali et in medium armatorum agmen se inmisit, notatos quoque, qui ferocissime oblocuti erant, singulos manu corripuit nec ausos repugnare XIII adservandos custodibus corporis tradidit.

Quis crederet saevam paulo ante contionem obtorpuisse subito metu, [2] etiam cum ad supplicium videret trahi nihilo ausos graviora quam ceteros? [3] Sive nominis, quod gentes, quae sub regibus vivunt, reges inter deos colunt, sive propria ipsius veneratio sive fiducia tanta vi exercentis imperium conterruit eos: [4] singulare certe ediderunt patientiae exemplum adeoque non sunt accensi supplicio commilitonum, cum sub noctem interfectos esse cognoscent, ut nihil omiserint, quod singuli magis oboedienter et pie facerent. [5] Nam cum postero die prohibiti aditu fuissent Asiaticis modo militibus admissis, lugubrem totis castris edidere clamorem denuntiantes protinus sese morituros, si rex perseveraret irasci. [6] At ille pervicacis ad omnia, quae

agitasset, animi peregrinorum militum contionem advocari iubet Macedonibus intra castra cohibitis et, cum frequentes coissent, adhibito interprete talem orationem habuit: [7] ‘Cum ex Europa traicerem in Asiam, multas nobiles gentes, magnam vim hominum imperio meo me additurum esse sperabam. Nec deceptus sum, [p. 362] [8] quod de his credidi fama. Sed ad illa hoc quoque accessit, quod video fortes viros erga reges suos pietatis invictae. [9] Luxu omni fluere credideram et nimia felicitate mergi in voluptates: at, hercules, munia militiae hoc animorum corporumque robore aequae in pigre toleratis et, cum fortes viri sitis, non fortitudinem magis quam fidem colitis. [10] Hoc ego vero nunc primum profiteor, sed olim scio. Itaque et dilectum e vobis iuniorum habui et vos meorum militum corpori inmiscui. Idem habitus, eadem arma sunt vobis: obsequium vero et patientia imperii longe praestantior est quam ceteris. [11] Ergo ipse Oxyartis Persae filiam mecum in matrimonio iunxi non dedignatus ex captiva liberos tollere. [12] Mox deinde cum stirpem generis mei latius propagare cuperem, uxorem Darei filiam duxi proximisque amicorum auctor fui ex captivis generandi liberos, ut hoc sacro foedere omne discrimen victi et victoris excluderem. [13] Proinde genitos esse vos mihi, non ascitos milites credite! Asiae et Europae unum atque idem regnum est, Macedonum vobis arma do, inveteravi peregrinam novitatem: et cives mei estis et milites. [14] Omnia eundem ducunt colorem: nec Persis Macedonum morem adumbrare nec Macedonibus Persas imitari indecorum. Eiusdem iuris esse debent, qui sub eodem rege victuri sunt.’ Hac oratione habita Persis corporis sui custodiam credidit, Tersas satellites, Persas apparitores fecit. Per [p. 363] quos cum Macedones, qui huius seditionis principes erant, victi ad supplicia traherentur, unum ex iis auctoritate

et aetate gravent ad regem ita locutum ferunt: ‘Quousque,’ inquit, ‘animo tuo etiam per supplicia et quidem externi moris obsequeris? Milites tui, cives tui incognita causa et captivis suis ducentibus trahuntur ad poenam. Si mortem meruisse iudicas, saltem ministros supplicii muta.’ Amico animo, [2] si veri patiens fuisset, admonebatur, sed in rabiem ira pervenerat. Itaque rursus — nam parumper, quibus imperatum erat, dubitaverant — [3] mergi in amnem, sicut victi erant, iussit. Ne hoc quidem supplicium seditionem militum movit. Namque copiarum duces atque amicos eius manipuli adeunt petentes, ut, si quos adhuc pristina noxa iudicaret esse contactos, iuberet interfici. Offerre se corpora irae: trucidaret. Tandem prae dolore vix mentis compotes universi concurrunt ad regiam armisque ante fores proiectis tunicati astantes, ut nuda et obnoxia poenis corpora admitterentur, fientes orabant. Non se deprecari, quin suppliciis sontium expiarentur, quae per contumaciam deliquissent. Regis iracundiam sibi morte tristioresse. Cumque dies noctesque ante regiam persistentes miserabili clamore habituque paenitentiam suam adprobarent, biduum tamen adversus humillimas suorum preces iracundia regis duravit. Tertio die victus constantia supplicum processit incusataque leniter exercitus inmodestia non sine multis utrimque lacrimis in gratiam se cum ipsis redire professus est. Digna tamen res visa [p. 364] est, quae

maioribus hostiis expiaretur. Itaque sacrificio magnifice perpetrare Macedonum simul Persarumque primores invitavit ad epulas. Novem milia eo convivio exceperat proditum est memoriae eosque omnes invitante rege ex eadem creterra libatisse, Graecis barbarisque vatibus cum alia fausta vota praeuntibus, tum inprimis, ut utriusque imperii societas in idem corpus coalita perpetua esset. Maturata deinde est missio, et infirmissimus quisque exauctorati. Amicorum quoque seniorum quibusdam commeatum dedit. Ex quibus Clitus cognomine Albus Gorgiasque et Polydamas et Antigenes fuere. Abeuntibus non modo praeteriti temporis stipendia cum fide persolvit, verum etiam talentum adiecit in singulos milites viatici nomine. Filios ex Asiaticis uxoribus susceptos — ad decem milia fuisse traduntur — apud se relinqui iussit, ne in Macedoniam cum parentibus transgressi et coniugibus liberisque prioribus permixti familias contentionibus et discordiis inplerent: sibi curae fore pollicitus, ut patrio more instituti militiae artes edocerentur. Ita plus decem milia veteranorum dimissa sunt, additusque est, qui eos deduceret, Craterus, ex praecipuis regis amicis. Cui si quid humani accidisset, Polyperconti parere iussi sunt. Litteris etiam ad Antipatrum scriptis honorem emeritis haberi iussit, ut, quotiens ludi atque certamina ederentur, in primis ordinibus coronati spectarent, utque fato functorum liberi inpuberes in paterna stipendia succederent. Craterum Macedoniae finitimisque regionibus cum imperio praeesse placuit, Antipatrum autem cum supplemento iuniorum Macedonum ad regem venire. Verebatur enim, ne per discordiam praefecti cum Olympiade gravis aliqua clades acciperetur. Nam multas ad Alexandrum epistulas mater, multas Antipater miserat, vicissimque alter alterum adroganter et acerbe pleraque facere criminabantur, quae ad dedecus aut detrimentum regiae maiestatis pertinerent. Postquam enim rumor occisi regis temere vulgatus in Macedoniam manavit, mater eius sororque Cleopatra [p. 365] tumultum moverant, et haec quidem patenum regnum, Olympias Epirum occupaverat. Forte, dum eiusmodi litterae redduntur, Hephaestion, qui omnium arcanorum particeps haberetur, resignatas ah Alexandro simul inspiebat. Neque retinuit eum rex, sed detractum digito anulum ori legentis admovit, nihil eorum, quae perscripta essent, in alios efferendum significans. Incusasse autem ambos fertur et matris insolentia permotus exclamasse, eam pro habitatione decem mensium, quam in utero sibi praebuisset, gravem mercedem exigere, Antipatrum vero suspectum habuisse parta ex Spartanis victoria tollere animos et imperio tot iam annos prorogato supra praefecti modum esse elatum. Itaque cum eius gravitas atque integritas a quibusdam praedicaretur, respondit exterius quidem album videri, sed si penitus introspiceretur, Mum esse purpureum. Pressit tamen suspicionem suam neque ullum manifestius abalienati animi indicium protulit. Credidere tamen plerique Antipatrum arcessi se supplicii causa ratum iniis insidiis mortis regis, quae paulo post secuta est, auctorem extitisse. Interea rex, ut inminuti exercitus detrimenta sarciret, optimum quemque Persarum in Macedonicos ordines adlegit: mille etiam praestantissimos segregavit ad corporis

custodiam: aliam hastatorum manum, haud pauciores decem milibus, ad regium tabernaculum excubias agere iussit. Haec agenti Peucestes supervenit cum viginti milibus sagittariorum funditorumque, quos ex sua provincia coegerat. His per exercitum distributis profectus est Susis et Pasitigri amne traiecto apud Caras castra metatus est. Inde quadriduo per Sittacenem ductis copiis Sambana processit ibique per septem dies substitit. Tridui deinde itinere emenso Celonas perventum est. Oppidum hoc tenent Boeotia profecti, quos Xerxes ex sedibus suis excitos in Orientem transtulit: servabantque argumentum originis peculiarem sermonem ex Graecis plerumque vocibus constantem, ceterum propter commercii necessitatem finitimorum barbarorum lingua utebantur. [p. 366] Inde Bagistanem ingressus est, regionem opulentam et abundantem arborum amoeno et fecundo fetu ceterisque ad vitae non usum modo, verum etiam delectationem pertinentibus. Gravis inter haec Eumeni cum Hephaestione similtas inciderat. Nam servos Eumenis e deversorio, quod pro domino suo occupaverant, Hephaestio proturbavit, ut Euius tibicen eo reciperetur. Neque multo post, cum iam sopita odia viderentur, nova orta contentione adeo recruduerunt, ut etiam in atrox iurgium et acerba utrimque convicia prorumperent. Sed Alexandri intercessione imperioque inimicitiae saltem in speciem abolitae sunt, cum ille Hephaestioni etiam minatus esset, qui in summa regis gratia Eumenem quamvis cupidum reconciliationis pertinacius aversabatur. Perventum deinde est in Mediae campos, ubi maximi equorum greges alebantur: Nisaeos appellant, magnitudine et specie insignes. Plus quinquaginta milia ibi reperta esse cum Alexander eo transiret, a comitibus eius adnotatum est: olim triplicem numerum fuisse, sed inter bellorum turbas maximam eorum partem praedones abegisse. Ad triginta dies ibi substitit rex. Eo Atropates, Mediae satrapes, centum barbaras mulieres adduxit equitandi peritas peltisque et securibus armatas: unde quidam crediderunt Amazonum ex gente reliquias fuisse. Septimis deinde castris Ecbatana, Mediae caput, pervenit. Ibi sollemnia dis sacrificia fecit ludosque edidit et conviviis festisque diebus laxavit animum, ut ad nova opera validior esset. Sed ista volventem velut iniecta manu fatum alio traxit vitamque carissimo amicorum eius neque multo post ipsi quoque regi eripuit. Pueros in stadio certantes spectabat, cum nuntiatum est deficere Hephaestionem, qui ex crapula septimum iam diem aeger cubabat. Exterritus amici periculo statim surrexit et ad hospitium eius celeriter se contulit. Neque tamen prius eo pervenit, quam illum mors occupavit. Id regi omnium, quae in vita pertulerat, adversorum luctuosissimum accidisse certum habetur eumque magnitudine [p. 367] doloris in lacrimas et lamenta victum multa animi de gradu deiecti argumenta edidisse. Sed ea quidem varie traduntur: illud inter omnes constat, Alexandrum, ut quam decentissimas exequias ei duceret, noluisse Ecbatanis eum sepeliri, sed Babylonem, quo ipse profecturus esset, a Perdicca deferri: ibique funus inaudito exemplo duodecim milibus talentum locavisse. Per Universum certe imperium lugeri eum iussit et, ne memoria eius in exercitu exolesceret, equitibus, quibus praefuerat, nullum praefecit ducem, sed

Hephaestionis aliam appellari voluit et, quae ille signa instituisset, ea non inmutari. Funebria certamina ludosque, quales numquam editi fuissent, meditatus tria milia artificum coegit: qui non multo post in ipsius exequiis certasse traduntur. Nee amici tam effuso adfectu ad conciliandam eius gratiam segniter usi certatim repperere, per quae memoria defuncti clarius honoratiorque fieret. Eumenes igitur cum se ob simultatem cum Hephaestione in regis indignationem incurrisse sensisset, multis auctor fuit seque et arma sua Hephaestioni consecrandi pecuniasque ad cohonestandum funus large contulit. Hoc exemplum imitati sunt ceteri: eoque processit adsentantium inpudentia, ut regi maiore et desiderio defuncti insanienti persuasum tandem sit, deum esse Hephaestionem. Quo quidem tempore ex copiarum ducibus Agathocles Samius in extremum periculum venit, quod eius tumultum praeteriens inlacrimasse visus est. Ac nisi Perdicas venanti sibi Hephaestionem adparuisse ementitus per deos omnes ipsumque Hephaestionem deierasset, ex ipso se cognovisse, Agathoclem non ut mortuum et vanae divinitatis titulis frustra ornatum flevisse, verum propter memoriam pristinae sodalitatis lacrimas non tenuisse, vir fortis et de rege bene meritis pietatis in amicum graves poenas innoxius pependisset. Ceterum ut paulisper a luctu avocaret animum, in Cossaeorum terram expeditionem suscepit. Iuga Mediae vicina Cossaei tenent, aspera et bellicosa et rapto vivere [p. 368] assueta gens. Ab his Persarum reges annuo tributo pacem redimere solebant, ne in subiectam terram decurrentes latrocinii regionem facerent infestant. Nam vim temptantes Persas facile reppulerant asperitate locorum defensi, in quae se recipiebant, quotiens armis superati erant. Idem muneribus quotannis placabantur, ut regi Ecbatanis, ubi aestiva solebat agere, Babylonem remigranti tutus per ea loca transitus esset. Hos igitur Alexander bipartito agmine adgressus intra quadraginta dies perdomuit. Nam ab ipso rege et Ptolomaeo, qui partem exercitus ducebat, saepe victi, ut captivos suos reciperent, permisere se victori. Ille validas urbes opportunis locis condidit, ne abducto exercitu fera gens iugum exueret. Motis inde castris, ut militent expeditione recenti fessum reficeret, lento agmine Babylonem processit. Iamque vix triginta ab urbe stadia aberat, cum Nearchus occurrit, quem per Oceanum et Euphratis ostia Babylonem praemiserat, oravitque, ne fatalem sibi urbem vellet ingredi. Conpertum id sibi ex Chaldaeis, qui multarum iam praedictionum eventu artis suae fidem abunde probavissent. Rex fama eorum hominum constantique adseveratione motus dimissis in urbem amicorum plerisque alia via praeter Babylonem ducit ac ducenta inde stadia stativa conlocat. Sed ab Anaxarcho philosophe edoctus contemptis Chaldaeorum monitis, quorum disciplinam inanem aut supervacuum arbitrabatur, urbem intrat. Legationes eo ex universo ferme orbe confluerant. Quibus per complures dies studiose auditis deinceps ad Hephaestionis exequias animum advertit. Quae summo omnium studio ita celebratae sunt, ut nullius ad id tempus regis feralia magnitudine sumptuum apparatusque celebritate non vicerint. Post haec cupido incessit regi per Pallacopam amnem

ad Arabum confinia navigandi: quo delatus urbi condendae commoda sede reperta Graecorum aetate aut vulneribus invalidos et, si qui sua sponte remanserant, ibi conlocat. Quibus ex sententia perfectis iam futuri securus [p. 369] Chaldaeos inridebat, quod Babylonem non ingressus tantum esset incolumis, verum etiam excessisset. Verum enimvero revertenti per paludes, quas Euphrates in Pallacopam effusus efficit, foedum omen oblatum est. Quippe rami desuper independentes detractum capiti regis diadema proiecerunt in fluctus. Cum deinde alia atque alia prodigia nuntiarentur, procurandis eis Graeco simul barbaroque ritu continua sacra facta sunt. Neque tamen expiari nisi morte regis potuere. Qui cum Nearchum excepisset convivio iamque cubitum iturus esset, Medii Larisaci obnixis precibus dedit, ut ad eum comissatum veniret. Ubi postquam tota node perpotavit, male habere coepit. Ingravescens deinde morbus adeo omnes vires intra sextum diem exhaustit, ut ne vocis quidem potestas esset. Interea milites sollicitudine desiderioque eius anxii, quamvis admonentibus ducibus, ne valitudinem regis onerarent, expresserunt, ut in conspectum eius admitterentur.

Intuentibus lacrimae obortae praebuere speciem iam non regem, sed funus eius visentis exercitus: [2] maeror tamen circumstantium lectum eminebat. Quos ut rex aspexit: ‘Invenietis,’ inquit, ‘cum excessero, dignum talibus viris regem?’ Incredibile dictu audituque, [3] in eodem habitu corporis, in quem se composuerat, cum admissurus milites esset, durasse, donec a toto exercitu illud ultimum persalutatus est. Dimissoque vulgo velut omni vitae debito liberatus fatigata membra reiecit propiusque adsidere iussis amicis — [4] nam et vox deficere iam coeperat — detractum anulum digito Perdiccae tradidit adiectis mandatis, ut corpus suum ad Hamm(?)nem ferri iuberent. [5] Quaerentibusque his, cui [p. 370] relinqueret regnum, respondit, ei, qui esset optimus: ceterum providere iam se, ob id certamen magnos funebres ludos parari sibi. [6] Rursus Perdicca interrogante, quando caelestes honores haberi sibi vellet, dixit, tum velle, cum ipsi felices essent. [7] Suprema haec vox fuit regis, et paulo post extinguitur. Ac primo ploratu lamentisque et planctibus tota regia personabat: mox velut in vasta solitudine omnia tristi silentio muta torpebant ad cogitationes, quid deinde futurum esset, dolore converso. [8] Nobiles pueri custodiae corporis eius adsueti nec doloris magnitudinem capere nec se ipsos intra vestibulum regiae tenere potuerunt. Vagique et furentibus similes tantam urbem luctu ac maerore conpleverant nullis questibus omissis, [9] quos in tali casu dolor suggerit: ergo, qui extra regiam adstiterant, Macedones pariter barbarique, concurrunt. Nec poterant victi a victoribus in communi dolore discerni: Persae iustissimum ac mitissimum dominum, Macedones optimum ac fortissimum regem invocantes certamen quoddam maeroris edebant. [10] Nec maestorum solum, sed etiam indignantium voces exaudiebantur, tam viridem et in flore aetatis fortunaeque invidia deum ereptum esse rebus humanis. Vigor eius et vultus educentis in proelium milites, obsidentis urbes, [11] evadentis in muros, fortes viros pro contione donantis occurrebant oculis.

Tum Macedones divinos [p. 371] honores negasse ei paenitebat, inpiosque et ingratos fuisse se confitebantur, quod aures eius debita appellatione fraudassent. Et cum diu nunc in veneratione, nunc in desiderio regis haesissent, in ipsos versa miseratio est. [12] Macedonia profecti ultra Euphraten in mediis hostibus novum imperium aspernantibus destitutos se esse cernebant: sine certo regis herede, sine herede regni publicas vires ad se quemque tracturum. [13] Bella deinde civilia, quae secuta sunt, mentibus augurabantur: iterum non de regno Asiae, sed de rege ipsis sanguinem esse fundendum, novis vulneribus veteres rumpendas cicatrices: [14] senes, debiles modo petita missione a iusto rege nunc morituros pro potentia forsitan satellitis alicuius ignobilis. [15] Has cogitationes volventibus nox supervenit terroremque auxit. Milites in armis vigilabant, Babylonii alius e muris, alius culmine sui quisque tecti prospectabant quasi certiora visuri. [16] Nec quisquam lumina audebat accendere et, quia oculorum cessabat usus, fremitus vocesque auribus captabant ac plerumque vano metu territi per obscuras semitas, alius alii occurrentes, invicem suspecti ac solliciti ferebantur. [17] Persae comis suo more detonsis in lugubri veste cum coniugibus ac liberis non ut victorem et modo ut hostem, sed ut gentis suae iustissimum regem vero desiderio, lugebant ac sueti sub rege vivere non alium, qui imperaret ipsis, digniorem fuisse confitebantur. [18] Nec muris urbis luctus continebatur, sed [p. 372] proximam regionem ab ea, deinde magnam partem Asiae cis Euphraten tanti mali fama pervaserat. [19] Ad Darei quoque matrem celeri ter perlata est: abscissa ergo veste, quam induta erat, lugubrem sumpsit laceratisque crinibus humi corpus abiecit. [20] Adsidebat ei altera ex neptibus nuper amissum Hephaestionem, cui nupserat, lugens propriasque causas doloris in communi maestitia retractabat. [21] Sed omnium suorum mala Sisigambis una capiebat: illa suam, ilia neptium vicem flebat. Recens dolor etiam praeterita revocaverat. Crederes modo amissum Dareum et pariter miserae duorum filiorum exequias esse ducendas. Flebat simul mortuos vivosque. [22] Quem enim puellarum acturum esse curam? quem alium futurum Alexandrum? iterum esse se captas, iterum excidisse regnum. [23] Qui mortuo Dareo ipsas tueretur, repperisse, qui post Alexandrum respiceret, utique non reperturas. Subibat inter haec animum LXXX fratres suos eodem die ab Ocho, saevissimo regum, trucidatos adiectumque stragi tot filiorum patrem, e septem liberis, quos genuisset ipsa, unum superesse, ipsum Dareum floruisse paulisper, ut crudelius posset extingui. [24] Ad ultimum dolori succubuit obvolutoque capite accidentis genibus suis neptem nepotemque aversata cibo pariter abstinuit et luce. [25] Quinto, postquam mori statuerat, die extincta est. Magnum profecto Alexandri indulgentiae in eam iustitiaeque in omnes captivos documentum est mors huius: quae cum sustinuisset post Dareum vivere, Alexandro esse superstes erubuit. [p. 373] Et, [26] hercule, iuste aestimantibus regem liquet, bona naturae eius fuisse, vitia vel fortunae vel aetatis. [27] Vis incredibilis animi, laboris patientia propemodum nimia, fortitudo non inter reges modo excellens, sed inter illos quoque, [28] quorum

haec sola virtus fuit, liberalitas saepe maiora tribuens, quam a dis petuntur, clementia in devictos, tot regna aut redditae, quibus ademerat bello aut dono data, [29] mortis, cuius metus ceteros exanimat, perpetua contemptio, gloriae laudisque ut iusto maior cupido, ita in iuvene et in tantis neglegenda rebus, [30] iam pietas erga parentes, quorum Olympiada immortalitati consecrare decreverat, Philippum ultus erat, [31] iam in omnes fere amicos benignitas, erga milites benivolentia, consilium par magnitudini animi et, quantam vix poterat aetas eius capere, [32] sollertia, modus inmodicarum cupiditatum, veneris intra naturale desiderium usus nec ulla nisi ex permissio voluptas ingenii profecto dotes erant. [33] Illa fortunae: dis aequare se et caelestes honores accersere et talia suadentibus oraculis credere et dedignantibus venerari ipsum vehementius, quam par esset, irasci, in externum habitum mutare corporis cultum, imitari devictarum gentium mores, quos ante victoriam spreverat. [34] Nam iracundiam et cupidinem vini sicuti iuventa inritaverat, ita senectus mitigare potuisset. [35] Fatendum est tamen, cum pluri- [p. 374] mum virtuti debuerit, plus debuisse fortunae, quam solus omnium mortalium i(?) potestate habuit. Quotiens illum a morte revoca vit! [36] quotiens temere in pericula vectum perpetua felicitate protexit! Vitae quoque finem eundem illi quem gloriae statuit: expectavere eum fata, dum Oriente perdomito aditoque Oceano, quidquid mortalitas capiebat, inpleret. [37] Huic regi ducique successor quaerebatur, sed maior moles erat, quam ut unus subire eam posset: itaque nomen quoque eius et fama rerum in totum propemodum orbem reges ac regna diffudit, clarissimique sunt habiti, qui etiam minimae parti tantae fortunae adhaeserunt.

Ceterum Babylone — inde enim devertit oratio — corporis eius custodes in regiam principes amicorum ducesque cupiarum advocavere. Secuta est militum turba cupientium scire, in quem Alexandri fortuna esset trans itura. [2] Multi duces frequentia militum exclusi regiam intrare non poterant, cum praeco exceptis, qui nominatim citarentur, adire prohiberet. [3] Sed precarium spernebatur imperium. Ac primum eiulatus ingens ploratusque renovatus est, deinde futuri expectatio inhibitis lacrimis silentium fecit. [4] Tunc Perdicca regia sella in conspectum volgi data, in qua diadema vestisque Alexandri cum armis erant, anulum sibi pridie traditum a rege in eadem sede posuit. Quorum aspectu rursus obortae omnibus lacrimae integravere luctum, et Perdicca: [5] ‘Ego quidem,’ inquit, ‘anulum, quo ille regni atque imperii res obsignare erat solitus, [6] traditum ab ipso mihi reddo vobis. Ceterum quam- [p. 375] quam nulla clades huic, qua adfecti sumus, par ab iratis dis excogitari potest, tamen magnitudinem rerum, quas egit, intuentibus credere licet, tantum virum deos adcommodasse rebus humanis, quarum sorte completa cito repeterent eum suae stirpi. [7] Proinde quoniam nihil aliud ex eo superest, quam quod semper ab immortalitate seducitur, corpori utique quam primum iusta solvamus haud obliti, in qua urbe, inter quos simus, quali praeside ac rege spoliati. [8] Tractandum est, commilitones, cogitandumque, ut victoriam partam inter hos, de quibus parta est, obtinere possimus. Capite opus est: hoc nominare in

vestra potestate est. Illud scire debetis, militarem sine duce turbam corpus esse sine spiritu. [9] Sextus mensis est, ex quo Roxane praegnans est: optamus, ut marem enitatur, cuius regnum dis adprobantibus sit futurum, quandoque adoleverit. Interim a quibus regi velitis, destinate.’ Haec Perdicca. [10] Tum Nearchus Alexandri modo sanguinem ac stirpem regiae maiestati convenire, neminem ait posse infitiri, [11] ceterum expectari nondum ortum regem et, qui iam sit, praeteriri, nec animis Macedonum convenire nec tempori eorum. Esse e Barsine filium regis: [12] huic diadema dandum. Nulli placebat oratio: itaque suo more hastis scuta quatientes obstrepere perseverabant. Iamque prope ad seditionem pervenerant Nearchus pervacius tuente sententiam, cum Ptolomaeus: [13] ‘Digna [p. 376] prorsus est suboles,’ inquit, ‘quae Macedonum imperet genti, Roxanes vel Barsines filius, cuius nomen quoque Europam discere pigebit maiore ex parte captivi! [14] Est, cur Persas vicerimus, ut stirpi eorum serviamus, quod iusti illi reges, Dareus et Xerxes, tot milium agminibus tantisque classibus nequiquam petiverunt? [15] Mea sententia haec est, ut sede Alexandri in regia posita, qui consiliis eius adhibebantur, coeant, quotiens in commune consulto opus fuerit, eoque, quod maior pars eorum decreverit, [16] stetur, duces praefectique copiarum his pareant.’ Ptolomaeo quidam, pauciores Perdiccae adsentiebantur. Tum Aristonius orsus est dicere, Alexandrum consultum, cui relinqueret regnum, voluisse optimum deligi: iudicatum autem ab ipso optimum Perdiccam, cui anulum tradidisset. [17] Neque enim unum eum adsedissem morienti, sed circumferentem oculos ex turba amicorum delegisse, cui traderet. Placere igitur, summam imperii ad Perdiccam deferri. [18] Nec dubitare, quin vera censeret. Itaque universi procedere in medium Perdiccam et regis anulum tollere iuebant. Haerebat inter cupiditatem pudoremque et, quo modestius, quod spectabat, adpeteret, pervacius oblaturus esse credebat. [19] Itaque cunctatus diuque, quid ageret, incertus ad ultimum tamen recessit et post eos, qui sedi erant proximi, constitit. [20] At Meleager, unus e du- [p. 377] cibis, confirmato animo, quem Perdiccae cunctatio erexerat: ‘Nec di sient,’ inquit, ‘ut Alexandri fortuna tantique regni fastigium in istos humeros ruat: homines certe non ferent. Nihil dico de nobilioribus, quam hic est, sed de viris tantum, quibus invitis nihil perpeti necesse est. [21] Nec vero interest, Roxanes filium, quandoque genitus erit, an Perdiccan regem habeatis, cum iste sub tutelae specie regnum occupaturus sit. Itaque nemo ei rex placet, nisi qui nondum natus est, et in tanta omnium festinatione non iusta modo, sed etiam necessaria exactos menses solus expectat et iam divinat marem esse conceptum. Quem vos dubitetis paratum esse vel subdere? [22] Si, me dius fidius, Alexander hunc nobis regem pro se reliquisset, id solum ex iis, quae imperasset, non faciendum esse censerem. [23] Quin igitur ad diripiendos thesauros discurritis? harum enim opum regiarum utique populus est heres.’ Haec elocutus per medios anmatus erupit, [24] et, qui abeunti viam dederant, ipsum ad pronuntiatam praedam sequebantur.

Iamque armatorum circa Meleagrum frequens globus erat in seditionem ac

discordiam versa contione, cum quidam plerisque Macedonum ignotus ex intima plebe: ‘Quid opus est,’ inquit, ‘armis civilique bello habentibus regem, [2] quem quaeritis? Arrhidaeus, Philippo genitus, Alexandri paulo ante regis frater, sacrorum caerimoniarumque consors modo, nunc solus heres, praeteritur a vobis. Quo suo merito? quidve fecit, cur [p. 378] etiam gentium communi iure fraudetur? Si Alexandre) similem quaeritis, numquam reperietis: [3] si proximum, hic solus est.’ His auditis contio primo silentium velut iussa habuit, conclamant deinde pariter Arrhidaeum vocandum esse mortemque meritos, [4] qui contionem sine eo habuissent. Tum Pithon plenus lacrimarum orditur dicere, nunc vel maxime miserabilem esse Alexandrum, qui tam bonorum civium militumque fructu et praesentia fraudatus esset. Nomen enim memoriamque regis sui tantum intuentes ad cetera caligare eos. [5] Haud ambigue tum in eum, cui regnum destinabatur, ingessit probra: at, quae obiecerat, magis ipsi odium quam Arrhidaeo contemptum attulerunt. [6] Quippe dum miserentur, etiam favere coeperunt. Igitur non alium regem se quam eum, qui ad hanc spem genitus esset, passuros pertinaci adclamatione declarant vocarique Arrhidaeum iubent. [7] Quem Meleager infestus invisusque Perdiccae strenue perducit in regiam: et milites Philippum consalutatum regem appellant. [8] Ceterum haec vulgi erat vox, principum alia sententia. E quibus Pithon consilium Perdiccae exequi coepit tutoresque destinat filio ex Boxane futuro [p. 379] Perdiccam et Leonnatum, stirpe regia genitos. [9] Adiecit, ut in Europa Craterus et Antipater res administrarent. Tum iusiurandum a singulis exactum futuros in potestate regis geniti Alexandro. [10] Meleager — haud iniuria metu supplicii territus cum suis secesserat — rursus Philippum trahens secum inrupit regiam clamitans suffragari spei de novo rege paulo ante conceptae robur aetatis: experirentur modo stirpem Philippi, et filium ac fratrem regum duorum: sibimet ipsis potissimum crederent. [11] Nullum profundum mare, nullum vastum fretum et procellosum tantos ciet fluctus, quantos multitudo motus habet, utique si nova et brevi duratura libertate luxuriat. [12] Pauci Perdiccae modo electo, plures Philippo, quem spreverant, imperium dabant. Nec velle nec nolle quicquam diu poterant, paenitebatque modo consilii, modo paenitentiae ipsius. Ad ultimum tamen in stirpem regiam inclinavere studiis. [13] Cesserat ex contione Arrhidaeus principum auctoritate conterritus, et abeunte illo conticuerat magis quam elanguerat militaris favor: itaque revocatus vestem fratris, eam ipsam, quae in sella posita fuerat, induitur. [14] Et Meleager thorace sumpto capit arma, novi regis satellites. Sequitur phalanx hastis clipeos quatiens, expletura se sanguine illorum, qui [p. 380] [15] adfectaverant nihil ad ipsos pertinens regnum. In eadem domo familiaque imperii vires remansuras esse gaudebant: hereditarium imperium stirpem regiam vindicaturam: adsuetos esse nomen ipsum colere venerarique, nec quemquam id capere nisi geni tum, ut regnaret. [16] Igitur Perdicca territus conclave, in quo Alexandri corpus iacebat, obserari iubet: DC cum ipso erant spectatae virtutis, Ptolomaeus quoque se adiunxerat ei puerorumque regia cohors. [17] Ceterum haud difficulter a tot milibus armatorum claustra perfracta

sunt. Et rex quoque inruperat stipatus satellitum turba, quorum princeps Meleager ibat: [18] itaque Perdicca hos, qui Alexandri corpus tueri vellent, sevocat. Sed, qui inruperant, eminus tela in ipsum iaciebant. Multisque vulneratis tandem seniores demptis galeis, quo facilius nosci possent, precari eos, qui cum Perdicca erant, coepere, ut absisterent bello regique et pluribus cederent. [19] Primus Perdicca arma deposuit, ceterique idem fecere. Meleagro deinde suadente, ne a corpore Alexandri discederent, [20] insidiis locum quaerati diversa regiae parte ad Euphraten fugam intendunt. Equitatus, qui ex nobilissimis iuvenum constabat, Perdiccam et Leonnatum frequens sequebatur, placebatque excedere urbe et tendere in campis. [21] Sed Perdicca ne pedites quidem secuturos ipsum desperabat: itaque, ne [p. 381] abducendo equites abrupsisse a cetero exercitu videretur, in urbe subsistit.

At Meleager regem monere non destitit, ius imperii Perdiccae morte sancendum esse: ni occupetur inpotens animus, res novaturum. Meminisse eum, quid de rege meruisset, neminem autem ei satis fidum esse, quem metuat. [2] Rex patiebatur magis quam adsentiebatur: itaque Meleager silentium pro imperio habuit misitque regis nomine, qui Perdiccam accerserent. Isdem mandatum, [3] ut occiderent, si venire dubitaret. Perdicca nuntiato satellitum adventu sedecim omnino pueris regiae cohortis comitatus in limine domus suae constitit castigatosque et Meleagri mancipia identidem appellans sic animi vultusque constantia terruit, ut vix mentis compotes fugerint. [4] Perdicca pueros equos iussit conscendere et cum paucis amicorum ad Leonnatum pervenit, iam firmiore praesidio vim propulsaturus, si quis inferret. [5] Postera die indigna res Macedonibus videbatur, Perdiccam ad mortis periculum adductum, et Meleagri temeritatem armis ultum ire decreverant. [6] * * * * Atque ille seditione provisa, cum regem adisset, interrogare eum coepit, an Perdiccam comprehendi ipse iussisset. Ille Meleagri instinctu se iussisse respondit: ceterum non debere tumultuari eos: Perdiccam enim vivere. [7] Igitur contione dimissa Meleager equitum se maxime defectione perterritus inopsque consilii — quippe in ipsum periculum recciderat, quod inimico [p. 382] paulo ante intenderat — triduum fere consumpsit incerta consilia volvendo. [8] Et pristina quidem regiae species manebat: nam et legati gentium regem adibant, et copiarum duces aderant, et vestibulum satellites armatique compleverant. [9] Sed ingens sua sponte maestitia ultimae desperationis index erat, suspectique invicem non adire propius, non conloqui audebant secretas cogitationes intra se quoque solvente, et ex comparatione regis novi desiderium excitabatur amissi. [10] Ubi ille esset, cuius imperium, cuius auspiciu[m] secuti erant, requirebant: destitutos se inter infestas indomitasque gentes expetituras tot suarum cladum poenas, quandoque oblata esset occasio. [11] His cogitationibus animos exedebant, cum adnuntiatur equites, qui sub Perdicca essent, [12] occupatis circa Babylona campis frumentum, quod in urbem vehebatur, retinuisse. Itaque inopia primum, deinde fames esse coepit, et, qui in urbe erant, aut reconciliandam cum Perdicca gratiam aut armis certandum esse censebant. [13] Forte ita

acciderat, ut, qui in agris erant, populationem villarum vicorumque veriti confugerent in urbem, oppidani, cum ipsos alimenta deficerent, urbe excederent, utrique generi tutior aliena sedes quam sua videretur. [14] Quorum consternationem Macedones veriti in regiam coeunt, quaeque ipsorum sententia esset, exponunt. Placebat autem legatos ad equites mitti et de finienda discordia armisque ponendis. [15] Igitur a rege legatur Pasius Thessalus et Damyllus Megalopolitanus et Perilaue: qui cum [p. 383] mandata regis edidissent, non aliter posituros arma equites, quam si rex discordiae auctores dedidisset, tulere responsum. [16] His renuntiatis sua sponte arma milites capiunt. Quorum tumultu e regia Philippus excitus: 'Nihil,' inquit, 'seditione est opus: nam inter se certantium praemia, qui quieverint, occupabunt. [17] Simul mementote rem esse cum civibus: quibus spem gratiae cito abrumpere ad bellum civile properantium est. [18] Altera legatione, an mitigari possint, experiamur. Et credo nondum regis corpore sepulto ad praestanda ei iusta omnis esse coituros. [19] Quod ad me attinet, reddere hoc imperium malo quam exercere civium sanguine: et si nulla alia concordiae spes est, oro quaesoque, [20] eligit potius.' Obortis deinde lacrimis diadema detrahit capiti dexteram, qua id tenebat, protendens, [21] ut, si quis se digniorem profiteretur, acciperet. Ingentem spem indolis ante eum diem fratris claritate suppressae tam moderata excitavit oratio. Itaque cuncti instare coeperunt, ut, quae agitasset, exequi vellet. [22] Eisdem rursus legat petitorios, ut Meleagrum tertium ducem acciperent. Haud aegre id inpetratum est: nam et abducere Meleagrum Perdicca a rege cupiebat et unum duobus inparem futurum esse censebat. [23] Igitur Meleagro cum phalange obviam egresso Perdicca equitum turmas antecedens occurrit. Utrumque agmen mutua salutatione facta coit in perpetuum, ut arbitrabantur, concordia et pace firmata. [p. 384]

Sed iam fatis admovebantur Macedonum genti bella civilia: nam et insociabile est regnum et a pluribus expetebatur. [2] Primum ergo conludere vires, deinde disperserunt: et cum pluribus corpus, quam capiebat, onerassent, cetera membra deficere coeperunt, quodque imperium sub uno stare potuisset, dum a pluribus sustinetur, ruit. [3] Proinde iure meritoque populus Romanus. salutem se principi suo debere profitetur, qui noctis, quam paene supremam habuimus, novum sidus inluxit. [4] Huius, hercule, non solis ortus lucem caliganti reddidit mundo, cum sine suo capite discordia membra trepidarent. [5] Quot ille tum extinxit faces! quot condidit gladios! quautam tempestatem subita serenitate discussit! Non ergo revirescit solum, sed etiam floret imperium. [6] Absit modo invidia, excipiet huius saeculi tempora eiusdem domus utinam perpetua, certe diuturna posteritas. [7] Ceterum, ut ad ordinem, a quo me contemplatio publicae felicitatis averterat, redeam, Perdicca unicam spem salutis suae in Meleagri morte reponebat: vanum eundem et infidum celeriterque res novaturum et sibi maxime infestum occupandum esse. [8] Sed alta dissimulatione consilium premebat, ut opprimeret incautum. Ergo clam quosdam ex copiis, quibus praeerat, [9] subornavit, ut, quasi ignoraret ipse, conquererentur palam Meleagrum aequatum esse Perdiccae. Quorum sermone

Meleager ad se relato furens ira Perdiccae, quae [p. 385] conperisset, exponit. Illi velut nova re exterritus admirari, queri dolentisque speciem ostentare ei coepit: ad ultimum convenit, ut comprehenderentur tam seditiosae vocis auctores. [10] Agit Meleager gratias amplexusque Perdiccam fidem eius in se ac benivolentiam conlaudat. [11] Tum communi consilio rationem opprimendi noxios ineunt. Placet exercitum patrio more lustrari: [12] et probabilis causa videbatur praeterita discordia. Macedonum reges ita lustrare soliti erant milites, ut discissae canis viscera ultimo in campo, in quem deduceretur exercitus, ab utraque abicerent parte, intra id spatium armati omnes starent, hinc equites, illinc phalanx. [13] Itaque eo die, quem huic sacro destinaverant, rex cum equitibus elephantisque constiterat contra pedites, quis Meleager praeerat. [14] Iam equestre agmen movebatur, et pedites subita formidine ob recentem discordiam haud sane pacati quicquam expectantes parumper addubitavere, an in urbem subducerent copias — [15] quippe pro equitibus planities erat — , ceterum veriti, ne temere commilitonum fidem damnarent, substitere praeparatis ad dimicandum animis, si quis vim inferret. Iam agmina coibant, parvumque intervallum erat, quod aciem utramque divideret: [16] itaque rex cum una ala obequitare peditibus coepit discordiae auctores, quos tueri ipse debebat, instinctu Perdiccae ad supplicia deposcens, minabaturque omnes turmas cum elephantis [p. 386] inducturum se in recusantes. [17] Stupebant inproviso malo pedites, nec plus in ipso Meleagro erat aut consilii aut animi. Tutissimum ex praesentibus videbatur expectare potius quam movere fortunam. [18] Tum Perdicca, ut torpentes et obnoxios vidit, XXX fere, qui Meleagrum erumpentem ex contione, quae prima habita est post mortem Alexandri, secuti erant, a ceteris discretos elephantis in conspectu totius exercitus obicit. Omnesque beluarum pedibus obriti sunt nec prohibente Philippo nec auctore: [19] adparebatque id modo pro suo vindicaturum, quod adprobasset eventus. Hoc bellorum civilium Macedonibus et omen et principium fuit. [20] Meleager sero intellecta fraude Perdiccae tum quidem, quia ipsius corpori vis non adferebatur, in agmine quietus stetit, [21] sed mox damnata spe salutis, cum eius nomine, quem ipse fecerat regem, in perniciem suam abutentis videret inimicos, confugit in templum ac ne loci quidem religione defensus occiditur.

Perdicca perducto in urbem exercitu consilium principum virorum habuit, in quo imperium ita dividi placuit, ut rex quidem summam eius obtineret, satrapeam Ptolomaeus Aegypti et Africae gentium, quae in dicione erant: [2] Leomedonti Syria cum Phoenice data est, Philotae Cilicia destinata, Lyciam cum Pamphylia et Maiore Phrygia obtinere iussus Antigonos, in Cariam [p. 387] Cassander, Menander in Lydiam missi: Phrygiam Minorem Hellesponto adiunctam Leonnati provinciam esse iusserunt. [3] Cappadocia Eumeni cum Paphlagonia cessit: praeceptum est, ut regionem eam usque ad Trapezunta defenderet, bellum cum Inarathe gereret: [4] solus hic detrectabat imperium. Pithon Mediam, Lysimachus Thraciam adpositasque Thraciae Ponticas gentes obtinere iussi. Qui Indiae quique Bactris et Sogdianis ceterisque aut Oceani

aut Rubri maris accolis praeerant, quibus quisque finibus habuisset, imperium obtinerent, decretum est: Perdicca ut cum rege esset copiisque praeesset, quae regem sequebantur. [5] Credidere quidam testamento Alexandri distributas esse provincias, sed famam eius rei, quamquam ab auctoribus tradita est, vanam fuisse conperimus. [6] Et quidem suas quisque opes divisim imperii partibus, ut videbantur sibi, fundaverant, si umquam adversus inmodicas cupiditates terminus staret. [7] Quippe paulo ante regis ministri specie imperii alieni procurandi singuli ingentia invaserant regna sublatis certaminum causis, cum et omnes eiusdem gentis essent et a ceteris sui quisque imperii regione discreti. [8] Sed difficile erat eo contentos esse, quod obtulerat occasio: quippe sordent prima quaeque, cum maiora sperantur. Itaque omnibus expeditius videbatur augere regna, quam fuisset accipere. [p. 388] [9] Septimus dies erat, ex quo corpus regis iacebat in solio, curis omnium ad formandum publicum statum a tam sollemni munere aversis. [10] Et non alius quam Mesopotamiae regionis fervidior aestas existit, adeo ut pleraque animalia, quae in nudo solo deprehendit, extinguat: tantus est vapor solis et caeli, quo cuncta velut igne torrentur. [11] Fontes aquarum et rari sunt et incolentium fraude celantur: ipsis usus patet, ignotus est advenis. [12] Traditum magis quam creditum refero: ut tandem curare corpus exanimum amicis vacavit, nulla tabe, ne minimo quidem livore corruptum videre, qui intraverant. [13] Vigor quoque, qui constat ex spiritu, non dum destituerat vultum. Itaque Aegyptii Chaldaei que iussi corpus suo more curare primo non sunt ausi admoveere velut spiranti manus: deinde precati, ut ius fasque esset mortalibus attrectare deum, purgavere corpus, repletumque est odoribus aureum solium et capiti adiecta fortunae eius insignia. [14] Veneno necatum esse credidere plerique: filium Antipatri inter ministros, Iollam nomine, patris iussu dedisse. Saepe certe audita erat vox Alexandri Antipatrum regum adfectare fastigium maioremque esse praefecti opibus ac titulo Spartanae victoriae inflatum omnia a se data adserentem sibi. [15] Credebant etiam Craterum cum veterum militum manu ad interficiendum eum missum. [p. 389] Vim autem veneni, [16] quod in Macedonia gignitur, talem esse constat, ut ferrum quoque exurat, ungulam iumentum dumtaxat patientem esse constat suci: [17] Stygem appellant fontem, ex quo pestiferum virus emanat. Hoc per Cassandrum adlatum traditumque fratri Iollae et ab eo supremae regis potioni inditum. [18] Haec, utcumque sunt, credita eorum, quos rumor asperserat, mox potentia extinxit: regnum enim Macedoniae Antipater et Graeciam quoque invasit, [19] suboles dein de excepit interfectis omnibus, quicumque Alexandrum etiam longinqua cognatione contigerant. [20] Ceterum corpus eius a Ptolomaeo, cui Aegyptus cesserat, Memphim et inde paucis post annis Alexandream translatum est, omnisque memoriae ac nomini honos habetur. [p. 390]

The Dual Text



'Alexander battling Darius at the Battle of Issus' — Naples, National Archaeological Museum

DUAL LATIN AND ENGLISH TEXT



Translated by J. C. Rolfe

In this section, readers can view a section by section text of Curtius' *History of Alexander*, alternating between the original Latin and Rolfe's English translation.

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BOOK III.

Inter haec Alexander ad conducendum ex Peloponneso militem Cleandro cum pecunia misso Lyciae Pamphylliaeque rebus conpositis ad urbem Celaenas exercitum admovit. [2] Media ilia tempestate moenia interfluebat Marsyas, amnis fabulosis Graecorum carminibus inclitus. [3] Fons eius ex summo montis cacumine excurrans in subiectam petram magno strepitu aquarum cadit, inde diffusus circumiectos rigat campos, liquidus et suas dumtaxat undas trahens. [4] Itaque color eius placido mari similis locum poetarum mendacio fecit: quippe traditum est nymphas amore amnis [p. 4] [5] retentas in illa rupe considerare. Ceterum quamdiu intra muros fluit, nomen suum retinet, at cum extra munimenta se evolvit, maiore vi ac mole agentem undas Lycum appellant.

I. MEANWHILE Alexander, after sending Cleander with money to hire soldiers from the Peloponnesus and setting in order the affairs of Lycia and Pamphylia, moved his army to the city of Celaenae.

[2] Through the middle of the city at that time flowed the Marsyas, a river famed in the storied songs of the [3] Greeks. Its source, gushing forth from the summit of a mountain, falls with a great noise of its waters upon a rock below; from there, divided into several branches, it irrigates the adjacent plains, clear and carrying only its own waters. Therefore its colour, like that of a calm sea, has given opportunity for a fancy of the poets; for it is said that nymphs, kept there by love of the river, dwell upon that — rock. Now, so long as it flows within the city the river retains its own name, but when it rolls forth beyond the ramparts and drives on its waters with greater force and mass, they call it the Lycus, “Wolf.”

[6] Alexander quidem urbem destitutam ab suis intrat, arcem vero, in quam confugerant, oppugnare adortus caduceatorem praemisit, qui denuntiaret, [7] ni dederent, ipsos ultima esse passuros. Illi caduceatorem in turrem et situ et opere multum editam perductum, quanta esset altitudo, intueri iubent ac nuntiare Alexandro, non eadem ipsum et incolas aestimatione munimenta metiri: [8] se scire inexpugnabiles esse, ad ultimum pro fide morituros. Ceterum ut circumsederi arcem et omnia sibi in dies artiora esse viderunt, sexaginta dierum indutias pacti, ut, nisi intra eos auxilium Dareus ipsis misisset, dederent urbem, postquam nihil inde praesidii mittebatur, ad praestitutam diem permisere se regi.

The city, indeed, when Alexander entered it, had been abandoned by its inhabitants, but having determined to attack the citadel, in which they had taken refuge,” he first sent a herald, to threaten that if they did not surrender it, they would suffer the utmost penalties. They led the herald to a tower raised high both by its natural situation and by the hand of man, telling them to observe how lofty it was and to report to Alexander that he and the inhabitants

did not set the same value on their fortifications: that they knew themselves to be impregnable and were ready to the last to die loyally. But when they saw that the citadel was beset on every side, and that all their supplies were becoming scantier day by day, they bargained for a truce of sixty days, agreeing that if Darius did not send them help within that time, they would surrender the city; and when no aid came to them from that quarter, on the stipulated day they gave themselves up to the king.

[9] Superveniunt deinde legati Atheniensium petentes, ut capti apud Granicum amnem redderentur sibi. Ille non hos modo, [10] sed etiam ceteros Graecos restitui suis iussurum respondit finito Persico bello. Ceterum Dareo imminens, quem nondum Euphraten superasse cognoverat, undique omnes copias contrahit totis viribus tanti belli discrimen aditurus. [11] Phrygia erat, per quam ducebatur exercitus: pluribus vicis quam urbibus frequens tunc habebat nobilem quondam Midae regiam. [12] Gordium nomen est urbi, quam Sangarius amnis praeterfluit pari intervallo Pontico et Cilicio mari distantem. [13] Inter haec maria [p. 5] angustissimum Asiae spatium esse conperimus utroque in artas fauces compellente terram. Quae quia continenti adhaeret, sed magna ex parte cingitur fluctibus, speciem insulae praebet ac, nisi tenue discrimen obiceret, quae nunc dividit maria, committeret.

Then came envoys of the Athenians, asking that their citizens who had been taken prisoner at the river Granicus should be returned to them. Alexander replied that he would give orders that not only these but also the rest of the Greeks should be restored to their homes, as soon as the Persian war was ended.

Then, intent upon Darius, who, as he had learned, had not yet crossed the Euphrates, he assembled all his troops from every side, intending to meet the crisis of so great a war with all his strength.

Phrygia was the country through which the army was being led; abounding in villages rather than in cities, it was at that time the seat of the once famous palace of Midas. Gordium is the city's name; the river Sangarius flows beside it, and it is equally distant from the Pontic and the Cilician sea. We have been informed that between these two seas is the narrowest part of Asia, since they compress the lands into a narrow passageway. And because Asia is joined to the mainland, but is in great part surrounded by waters, it presents the appearance of an island, and were it not for this slight intervening space, what now separates the seas would unite them.

[14] Alexander urbe in dicionem suam redacta lovis templum intrat. Vehiculum, quo Gordium, Midae patrem, vectum esse constabat, aspexit cultu haud sane a vilioribus vulgatisque usu abhorrens. [15] Notabile erat iugum adstrictum compluribus nodis in semetipsos implicatis et celantibus nexus. [16] Incolis deinde adfirmantibus editam esse oraculo sortem, Asiae potiturum, qui

inexplicabile vinculum solvisset, cupido incessit animo sortis eius explendae. [17] Circa regem erat et Phrygum turba et Macedonum, illa expectatione suspensa, haec sollicita ex temeraria regis fiducia: quippe serie vinculorum ita adstricta, ut, unde nexus inciperet quove se conderet, nec ratione nec visu perspicere posset, solvere adgressus iniecerat curam ei, ne in omen verteretur irritum inceptum. [18] Ille nequaquam diu luctatus cum latentibus nodis: ‘Nihil,’ inquit, ‘interest, quomodo solvantur,’ gladioque ruptis omnibus loris oraculi sortem vel elusit vel implevit.

Alexander, after reducing the city into his power, entered the temple of Jupiter. There he saw the wagon in which it was known that Gordius, the father of Midas rode, and it was in no way more elegant than ordinary ones in everyday use. The noteworthy feature was the yoke, which was made fast by a great number of thongs, closely tangled with one another and concealing their interlacings. Thereupon, since the natives declared that the oracle had predicted that whoever should loose the intricate fastening would rule over Asia, the desire entered Alexander’s mind of fulfilling that prophecy. Around the king stood a throng of Phrygians and Macedonians, the former on tiptoe of expectation, the latter in anxiety because of the king’s rash self-confidence; and in fact the series of thongs was so closely bound together that where a hidden interlacing began or where it ended could be made out neither by the eye nor by calculation; and the king’s attempt to undo the tangle made the throng anxious lest a failure should be regarded as an omen. After having struggled for a long time without effect against the hidden knots: “It makes no difference,” said he, “how they are loosed,” and cutting through all the thongs with his sword, he either tricked the oracle or fulfilled it.

[19] Cum deinde Dareum, ubicumque esset, occupare statuisset, ut a tergo tuta relinqueret, Amphoterum classi ad oram Hellesponti, copiis autem praefecit Hegelochum, Lesbum et Chium Coumque praesidiis hostium liberaturos. [20] His talenta ad belli usum quin- [p. 6] genta attributa, ad Antipatrum et eos, qui Graecas urbes tuebantur, DC missa, ex foedere naves sociis imperatae, quae Hellesponto praesiderent. [21] Nondum enim Memnonem vita excessisse cognoverat, in quem omnes intenderat curas, satis gnarus cuncta in expedito fore, si nihil ab eo moveretur. [22] Tamque ad urbem Ancyram ventum erat: ubi numero copiarum inito Paphlagoniam intrat. Huic iuncti erant Heneti, unde quidam Venetos trahere originem credunt. [23] Omnis haec regio paruit regi, datisque obsidibus tributum, quod ne Persis quidem tulissent, pendere ne cogerentur, inpetraverunt. [24] Calas huic regioni praepositus est, ipse adsumptis, qui ex Macedonia nuper advenerant, Cappadociam petiit.

Then, since he had resolved to overtake Darius wherever he might be, in order to leave everything behind him safe he gave Amphoterus command of the fleet at the shore of the Hellespont and Hegelochus of the land-forces, in order that these officers might free Lesbos, Chios and Cos from the enemies’

garrisons. To them 500 talents were given for the expenses of the war, and to Antipater and those who were defending the Greek cities 600 talents were sent, and the allies were ordered, as was provided by their treaty, to furnish ships to guard the Hellespont. For he had not yet learned of the death of Memnon, against whom he had directed all his attention, knowing well enough that all would be easy if that general made no move.

And now he had arrived at the city of Ancyra, from which, after having numbered his forces, he entered Paphlagonia; next to this were the Heneti, from whom some believe that the Veneti derive their origin. All this region yielded to Alexander, and gave hostages and obtained freedom from the obligation of paying tribute, which they had not rendered even to the Persians. Calas was made governor of that region, and Alexander himself, taking the troops that had lately arrived from Macedonia, made for Cappadocia.

At Dareus nuntiata Memnonis morte haud secus, quam par erat, motus omissa omni alia spe statuit ipse decernere: quippe quae per duces suos acta erant, cuncta damnabat, ratus pluribus curam, omnibus afuisse fortunam. [2] Igitur castris ad Babylona positis, quo maiore animo capessèrent bellum, universas vires in conspectum dedit et circumdato vallo, quod decem milium armatorum multitudinem caperet, Xerxis exemplo numerum copiarum iniit. [3] Orto sole ad noctem agmina, sicut discripta erant, intravere vallum. Inde emissa occupaverant Mesopotamiae campos, equitum peditumque propemodum innumerabilis turba, maiorem quam pro numero speciem ferens. Persarum erant centum milia, in quis eques XXX inplebat. [4] Medi decem milia equitum, quinquaginta peditum habebant. [5] Barcanorum equitum duo milia fuere, armati bipen- [p. 7] nibus levibusque scutis maxime cetrae speciem reddentibus, peditum decem milia equitum pari armatu sequebantur. [6] Armenii quadraginta milia miserant peditum additis septem milibus equitum. Hyrcani egregiorum equitum, ut inter illas gentes, sex milia expleverant additis equitibus mille Tapuris. [7] Derbices quadraginta peditum milia armaverant: pluribus aere aut ferro praefixae hastae, quidam lignum igni duraverant. Hos quoque duo milia equitum ex eadem gente comitata sunt. [8] A Caspio mari octo milium pedester exercitus venerat, ducenti equites. Cum iis erant ignobiles aliae gentes: duo milia peditum, equitum duplicem paraverant numerum. [9] His copiis triginta milia Graecorum mercede conducta egregiae iuventutis adiecta. Nam Bactrianos et Sogdianos et Indos ceterosque Rubri maris accolas, ignota etiam Persis gentium nomina, festinatio prohibebat acciri. [10] Nec quicquam illi minus quam multitudo militum defuit.

II. But Darius, when the death of Memnon was announced, being not less anxious than was natural, set aside all other hope, and decided to fight a decisive battle in person; for he condemned everything that had been done through his generals, believing that many of them had been lacking in care, and all in good fortune. Accordingly, having encamped before Babylon, he

made a display of all his forces, in order that they might enter upon the war with the greater confidence, and having built a circular enclosure, capable of containing a throng of 10,000 armed men, he began to number them as Xerxes had done. From sunrise to nightfall the troops entered the enclosure, as they had been told off. Then, when sent out, they filled the plains of Mesopotamia, an all but innumerable mass of cavalry and foot, which gave the appearance of being greater than it actually was. Of Persians there were 100,000, among them 30,000 horsemen.

The Medes had 10,000 horse and 50,000 foot. Of the Barcani there were 2000 horse, armed with double-edged axes and light shields closely resembling Spanish bucklers; they were followed by 10,000 infantry, armed in the same manner as the horsemen.

The Armenians had sent 40,000 foot-soldiers, besides 7000 cavalry. The Hyrcani had mustered 6000 as excellent horsemen as those nations could furnish, as well as 1000 Tapurian cavalry. The Derbices had armed 40,000 foot-soldiers; most of these carried spears tipped with bronze or iron, but some had hardened the wooden shaft by fire. These also were accompanied by 2000 horsemen from the same nation. From the Caspian Sea had come an infantry army of 8000, and 200 horsemen. With these were other less known nations; they had mustered 2000 foot and twice that number of horsemen. To these forces were added 30,000 Greek mercenaries, excellent young soldiers. However, his haste prevented the summoning of the Bactriani, the Sogdiani, the Indi, and other dwellers near the Red Sea, whose names were unknown even to Darius himself. But there was nothing which he lacked less than numbers of soldiers.

Cuius tum universae aspectu admodum laetus purpuratis solita vanitate spem eius infantibus conversus ad Charidemum, Atheniensem belli peritum et ob exilium infestum Alexandro — quippe Athenis iubente eo fuerat expulsus — , percontari coepit, satisne ei videretur instructus ad obterendum hostem. [11] At ille et suae sortis et regiae superbiae oblitus: ‘Verum,’ inquit, ‘et tu forsitan audire nolis et ego, nisi nunc [p. 8] dixero, alias nequiquam confitebor. [12] Hic tanti apparatus exercitus, haec tot gentium et totius Orientis excita sedibus suis moles finitimis potest esse terribilis: nitet purpura auroque, fulget armis et opulentia, [13] quantam, qui oculis non subiecere, animis concipere non possunt. Sed Macedonum acies, torva sane et inculta, clipeis hastisque immobiles cuneos et conferta robora virorum tegit. Ipsi phalangem vocant, peditum stabile agmen: vir viro, armis arma conserta sunt. [14] Ad nutum monentis intenti sequi signa, ordines servare didicerunt: quod imperatur, omnes exaudiunt. Obsistere, circumire, discurrere in cornu, mutare pugnam non duces magis quam milites callent.

Extravagantly happy at the appearance of the throng then assembled, while his courtiers puffed up his hope with their usual empty flattery, turning to

Charidemus, an Athenian skilled in warfare and because of his banishment hating Alexander — for it was by his order that Charidemus had been expelled from Athens — he proceeded to ask the Greek whether he seemed to him sufficiently equipped to trample down his enemy. But Charidemus, forgetting his condition and the pride of kings, replied: “You perhaps would not wish to hear the truth, but I, if I do not speak now, at some other time shall admit it in vain. This army so splendidly equipped, this throng of so many nations and of the whole Orient, called forth from their homes, may be a cause of terror to their neighbours; it gleams with purple and gold, is resplendent with arms and with riches so great that those who have not seen them with their own eyes cannot imagine them. But the Macedonian army, grim, it is true, and unkempt-looking, covers with its shields and spears immovable wedges and serried power of men. They themselves call it the phalanx, a steadfast body of infantry; man stands close to man, weapons are joined to weapons. Intent upon the nod of their commander, they have learned to follow the standards, to keep their ranks; what is ordered all obey. How to oppose, make circuits, run to support either wing, to change the order of battle the soldiers are as well skilled as their leaders.

[15] *Ac ne auri argentique studio teneri putes, adhuc illa disciplina paupertate magistra stetit: fatigatis humus cubile est, cibus, quem occupati rapiunt, satiat, tempora somni artiora quam noctis sunt.* [16] *Iam Thessali equites et Acarnanes Aetolique, invicta bello manus, fundis, credo, et hastis igne duratis repellentur! Pari robore opus est. In illa terra, quae hos genuit, auxilia quaerenda sunt: argentum istud atque aurum ad conducendum militem mitte.* [17] *Erat Dareo mite ac tractabile ingenium, nisi etiam naturam plerumque fortuna corrumperet. Itaque veritatis inpatiens hospitem ac supplicem,* [18] *tunc cum maxime utilia suadentem, abstrahi iussit ad capitale supplicium. Ille ne tum quidem libertatis oblitus: ‘Habeo,’ inquit, ‘paratum mortis meae ultorem: expetet poenas consilii mei spreti is ipse, contra quem tibi suasi. Tu quidem licentia regni tam subito* [p. 9] *mutatus documentum eris posteris, homines, cum se permisere fortunae, etiam naturam dediscere.* [19] *Haec vociferantem, quibus imperatum erat, iugulant. Sera deinde paenitentia subiit regem, ac vera dixisse confessus sepeliri eum iussit.*

“And do not suppose that they are led by a desire for gold and silver; so far they have maintained that discipline in the school of poverty; when they are wearied, the earth is their bed, such food as they can snatch amid toil satisfies them, their time for sleep is shorter than the night. The Thessalian, the Acarnanian, and the Aetolian horsemen, invincible in war, will forthwith, forsooth, be repulsed by slings and by spears hardened in the fire! Strength like theirs is what you need; in that land which gave them birth you must look for aid: send that silver and gold of yours to hire soldiers.” Darius had a mild and tractable disposition, but as a rule Fortune perverts even Nature. So, incapable of hearing the truth, he ordered a guest and a suppliant to be

dragged off to execution, at the very moment when he was giving most salutary advice. The Greek, not even then forgetful of his free birth, said: "I have at hand an avenger of my death; that very man against whom I have warned you will exact punishment for the scorning of my advice. You for your part, so suddenly changed by the licence of royal power, will be a lesson to coming generations that when men have surrendered themselves to Fortune, they forget even their very nature." As Charidemus was shouting these words, those to whom the order had been given cut his throat. Afterwards, too late, the king repented, and admitting that the Greek had spoken the truth, gave orders that he be given funeral rites.

Thymondas erat, Mentoris filius, impiger iuvenis: cui praeceptum est a rege, ut omnes peregrinos milites, in quibus plurimum habebat spei, a Pharnabazo acciperet, opera eorum usurus in bello. Ipsi Pharnabazo tradit imperium, quod antea Memnoni dederat. [2] Anxium demde instantibus curis agitabant etiam per somnum species imminentium rerum, sive illas aegritudo, sive divinatio animi praesagientis accersit. [3] Castra Alexandri magno ignis fulgore conlucere ei visa sunt et paulo post Alexander adduci ad ipsum in eo vestis habitu, quo ipse factus rex fuisset, equo deinde per Babylona vectus subito cum ipso equo oculis esse subductus. [4] Ad haec vates varia interpretatione curam distrinxerant: alii laetum id regi somnium esse dicebant, quod castra hostium arsissent, quod Alexandrum deposita regia veste in Persico et vulgari habitu perductum ad se vidisset, quidam non: [5] augurabantur quippe inlustria Macedonum castra visa fulgorem Alexandra portendere: cui vel regnum Asiae occupare fatum esse, haud ambigue doceri, quoniam in eodem habitu Dareus fuisset, cum appellatus est rex. [6] Vetera [p. 10] quoque omina, ut fere, sollicitudo revocaverat: recensebant enim Dareum in principio imperii vaginam acinacis Persicam iussisse mutari in eam formam, qua Graeci uterentur, protinusque Chaldaeos interpretatos, [7] imperium Persarum ad eos transiturum, quorum arma esset imitatus. Ceterum ipse et vatum responso, quod edebatur in vulgus, et specie, quae per somnum oblata erat, admodum laetus castra ad Euphraten moveri iubet.

III. Thymondas, son of Mentor, was an energetic young man; he was ordered by the king to take over from Pharnabazus all the foreign soldiers in whom Darius had the greatest confidence: Thymondas was to use their services in the war. To Pharnabazus himself he transferred the command which he had previously given to Memnon.

Then, worried as he was by pressing cares, he was also tormented in sleep by visions of imminent dangers, whether these were called up by anxiety or by the divining power of a prophetic mind, Alexander's camp seemed to him to shine with a great glow of fire, and he dreamed that a little later Alexander was brought to him in the garb in which he himself had been made king, and that then, riding on horseback through Babylon, he had vanished from his

sight, horse and all. Besides this, the soothsayers had distracted his troubled mind by varying interpretations; some said that that dream was of good omen for the king because the enemies' camp had burned, and because he had seen Alexander, after laying aside his regal dress, brought to him attired as a Persian, and that too, dressed like one of the common sort; others disagreed: for they conjectured that to have seen the Macedonians' camp illuminated foretold brilliance for Alexander; that he was fated even to seize the rule of Asia was shown beyond doubt, since Darius had worn the same attire when he was named king. Worry had recalled old omens also, as is usual; for they bethought themselves that Darius at the beginning of his rule had ordered that the form of the Persian scabbard of the scimitar should be changed to that shape which the Greeks used, and that the Chaldeans had at once declared that the empire of the Persians would pass to those whose arms he had imitated. However, Darius himself, rejoicing greatly both because of the prediction of the seers which was made public, and the vision which had appeared to him in his sleep, gave orders that the camp should be advanced toward the Euphrates.

[8] Patrio more Persarum traditum est orto sole demum procedere. Die iam inlustri signum e tabernaculo regis bucina dabatur: super tabernaculum, unde ab omnibus conspici posset, imago solis crystallo inclusa fulgebat. [9] Ordo autem agminis erat talis. Ignis, quem ipsi sacrum et aeternum vocabant, argenteis altaribus praeferebatur. Magi proximi patrium carmen canebant. [10] Magos trecenti et sexaginta quinque iuvenes sequebantur puniceis amiculis velati, diebus totius anni pares numero: quippe Persis quoque in totidem dies descriptus est annus. [11] Currum deinde Iovi sacratum albentes vehebant equi: hos eximiae magnitudinis equus, quem Solis appellabant, sequebatur. Aureae virgae et albae vestes regentes equos adornabant. [12] Haud procul erant vehicula decem multo auro argentoque caelata. [13] Sequebatur haec equitatus duodecim gentium variis armis et moribus.

It was an ancestral custom of the Persians not to begin a march before sunrise. When the day was already bright, the signal was given from the king's tent with the horn; above the tent, from which it might be seen by all, there gleamed an image of the sun enclosed in crystal. Now the order of march was as follows. In front on silver altars was carried the fire which they called sacred and eternal. Next came the Magi, chanting their traditional hymn. These were, followed by three hundred and sixty-five young men clad in purple robes, equal in number to the days of a whole year; for the Persians also divided the year into that number of days. After that, white horses drew the chariot consecrated to Jupiter; these were followed by a horse of extraordinary size, which they called the steed of the Sun. Golden wands and white robes adorned the drivers of the horses. Not far off there were ten chariots, embossed with much gold and silver. These were followed by the horsemen of twelve nations of varying arms and customs.

Proximi ibant, quos Persae Inmortales vocant, ad decem milia. Cultus [p. 11] opulentiae barbara non alios magis honestabat: illi aureos torques, illi vestem auro distinctam habebant manicatasque tunicas gemmis etiam adornatas. [14] Exiguo intervallo, quos cognatos regis appellant, decem et quinque milia hominum. Haec vero turba muliebriter propemodum culta luxu magis quam decoris armis conspicua erat. [15] Doryphoroe vocabantur proximum his agmen, soliti vestem excipere regalem. Hi currum regis anteibant, quo ipse eminens vehebatur. [16] Utrumque currus latus deorum simulacra ex auro argentoque expressa decorabant: distinguebant internitentes gemmae iugum, ex quo eminebant duo aurea simulacra cubitalia avorum, alterum Nini, alterum Beli. Inter haec aquilam auream pennas extendenti similem sacraverant. [17] Cultus regis inter omnia luxuria notabatur: purpureae tunicae medium album intextum erat, pallam auro distinctam aurei accipitres, velut rostris inter se concurrerent, [18] adornabant, ex zona aurea muliebriter cinctus acinacem suspenderat, cui ex gemma vagina erat. [19] Cidarim Persae vocabant regium capitis insigne: hoc caerulea fascia albo distincta circumibat, [20] Currum decem milia hastatorum sequebantur: hastas argento exornatas, spiculo aureo praefixas gestabant. [21] Dextra laevaue regem ducenti ferme nobilissimi propinquorum comitabantur. Horum agmen claudabatur triginta milibus peditum, quos equi regis CCCC sequebantur.

Next marched those whom the Persians call “the Immortals” to the number of ten thousand. No others were more adorned with the splendour of barbaric wealth; theirs were golden necklets, and garments adorned with cloth of gold and long-sleeved tunics adorned even with gems. At a short interval came those whom they call the king’s kindred, 15,000 men. This throng indeed, with its almost feminine elegance, was conspicuous rather for luxury than for elegant arms. The troop next to these, who were accustomed to take care of the royal robes, were called Spear-bearers. These preceded the king’s chariot, in which he rode outstanding among the rest.

Both sides of the chariot were adorned with images of the gods, embossed in gold and silver; the yoke was ornamented with sparkling gems, and on it rose two golden images a cubit high of the king’s ancestors, one of Ninus, the other of Belus. Between these they had consecrated a golden eagle, represented with outstretched wings.

The attire of the king was noteworthy beyond all else in luxury; a purple-edged tunic woven about a white centre, a cloak of cloth of gold, ornamented with golden hawks, which seemed to attack each other with their beaks; from a golden belt, with which he was girt woman-fashion, he had hung a scimitar, the scabbard of which was a single gem.”

The Persians called the king’s head-dress *cidaris*; this was bound with a blue fillet variegated with white. The chariot was followed by 10,000 lancers, carrying spears richly adorned with silver and tipped with a point of gold.

About two hundred of the noblest relatives of the king attended him on the right and on the left. The rear of this part of the procession was brought up by 30,000 foot-soldiers, followed by four hundred of the king's horses.

[22] Intervallo deinde unius stadii matrem Darei, Sisigam- [p. 12] bim, currus vehebat, et in alio erat coniunx. Turba feminarum reginas comitantium equis vectabatur. [23] Quindecim deinde, quas armamaxas appellabant, sequebantur: in his erant liberi regis et, quae educabant eos, [24] spadonumque grex, haud sane illis gentibus vilis. Tum regiae pelices trecentae et sexaginta vehebantur, et ipsae regali cultu ornataeque. Post quas pecuniam regis sexcenti muli et trecenti cameli vehebant praesidio sagittariorum prosequente. [25] Propinquorum amicorumque coniuges huic agmini proximae lixarumque et calorum greges vehebantur. Ultimi erant cum suis quisque ducibus, qui cogerent agmen, leviter armati. [26] Contra si quis aciem Macedonum intueretur, dispar facies erat equis virisque non auro, non discolori veste, [27] sed ferro atque aere fulgentibus: agmen et stare paratum et sequi, nec turba nec sarcinis praegrave, intentum ad ducis non signum modo, sed etiam nutum. [28] Et castris locus et exercitui commeatus suppetebant. Ergo Alexandro in acie miles non defuit, Dareus, tantae multitudinis rex, loci, in quo pugnavit, angustiis redactus est ad paucitatem, quam in hoste contempserat.

Next, at an interval of a single stade, one chariot carried Sisigambis, Darius' mother, and in another was his wife. A throng of women of the queens' household rode on horses. Then followed fifteen of what they call *karmamaxaed*; in these were the king's children and their governesses, and a herd of eunuchs, who are not at all despised by those peoples. Next rode the 365 concubines of the king, these also regally dressed and adorned. After these 600 mules and 300 camels carried the king's money, preceded by a guard of bowmen. Next to this division rode the wives of his relatives and friends, and troops of sutlers and batmen. Last of all were bands of lightarmed troops, to bring up the rear, each with its own officers.

If on the other hand anyone should look upon the Macedonians' army, its appearance was different; men and horses gleaming, not with gold and parti coloured garments, but with steel and bronze; an army prepared to stand or to follow, not over weighted with excessive numbers or with baggage, watchful, not only for the signal, but even for the nod of its leader. Thus there was enough room for both a camp and the army's supplies. Hence Alexander did not lack soldiers in the battle; Darius, king of so vast a multitude, was reduced by the narrow limits of the place in which he fought to the small number which he had scorned in his enemy.

Interea Alexander Sabistamene Cappadociae praeposito Cificiam petens cum omnibus copiis in regionem, quae Castra Cyri appellatur, pervenerat: stativa illic habuerat Cyrus, [2] cum adversus Croesum in Lydiam duceret. Aberat ea regio quinquaginta stadia ab aditu, quo Ciliciam intramus: Pylas incolae

dicunt artissimas [p. 13] fauces munimenta, quae manu ponimus, naturali situ imitantes. [3] Igitur Arsames, qui Ciliciae praeerat, reputans, quid initio belli Memno suasisset, quondam salubre consilium sero exequi statuit: igni ferroque Ciliciam vastat, ut hosti solitudinem faciat, quidquid usui potest esse, corrumpit sterile ac nudum solum, [4] quod tueri nequibat, relicturus Sed longe utilius fuit angustias aditus, qui Ciliciam aperit, valido occupare praesidio iugumque opportune itineri imminens obtinere, unde inultus subeuntem hostem aut prohibere aut opprimere potuisset: [5] nunc paucis, qui callibus praesiderent, relictis retro ipse concessit, populator terrae, quam a populationibus vindicare debebat. Ergo qui relictis erant, proditos se rati ne conspectum quidem hostis sustinere valuerunt, cum vel pauciores locum obtinere potuissent. [6] Namque perpetuo iugo montis asperi ac praerupti Cilicia includitur: quod cum a mari adsurgat, velut sinu quodam flexuque curvatum rursus altero cornu in diversum litus excurrit.

IV. Meanwhile Alexander, having given Sabistamenes charge of Cappadocia, on his way to Cilicia with all his forces had arrived at the place which is called the Camp of Cyrus; there Cyrus had had a permanent camp when he was leading his army into Lydia against Croesus. That place was distant fifty stadia from the pass by which we enter Cilicia; the Gates is what the natives call that very narrow entrance, and in its natural formation it resembles fortifications made by our human hands. Therefore Arsames, who governed Cilicia, recalling what Memnon had advised at the beginning of the war, decided too late to follow a plan which at the time was salutary; he devastates Cilicia with fire and sword, in order to make a desert for the enemy, and destroys everything that could be of use, intending to leave barren and bare the soil which he was unable to defend.

But it would have been far more advantageous to beset with a strong force the narrow pass which opens the way into Cilicia, and to hold possession of a height which opportunely overhangs the road, from which without danger he would have been able to stop or destroy the enemy as they came up. As it was, leaving a few to guard the mountain paths, he himself retreated, a devastator of the land which he ought to have protected against devastation. Therefore those who had been left behind, supposing that they had been betrayed, were not able to endure even the sight of the enemy, although even fewer men than they would have been able to hold the position.

For Cilicia is shut in by a continuous range of rugged and steep mountains. This range, rising from the sea and curving in a kind of winding fold, so to speak, runs back with its other extremity to a different part of the shore.

[7] Per hoc dorsum, qua maxime introrsus mari cedit, asperi tres aditus et perangusti sunt, quorum uno Cilicia intranda est. [8] Campestris eadem, qua vergit ad mare, planitiem eius crebris distinguuntibus rivis: Pyramus et Cydnus, incliti amnes, inferfluunt. Cydnus non spatio aquarum, sed liquore

memorabilis: quippe leni tractu e fontibus labens puro solo excipitur, nec torrentes incurrunt, qui placide manantis alveum turbent. [9] Itaque incorruptus idemque frigidissimus, quippe multa riparum amoenitate inumbratus, ubique fontibus suis similis in mare evadit. [10] Multa in ea regione monumenta vulgata carminibus vetustas [p. 14] exederat: monstrabantur urbium sedes Lyrnesi et Thebes, Typhonis quoque specus et Corycium nemus, ubi crocum gignitur, ceteraque, in quibus nihil praeter famam duraverat. [11] Alexander fauces iugi, quae Pylae appellantur, intravit. Contemplatus locorum situm non alias magis dicitur admiratus esse felicitatem suam: obrui potuisse vel saxis confitebatur, si fuissent, qui in subeuntes propellerent. [12] Iter vix quaternos capiebat armatos: [13] dorsum montis imminebat viae non angustae modo, sed plerumque praeruptae crebris oberrantibus rivis, qui ex radicibus montium manant. Thrakas tamen leviter armatos praecedere iusserat scrutarique calles, ne occultus hostis in subeuntes erumperet. Sagittariorum quoque manus occupaverat iugum: [14] intentos arcus habebant moniti, non iter ipsos inire, sed proelium. Hoc modo agmen pervenit ad urbem Tarson, cui tum maxime Persae subiciebant ignem, ne opulentum oppidum hostis invaderet. [15] At ille Parmenione ad inhibendum incendium cum expedita manu praemisso, postquam barbaros adventu suorum fugatos esse cognovit, urbem a se conservatam intrat.

Through this range, where it withdraws farthest inward from the sea, there are three rough and very narrow passes, one of which must be used for entering Cilicia. That country where it slopes toward the sea is level and its plain is divided by frequent streams; the famous rivers Pyramus and Cydnus flow through it. The Cydnus is noteworthy, not because of the extent of its waters," but for their clearness; for gliding with gentle course from its springs, it is received by a pure soil, and no torrents empty into it to discolour its quietly flowing channel.

Hence it is undefiled and also extremely cold, since it is shaded charmingly by its banks, and it passes into the sea in the same state throughout as at its source. In that region lapse of time had destroyed many memorials made famous in song; the sites of the cities Lyrnesus and Thebes were pointed out, the cave of Typhon too, and the Corycian grove, where saffron grows,' and other places of which only the fame has endured.

Alexander entered that pass in the range which is called "the Gates." Having examined the situation of the region, he is said never to have wondered more at his good fortune; he admitted that he might have been overwhelmed even by rocks, if there had been any to roll them down on his men as they came up. The road barely allowed four armed men to walk abreast; a ridge of the mountain overhung a passage that was not merely narrow, but often broken by frequent streams which crossed it, trickling from the roots of the mountains. Nevertheless he had ordered his light-armed Thracians to go in advance and

examine the mountain paths, in order that a hidden foe might not burst forth upon them as they went up the pass. A band of bowmen also had taken their place on the ridge; they kept their bows bent, since they had been warned that they were not entering upon a march, but a battle. In this manner the army came to the city of Tarsus, to which at that, very time the Persians were setting fire, in order that the enemy might not invade a rich city. But Alexander had sent Parmenion on with a light-armed troop to check the fire, and as soon as he knew that the barbarians had been put to flight by the arrival of his men, he entered the city which he had saved.

Mediam Cydnus amnis, de quo paulo ante dictum est, interfluit, et tunc aestas erat, cuius calor non aliam magis quam Ciliciae oram vapore solis accendit, [2] et diei fervidissimum tempus coeperat. Pulvere simul ac sudore perfusum regem invitavit liquor fluminis, ut calidum adhuc corpus ablueret: itaque veste deposita in conspectu agminis — decorum quoque futurum ratus, si ostendisset suis levi et parabili cultu corporis [p. 15] se esse contentum — [3] descendit in flumen. Vixque ingressi subito horrore artus rigere coeperunt, pallor deinde suffusus est et totum propemodum corpus vitalis calor liquit. [4] Expiranti similem ministri manu excipiunt nec satis compotem mentis in tabernaculum deferunt.

V. The river Cydnus, which was mentioned a short time ago, flows through the middle of Tarsus; it was then summer, the heat of which burns no other shore more than that of Cilicia with the sun's fires, and the hottest time of the day had begun. The clear water of the river tempted the king, who was covered with dust and at the same time with sweat, to bathe his body when it was still heated; accordingly, laying off his clothing in the sight of the army — thinking that it would also be fitting if he should show his men that he was content with attention to his person which was simple and easily attained — he went down into the river. But hardly had he entered it when his limbs began to stiffen with a sudden chill, then he lost his colour, and the vital warmth left almost his entire body. His attendants caught him in their arms, looking like a dying man, and carried him almost unconscious into his tent.

Ingens sollicitudo et paene iam luctus in castris erat: [5] flentes querebantur in tanto impetu cursuque rerum omnis aetatis ac memoriae clarissimum regem non in acie saltem, non ab hoste deiectum, sed abluentem aqua corpus ereptum esse et extinctum. [6] Instare Dareum victorem, antequam vidisset hostem. Sibi easdem terras, quas victoria peragrassent, repetendas: omnia aut ipsos aut hostes populos. Per vastas solitudines, etiam si nemo insequi velit, euntes fame atque inopia debellari posse. [7] Quem signum daturum fugientibus? quem ausurum Alexandro succedere? Iam ut ad Hellespontum fuga penetrarent, classem, qua transeant, quem praeparaturum? [8] Rursus in ipsum regem misericordia versa illum florem iuventae, illam vim animi, eundem regem et commilitonem divelli a se et abrumpi inmemores sui

querebantur. [9] Inter haec liberius meare spiritus coeperat, adlevaratque rex oculos et paulatim redeunte animo circumstantes amicos agnoverat, laxataque vis morbi ob hoc solum videbatur, quia magnitudinem mali sentiebat. [10] Animi autem aegritudo corpus urgebat: quippe Dareum quinto die in Cilicia fore nuntiabatur. Vinctum ergo se tradi et tantam victoriam eripi sibi ex manibus obscuraque et ignobili morte in tabernaculo extingui se querebatur. [11] Admissisque amicis pariter ac medicis: 'In quo me,' inquit, 'articulo rerum mearum fortuna deprehenderit, cernitis. Strepitum [p. 16] hostilium armorum exaudire mihi videor et, qui ultro intuli bellum, iam provocor. [12] Dareus ergo cum tam superbas litteras scriberet, fortunam meam in consilio habuit, sed nequiquam, si mihi arbitrio meo curari licet. [13] Lenta remedia et segnes medicos non expectant tempora mea: vel mori strenue quam tarde convalescere mihi melius est. Proinde, si quid opis, si quid artis in medicis est, sciant me non tam mortis quam belli remedium quaerere.'

There was great anxiety, and already almost mourning in the camp; with tears they lamented that the most glorious king of any age or time, in the midst of so swift a career of success, had been laid low, not in battle (which would have been bad enough), not by the enemy, but had been taken off and done to death while bathing. Darius (they said) was close at hand, a victor before he had seen his enemy. As for them, they must go back to the same lands through which they had passed victorious, where everything had been laid waste by themselves or by the enemy. Marching through desert wastes, even if no one wished to pursue them, they could be vanquished by hunger and want. Who would direct them in their flight? Who would venture to succeed Alexander? Just suppose that they should reach the Hellespont in their flight, who would prepare a fleet in which to cross it? Then their pity turned again to the king himself and, forgetting themselves, they lamented that such flower of youth, so powerful a mind, at once their king and their fellow-soldier, was torn and wrested away from them.

Meanwhile the king's breath had begun to pass more freely, and he had raised his eyes; and as his senses began to return to him, he recognized his friends who stood about him, and the violence of his illness seemed to have abated for the sole reason that he felt the greatness of the disaster. However, trouble of mind oppressed his body; for it was announced that Darius would be in Cilicia in four days. Therefore he lamented that he was being handed over to him in bonds, that so great a victory was being snatched from his hands, and that he was being blotted out in his tent by an obscure and inglorious death. And so, having admitted his friends, as well as his physicians, he said: "You see in what a crisis of my affairs Fortune has surprised me. Methinks I hear the din of hostile arms, and I who was the aggressor in war, am now challenged. Thus Darius, when he was writing those haughty letters, had regard to my fortune, but to no purpose, if I am allowed to be treated according to my desire. My exigency cannot wait for slow remedies and

dilatory physicians; in my opinion it is better even to die speedily than to recover tardily. Therefore, if there is any help, if there is any skill, in physicians, let them know that I do not so much desire a remedy against death as one that will enable me to make war.”

[14] *Ingentem omnibus incusserat curam tam praeceps temeritas eius.* [15] *Ergo pro se quisque precari coepere, ne festinatione periculum augeter, sed esset in potestate medentium: inexperta remedia haud iniuria ipsis esse suspecta, cum ad perniciem eius etiam a latere ipsius pecunia sollicitaret hostis.* [16] *Quippe Dareus mille talenta interfectori Alexandri daturum se pronuntiari iusserat. Itaque ne ausurum quidem quemquam arbitrabantur experiri remedium, quod propter novitatem posset esse suspectum.*

This headlong rashness of the king had smitten all with great anxiety. Hence each man individually began to entreat him not to increase his danger by haste but to submit to the control of his physicians; that they had good reason to suspect untried remedies, since his enemy was bribing someone to destroy him even from among his own intimates. And in fact Darius had ordered it to be proclaimed that he would give a thousand talents to the slayer of Alexander. Hence they thought that no one would venture even to try a remedy which on account of its novelty could be suspected.

Erat inter nobiles medicos ex Macedonia regem secutos Philippus, natione Acarnan, fidus admodum regi: puero comes et custos salutis datus non ut regem modo, sed etiam ut alumnum eximia caritate diligebat. [2] *Is non praeceps se, sed strenuum remedium adferre tantamque vim morbi potione medicata levaturum esse promisit.* [3] *Nulli promissum eius placebat praeter ipsum, cuius periculo pollicebatur. Omnia quippe facilius quam moram perpeti poterat: arma et acies in oculis erant, et victoriam in eo positam esse arbitrabatur, si tantum ante signa stare potuisset, id ipsum, quod post diem tertium medicamentum sumpturus esset —* [4] *ita enim medicus praedixerat — aegre ferens.*

VI. Among the famous physicians who had followed the king from Macedonia was Philip, a native of Acarnania, most loyal to Alexander; made the king's comrade and the guardian of his health from boyhood, he loved him with extreme affection, not only as his king, but even as a foster-child. He promised to apply a remedy that was not sudden but effective, and to allay the violence of his illness, great — as it was, with a medicated draught. His promise pleased no one except the very one at whose peril it was made. For the king could endure anything except delay; arms and armies were before his eyes, and he thought that victory depended merely upon his ability to take his place before the standards, impatient only because he was not to take the draught until the third day should have come — for so the physician had directed.

Inter haec a Parmenione, fidissimo purpuratorum, litteras accipit, [p. 17] quibus ei denuntiabat, ne salutem suam Philippo committeret: mille talentis a Dareo et spe nuptiarum sororis eius esse corruptum. [5] Ingentem animo sollicitudinem litterae incusserant, et, quidquid in utramque partem aut metus aut spes subiecerat, secreta aestimatione pensabat. [6] ‘Bibere perseverem? ut, si venenum datum fuerit, ne inmerito quidem, quidquid acciderit, evenisse videatur? Damnem medici fidem? in tabernaculo ergo me opprimi patiar? At satius est alieno me mori scelere quam metu nostro.’ [7] Diu animo in diversa versato nulli, quid scriptum esset, enuntiat epistulamque sigillo anuli sui inpresso pulvino, cui incubabat, subicit. [8] Inter has cogitationes biduo absumpto inluxit a medico destinatus dies, et ille cum is poculo, in quo medicamentum diluerat, intravit. [9] Quo viso Alexander levato corpore in cubili epistulam a Parmenione missam sinistra manu tenens accipit poculum et haurit interritus: tum epistulam legere Philippum iubet nec a vultu legentis movit oculos, ratus, aliquas conscientiae notas in ipso ore posse deprehendere. [10] Ille epistula perfecta plus indignationis quam pavoris ostendit proiectisque amiculo et litteris ante lectum: ‘Rex,’ inquit, ‘semper quidem spiritus meus ex te pependit, sed nunc vere arbitror sacro et venerabili ore trahi tuo. [11] Crimen parricidii, quod mihi obiectum est, tua salus diluet: servatus a me vitam mihi dederis. Oro quaesoque, omisso metu patere medicamentum concipi venis: laxa paulisper animum, quem intempestiva sollicitudine amici sane fideles, sed moleste seduli turbant.’ Non securum modo haec vox, sed etiam laetum regem ac plenum bonae spei fecit. [p. 18] [12] Itaque: ‘Si di,’ inquit, ‘Philippe, tibi permisissent, quo maxime modo velles, animum experiri meum, alio profecto voluisses, sed certiore, quam expertus es, ne optasses quidem: [13] hac epistula accepta tamen, quod dilueras, bibi. Et nunc crede me non minus pro tua fide quam pro mea salute esse sollicitum.’ Haec elocutus dextram Philippo offert. [14] Ceterum tanta vis medicamenti fuit, ut, quae secuta sunt, criminationem Parmenionis adiuverint: interclusus spiritus arte meabat. Nec Philippus quicquam inexpertum omisit: ille fomenta corpori admovit, ille torpentem nunc cibo, nunc vini odore excitavit. [15] Atque ut primum mentis compotem esse sensit, modo matris sororumque, modo tautae victoriae adpropinquantis admonere non destitit. [16] Ut vero medicamentum se diffudit in venas et sensim toto corpore salubritas percipi potuit, primum animus vigorem suum, deinde corpus quoque expectatione maturius recupera vit: [17] quippe post tertium diem, quam in hoc statu fuerat, in conspectum militum venit. Nec avidius ipsum regem quam Philippum intuebatur exercitus: pro se quisque dextram eius amplexi grates habebant velut praesenti deo. Namque haud facile dictu est, praeter ingenitam illi genti erga reges suos venerationem quantum huius utique regis vel admiratione dediti ei fuerint vel caritate flagraverint. [18] Iam primum nihil sine divina ope adgredi videbatur: [19] nam cum praesto esset ubique fortuna, et temeritas in gloriam cesserat. Aetas quoque vix tantis matura rebus, sed abunde sufficiens omnia eius opera honestabat. Et quae leviora haberi solent [p. 19] plerumque, militari gratiora

vulgo sunt, exercitatio corporis inter ipsos, cultus habitusque paulum a privato abhorrens, militaris vigor: [20] quis ille vel ingenii dotibus vel animi artibus, ut pariter carus ac venerandus esset, effecerat.

In the meantime he received a letter from Parmenion, the most faithful of his generals, in which he strongly warned the king not to trust his life to Philip; that he had been bribed by Darius with a thousand talents and the hope of marriage with the king's sister. This letter had filled Alexander's mind with great anxiety, and whatever fear or hope cast into either scale he weighed in secret calculation.

Should I resolve to take the draught, with the result that if poison shall have been given me, it may seem that I deserved whatever shall have happened? Shall I distrust the loyalty of my physician? Shall I then allow myself to be overwhelmed in my tent? But better for me to die of another's crime than of my own fear." After having turned his thoughts in various directions for a long time, he revealed to no one what had been written, but impressed the seal of his ring upon the letter and put it under the pillow on which he was lying.

After he had spent two days in such thoughts as these, the day designated by the physician dawned, and Philip entered with the cup in which he had mixed the drug. On seeing him Alexander raised himself in bed and, holding the letter sent by Parmenion in his left hand, took the cup and drank fearlessly; then he bade Philip read the letter, and he did not turn his eyes from the physician's face as he read, thinking that he would be able to detect any signs of guilt in his very expression. But Philip, when he had read the letter through, showed more indignation than fear, and throwing his cloak and the letter before the couch: "My king," said he, "the breath of my life has always depended upon you, but now, I verily believe that it is drawn by your sacred and revered lips. The accusation of murder with which I have been charged your recovery will refute; when saved by me you will have given me life. I beg and beseech you, cease your fear; allow the remedy to be taken into your veins; free for a time your mind, which your friends, faithful indeed but, alas, officious, are disturbing by their ill-timed solicitude."

These words made the king, not only free from care, but even joyful and full of good hope. Accordingly he said: "If the gods, Philip, had granted you to test my feelings in the manner which you most desired, you would surely have chosen a different way, but you could not even have wished for a surer one than you experienced, since after receiving this letter nevertheless drank the mixture you had prepared.

And now, believe me, I am not less anxious to prove your loyalty than I am for my recovery." Having said this, he offered Philip his right hand. But so great was the strength of the drug that what followed seemed to support the calumny of Parmenion. The king's breath was impeded and passed with

difficulty. But Philip left nothing untried; it was he that applied hot lotions to the king's body, he that roused him from languor by the odour now of food, [15] now of wine. As soon as he perceived that Alexander was conscious, he did not cease to remind him at one time of his mother and sisters, again of his [16] approaching great victory. But as the drug spread into the king's veins and gradually its healing power could be felt in his whole body, at first his mind regained its vigour and then his body also, more speedily than could have been expected; for after the third day which he had spent in that condition, he appeared in sight of the soldiers.

Nor did the army look with more eagerness upon the king himself than upon Philip; each man individually grasped the physician's right hand and returned thanks, as if to an all-powerful god. For it is not easily expressed how great, apart from the native reverence of the Macedonians for their kings, was their admiring devotion to this particular king, first of all their burning affection for him. For of all, he seemed to undertake nothing without divine help; for since good fortune everywhere attended him, his very rashness had resulted in glory.

His years too which seemed hardly ripe for such great deeds, but had proved amply sufficient, enhanced all his exploits. Also things which are commonly regarded as trifling, are usually more pleasing to a crowd of soldiers: bodily exercise in their company, dress and bearing differing but little from those of a man in private station, a soldier's vigour; by these, whether they were natural gifts or consciously acquired, he had made himself alike beloved and worthy of deep respect.

At Dareus nuntio de adversa valitudine eius accepto celeritate, quantam capere tam grave agmen poterat, ad Euphraten contendit iunctoque eo pontibus quinque tamen diebus traiecit exercitum Ciliciam occupare festinans. [2] Iam Alexander viribus corporis receptis ad urbem Solos pervenerat: cuius potitus ducentis talentis multae nomine exactis arci praesidium militum inposuit. [3] Vota deinde pro salute suscepta per ludum atque otium reddens ostendit, quanta fiducia barbaros sperneret: [4] quippe Aesculapio et Minervae ludos celebravit. Spectanti nuntius laetus adfertur Halicarnaso Persas acie a suis esse superatos, Myndios quoque et Caunios et pleraque tractus eius suae facta dicionis. [5] Igitur edito spectaculo ludicro castrisque motis et Pyramo amne ponte iuncto ad urbem Mallum pervenit, inde alteris castris ad oppidum Castabalum. [6] Ibi Parmenio regi occurrit: praemiserat ad explorandum iter saltus, per quem ad urbem Isson nomine penetrandum erat. [7] Atque ille angustiis eius occupatis et praesidio modico relicto Isson quoque desertam a barbaris ceperat. Inde progressus deturbatis, qui interiora montium obsidebant, praesidiis cuncta firmavit occupatoque itinere, sicut paulo ante dictum est, idem et auctor et nuntius venit. [8] Isson deinde rex copias admovit. Ubi consilio habito, utrumne ultra progrediendum foret, an ibi [p. 20] opperendi

essent novi milites, quos ex Macedonia adventare constabat, Parmenio non alium locum proelio aptiorem esse censebat. [9] Quippe illic utriusque regis copias numero futuras pares, cum angustiae multitudinem non caperent: planitiem ipsis camposque esse vitandos, ubi circumiri, ubi ancipiti acie opprimi possent. Timere, ne non virtute hostium, sed lassitudine sua vincerentur: [10] Persas recentes subinde successuros. si laxius stare potuissent. Facile ratio tam salubris consilii accepta est. Itaque inter angustias saltus hostem opperiri statuit. [11] Erat in exercitu regis Sisines Perses: quondam a praetore Aegypti missus ad Philippum donisque et omni honore cultus exilium patria sede mutaverat, [12] secutus deinde in Asiam Alexandrum inter fideles socios habebatur. Huic epistulam Cretensis miles obsignatam anulo, cuius signum haud sane notum erat, tradidit. Nabarzanes, praetor Darei, miserat eam horta baturque Sisinem, ut dignum aliquid nobilitate atque moribus suis ederet: [13] magno id ei apud regem honori fore. Has litteras Sisines, utpote innoxius, ad Alexandrum saepe deferre temptavit, sed cum tot curis apparatuque belli regem videret urgueri, aptius subinde tempus expectans suspicionem initi scelesti consilii praeiit. [14] Namque epistula, priusquam ei redderetur, in manus Alexandri pervenerat, lectamque eam et ignoti anuli sigillo inpresso Sisini dari iusserat ad aestimandam fidem barbari. [15] Qui quia per conplures dies non adierat regem, scelesto consilio eam visus est suppressisse et in agmine a Cretensibus haud dubie iussu regis occisus. [p. 21]

VII. But Darius, after having received news of Alexander's illness, with all the speed of which so heavy an army was capable hastened to the Euphrates, spanned it with a pontoon bridge, but still got his army across within five days, in his haste to obtain possession of Cilicia. Already Alexander had recovered his physical vigour and had arrived at the city of Soli; having taken possession of this, he exacted, by way of a fine, two hundred talents and placed a garrison of soldiers in the citadel. Then with sport and holiday he paid the vows that had been pledged for his safety, thus showing with what great confidence he scorned the barbarians; for he celebrated games in honour of Aesculapius and Minerva. As he was viewing the games, the joyful news arrived from Halicarnassus that the Persians had been defeated in battle by his troops, and also that the Myndii, the Caunii, and the greater part of that region had been brought under his sway.

Accordingly, having finished the public games, moved his camp, and bridged the Pyramus River, he arrived at the city of Mallus, and from there, on the second day, he came to the town of Castabalum.

There Parmenion met the king; he had been sent ahead to reconnoitre the road through the mountain-pass through which they must go to reach the city called Issus. And Parmenion, after taking possession of the narrowest part of this road, and leaving there a guard of moderate size, had captured Issus, which also had been abandoned by the barbarians. From this as a base he dislodged

those who held posts in the mountains farther inland, secured everything by garrisons, and having got possession of the road, as was said a little while ago, came as newsbringer of his own accomplishments.

[8] Then Alexander moved his forces to Issus. There, after deliberating whether they ought to advance farther or wait where they were for the fresh troops that were known to be coming from Macedonia, Parmenion expressed the opinion that no other place was more suitable for a battle. For there the forces of both kings would be equal in number, since the narrow space could not contain a multitude of men; his men ought to avoid a plain and the open fields, where they might be caught and crushed in a pincer manœuvre. He feared that they might be defeated, not by the enemies' valour, but by their own weariness; fresh Persians would constantly be coming to the front, if they were allowed to take more open order. The force of such salutary advice was readily acknowledged. Therefore Alexander decided to await the enemy amid the defiles of the mountains.

[11] There was in the king's army a Persian called Sisines; he had been sent formerly to King Philip by the satrap of Egypt, and having been courted with gifts and honours of every kind, he had exchanged his native abode for exile; later he followed Alexander into Asia and was regarded as one of his loyal companions. To him a Cretan soldier delivered a letter sealed with a ring the device of which was not at all known to him. Nabarzanes, a general of Darius, had sent it, urging Sisines to accomplish something worthy of his rank and character; that it would bring him great honour with Darius. This letter Sisines, since he was innocent of any evil intention, often tried to turn over to Alexander, but since he saw that the king was burdened with so many cares and with preparation for war, he waited from time to time for a more favourable opportunity, and thus incurred the suspicion of having harboured some criminal design. For the letter, before it was delivered to him, had come into Alexander's hands, who, after reading and sealing it with a ring unknown to Sisines, had ordered that it be given to him, for the purpose of testing the barbarian's loyalty. But since he had not approached Alexander for several days, it seemed that he had suppressed the letter with criminal intent, and he was killed on the march by the Cretans, undoubtedly by Alexander's order.

Iamque Graeci milites, quos Thymondas a Pharnabazo acceperat, praecipua spes et propemodum unica, ad Dareum pervenerant. [2] Hi magnopere suadebant, ut retro abiret spatiososque Mesopotamiae campos repeteret: si id consilium damnaret, at ille divideret saltem innumerabiles copias neu sub unum fortunae ictum totas vires regni cadere pateretur. [3] Minus hoc regi quam purpuratis eius displicebat: ancipitem fidem et mercede venalem proditioni imminere et dividi non ob aliud copias velle, quam ut ipsi in diversa digressi, si quid commissum esset, traderent Alexandro: [4] nihil tutius fore quam circumdatos eos exercitu toto obrui telis, documentum non inultae

perfidiae futuros. [5] At Dareus, ut erat sanctus ac mitis, se vero tantum facinus negat esse facturum, ut suam secutos fidem, suos milites iubeat trucidari: quem deinde amplius nationum exterarum salutem suam crediturum sibi, si tot militum sanguine inbuisset manus? [6] Neminem stolidum consilium capite luere debere: defuturos enim, qui suaderent, si suasisse periculosum esset. Denique ipsos cotidie ad se advocari in consilium variasque sententias dicere, nec tamen melioris fidei haberi, qui prudentius suaserit. [7] Itaque Graecis nuntiari iubet, ipsum quidem benivolentiae illorum gratias agere, ceterum, si retro ire pergat, haud dubie regnum hostibus traditurum: fama bella stare et eum, qui recedat, fugere credi. [8] Trahendi vero belli vix ullam esse rationem: tantae enim multitudini, utique cum iam hiems instaret, in regione vasta et invicem a suis atque hoste vexata [p. 22] non suffectura alimenta. [9] Ne dividi quidem copias posse servato more maiorum, qui universas vires discrimini bellorum semper obtulerint. [10] Et, hercule, terribilem antea regem et absentia sua ad vanam fiduciam elatum, postquam adventare se senserit, cautum pro temerario factum delituisse inter angustias saltus ritu ignobilium ferarum, quae strepitu praetereuntium audito silvarum latebris se occulerent. [11] Iam etiam valitudinis simulatione frustrari suos milites. Sed non amplius ipsum esse passurum detrectare certamen:

VIII. And now the Greek soldiers whom Thymondas had received from Pharnabazus had come to Darius, his principal and almost sole hope. They strongly advised him to go back and return to the spacious plains of Mesopotamia; or, if he disapproved of that plan, that he should at least divide his count - less forces and not allow the entire strength of his kingdom to fall under one stroke of Fortune. This advice was less displeasing to the king than to his courtiers; they declared that men of doubtful loyalty, to be bought for pay, were intent upon treachery, and wished his forces to be divided for no other purpose than that the Greeks might go off in different directions, and betray to Alexander whatever should be entrusted to them; that nothing would be more prudent than to surround them with his whole army and overwhelm them with weapons, as a lesson that treachery does not go unpunished.

[4] But Darius, being upright and mild, declared that he certainly would not commit such a crime as to order men who had trusted his word, his own soldiers, to be [5] butchered; what man of the foreign nations would ever thereafter trust his safety to him, if he should have stained his hands with the blood of so many soldiers? No one ought to atone for stupid advice with his life; for there would be none who would give counsel, if to have advised were perilous. Finally they themselves were daily called to him for consultation, and expressed varying opinions, yet one who advised more wisely than another was not regarded as of greater loyalty. Accordingly, he ordered reply to be made to the Greeks, that he personally thanked them for their goodwill, but that if he should proceed to withdraw, he would undoubtedly be handing over his kingdom to the enemy; that the result of wars depends on reputation

and one who retreats is believed to be in flight. In fact, there was hardly any reason for prolonging the war; for, especially since winter was already at hand, there would not be sufficient supplies for so great a multitude as his, in a devastated region which had been laid waste in turn by his own forces and by the enemy. Besides, his forces could not be divided if the custom of his forefathers was observed, who always opposed their entire strength to a crisis in war. And, by Heaven! Alexander, a king terrible before and now raised to vain self-confidence by the absence of his opponent, as soon as he knew that he was coming, made wary instead of rash, had hidden in the defiles of the mountains after the manner of inglorious beasts, which, when they hear the noise of wayfarers, conceal themselves in their lairs in the woods. That, moreover, Alexander was now deluding his soldiers by pretending to be ill. But that he would no longer suffer him to shun the conflict; in that cave into which the cowards had fled for refuge he would crush them all as they skulked there.

[12] in illo specu, in quem pavidi recessissent, oppressurum esse cunctantes. Haec magnificentius iactata quam verius. Ceterum pecunia omni rerumque pretiosissimis Damascus Syriae cum modico praesidio militum missis reliquas copias in Ciliciam duxit insequentibus more patrio agmen coniuge ac matre. Virgines quoque cum parvo filio comitabantur patrem. [13] Forte eadem nocte et Alexander ad fauces, quibus Syria aditur, et Dareus ad eum locum, quem Amanicas Pylas vocant, pervenit. [14] Nec dubitavere Persae, quin Isso relictis, quam ceperant, Macedones fugerent: nam etiam saucii quidam et invalidi, qui agmen non poterant persequi, excepti erant. [15] Quos omnis instinctu purpuratorum barbara feritate saevientium praecisis adustisque manibus circumduci, ut copias suas noscerent, satisque omnibus spectatis nuntiare, quae vidissent, [16] regi suo iussit. Motis ergo castris superat Pinarum amnem in tergis, ut credebat, fugientium haesurus. At illi, quorum amputaverat manus, ad castra Macedonum penetrant Dareum, [17] quanto maximo cursu posset, sequi nuntiantes. Vix fides habebatur: itaque [p. 23] speculatores mari in eas regiones praemissos explorare iubet, ipse adesset, an praefectorum aliquis speciem praebuisset universi venientis exercitus. [18] Sed dum speculatores reverterentur, procul ingens multitudo conspecta est. Ignes deinde totis campis conlucer coeperunt, omniaque velut continenti incendio ardere visa, cum incondita multitudo maxime propter iumenta laxius tenderet. [19] Itaque eo ipso loco metari suos castra iusserat, laetus — quod omni expetierat voto — [20] in illis potissimum angustiis decernendum fore. Ceterum, ut solet fieri, cum ultimi discriminis tempus adventat, in sollicitudinem versa fiducia est. Illam ipsam fortunam, qua adspirante res tam prospere gesserat, verebatur nec iniuria ex his, quae tribuisset sibi, quamque mutabilis esset, reputabat: unam superesse noctem, quae tanti discriminis moraretur eventum. [21] Rursus occurrebat, maiora periculis praemia et, sicut dubium esset, an vinceret, ita illud utique certum esse, honeste et cum magna laude moriturum. [22] Itaque corpora milites curare iussit ac deinde tertia vigilia

instructos et armatos esse: ipse in iugum editi montis escendit multisque conluentibus facibus patrio more sacrificium dis praesidibus loci fecit. [23] Iamque tertium, sicut praeceptum erat, signum tuba miles acceperat itineri simul paratus ac proelio, strenueque iussi procedere oriente luce pervenerunt ad angustias, quas occupare decreverant. [24] Dareum XXX inde stadia abesse praemissi indicabant. Tunc consistere agmen iubet armisque ipse sumptis aciem ordinat. Dareo adventum hostium pavidi agrestes nuntiaverunt vix credenti occurrere etiam, quos ut fugientes [p. 24] sequebatur. [25] Invadebat ergo non mediocris omnium animos formido — quippe itineri quam proelio aptiores erant —, raptimque arma capiebant. Sed ipsa festinatio discurrentium suosque ad arma vocantium maiorem metum incussit: [26] alii in iugum montis evaserant, ut hostium agmen inde prospicerent, equos plerique frenabant. Discors exercitus nec ad unum intentus imperium vario tumultu cuncta turbaverat. [27] Dareus initio iugum montis cum parte copiarum occupare statuit, et a fronte et a tergo circumiturus hostem, a mari quoque, quo dextrum eius cornu tegebatur, alios obiecturus, ut undique urgueret. [28] Praeter haec viginti milia praemissa cum sagittariorum manu Pinarum amnem, qui duo agmina interfluebat, transire et obicere sese Macedonum copiis iusserat: si id praestare non possent, retrocedere in montes et occulte circuire ire ultimos hostium. [29] Ceterum destinata salubriter omni ratione potentior fortuna discussit: quippe alii prae metu imperium exequi non audebant, [30] alii frustra exequabantur, quia, ubi partes labant, summa turbatur.

[12] These boasts were more pretentious than justified. However, after sending all his money and his most valuable possessions to Damascus in Syria, with a moderately large guard of soldiers, he led the rest of his forces into Cilicia, his wife and mother following the army, according to the custom of his nation. His unmarried daughters also, and his little son, accompanied their father.

[13] It chanced that on the same night Alexander came to the pass by which Syria is entered, and Darius to the place which is known as the Amanican Gates.

The Persians had no doubt that the Macedonians had abandoned Issus, which they had taken, and were in flight; in fact, some of the wounded and sick, who could not keep up with the army, were taken. All these, after their hands had been cut off and seared, at the instigation of his courtiers, who were raging with barbaric savagery, Darius ordered to be led about, in order that they might know his numbers, and then, after having had a full view of everything, might announce to their king what they had seen.

[16] Then he moved his camp and crossed the river Pinarus, in order to follow hard on the backs of the fugitives, as he believed them to be. But those whose hands he had cut off made their way to the Macedonians' camp and reported that Darius was following with the greatest speed of which he was capable. They could hardly be believed; therefore Alexander ordered scouts, sent

ahead by sea to those regions, to find out whether Darius was coming in person, or whether some one of his generals had made believe that the whole army was on its way.

[18] But while the scouts were returning, a great multitude was seen at a distance. Then fires began to shine all over the plains, and everything seemed ablaze with a continuous conflagration, since the disorderly throng pitched its tents over a greater space than usual, especially on account of the number of pack-animals. Hence Alexander ordered his men to measure off a camp right where they were, rejoicing because — as he had sought with every prayer — the battle would have to be fought in those narrow ^[20] quarters rather than anywhere else. However, as usually happens, when the time of the final decision drew near, his confidence gave place to anxiety. He feared that very Fortune through whose favour he had been so successful, and naturally enough, from what she had bestowed upon him he was led to think how fickle she is; a single night remained to delay the outcome of so great a crisis. On the other hand, he bethought himself that the prizes were greater than the dangers, and that although it was doubtful whether he would be victor, yet one thing at least was certain, that he would die nobly and with great glory.

[22] Therefore he ordered the soldiers to refresh themselves, and then to be ready and armed at the third watch; he himself mounted to the summit of a lofty mountain and by the bright light of many torches offered sacrifice to the tutelary gods of the place. And now the soldiers, ready at the same time for both the march and for battle, had received the third signal of the trumpet and, as warned beforehand, were ordered to advance vigorously; and at daybreak they came to the narrow place which they had decided to hold. Those who had been sent ahead reported that Darius was thirty stadia distant from there. Then Alexander ordered the army to halt, and having armed himself arranged his order of battle.

The terrified peasants reported the coming of the enemy to Darius, who found it difficult to believe that those whom he was pursuing as fugitives were actually advancing to meet him. Hence no slight dread assailed the minds of all — for they were prepared rather for marching than for battle — and they hurriedly armed themselves. But the very haste of those who were running about and calling their companions to arms inspired greater fear; some had gone up to the ridge of the mountain to look out from there for the enemy's line of march, very many were bridling their horses. The army, in disorder and attending to more than one command, by its varied tumult had thrown everything into confusion.

[27] In the beginning Darius had determined to take possession of the ridge of the mountain with a part of his forces, intending to surround the enemy in front and in the rear; and on the side also of the sea, by which his right wing was protected, he planned to throw forward others, in order to press hard on

all [28] sides at once. Besides this, he had ordered twenty thousand, who had been sent ahead with a force of archers, to cross the Pinarus River, which flowed between the two armies, and to oppose themselves to the forces of the Macedonians; if they could not accomplish that, they were to withdraw to the mountains and secretly surround the hindmost of the enemy. But Fortune, more powerful than any [30] calculation, shattered this advantageous plan; for because of fear some did not dare to carry out the order, others vainly tried to do so, because, when parts waver, the whole is upset.

Acies autem hoc modo stetit. Nabarzanes equitatu dextrum cornu tuebatur additis fundi torum sagittariorumque viginti fere milibus. [2] In eodem Thymondas erat Graecis peditibus mercede conductis, triginta milibus, praepositus. [3] Hoc erat haud dubie robur exercitus, par Macedonicae phalangi acies. In laevo cornu Aristomedes Thessalus xx milia barbarorum peditum habebat. [4] In subsidiis pugnacissimas locaverat gentes. Ipsum regem in eodem cornu dimicaturum tria milia delectorum equitum, adsueta corporis custodia, et pede- [p. 25] stris acies, [5] quadraginta milia sequebantur, Hyrcani deinde Medique equites, his proximi ceterarum gentium ultra eos dextra laevaeque dispositi. Hoc agmen, sicut dictum est, instructum vi milia iaculatorum funditorumque antecedeabant. [6] Quidquid in illis angustiis adiri poterat, inpleverant copiae, cornuaque hinc ab iugo, illinc a mari stabant, uxorem matremque regis et alium feminarum gregem in medium agmen acceperant. [7] Alexander phalangem, qua nihil apud Macedonas validius erat, in fronte constituit. Dextrum cornu Nicanor, Parmenionis filius, tuebatur: huic proximi stabant Coenos et Perdiccas et Meleager et Ptolomaeus et Amyntas, sui quisque agminis duces. [8] In laevo, quod ad mare pertinebat, Craterus et Parmenio erant, sed Craterus Parmenioni parere iussus. Equites ab iitroque cornu locati: dextrum Macedones Thessalis adiunctis, laevum Peloponnesii tuebantur. [9] Ante hanc aciem posuerat funditorum manum sagittariis admixtis. Thraces quoque et Cretenses ante agmen ibant, et ipsi leviter armati. [10] At iis, qui praemissi ab Dareo iugum montis insederant, Agrianos opposuit ex Thraecia nuper advectos. Parmenioni autem praeceperat, ut, quantum posset, agmen ad mare extenderet, quo longius abesset acies montibus, quos occupaverant barbari. [11] At illi neque obstare venientibus nec circumire praetergressos ausi funditorum maxime aspectu terriți profugerant, eaque res Alexandro tu tum agminis latus, quod ne superne incesseretur, timuerat, praestitit. [12] XXX et duo [p. 26] armatorum ordines ibant: neque enim latins extendi aciem patiebantur angustiae. Paulatim deinde laxare semet sinus montium et maius spatium aperire coeperant, ita ut non pedes solum pluribus in ordinem incedere, sed etiam lateribus circumfundi posset equitatus.

IX. Now Darius' army was arranged as follows. Nabarzanes with the cavalry guarded the right wing, with the addition of about 20,000 slingers and archers.

2 Un the same side was Thymondas, in command of the Greek mercenary

infantry, 30,000 in number. This was beyond question the flower of the army, a force the equal of the Macedonian phalanx. On the left wing Aristomedes, a Thessalian, had 20,000 barbarian foot-soldiers. Darius had placed in reserve the most warlike nations. He himself, intending to fight on the same wing, was followed by 3000 elite horsemen, his usual body-guard, and an infantry force of 40,000; then were arrayed the Hyrcanian and Medic cavalry, next to these that of the remaining nations, projecting beyond them the right and on the left. This army, drawn up as has been said, was preceded by 6000 javelin-throwers and slingers. Whatever room there was in that narrow space his forces had filled, and the wings rested on the one side on the mountains, on the other on the sea; they had placed the king's wife and mother, and the remaining throng of women, in the centre.

Alexander had stationed the phalanx, the strongest part of any Macedonian army, in the van. Nicanor, son of Parmenion, guarded the right wing; next to him stood Coenus, Perdikkas, Meleager, Ptolemaeus, and Amyntas, each in command of his own troops. On the left wing, which extended to the sea, were Craterus and Parmenion, but Craterus was ordered to obey Parmenion. The cavalry were stationed on both wings; the right was held by Macedonians, joined with Thessalians, the left by the Peloponnesians. Before this battle-line he had stationed a band of slingers mingled with bowmen. Thracians also and the Cretans were in the van; these two were in light armour, but to those who, sent ahead by Sarius had taken their place on the ridge of the mountain he opposed the Agriani directed Parmenion to extend his line as far as possible towards the sea, in order that his line of battle might be farther away from the mountains on which the barbarians were posted. But they, having dared neither to oppose the Macedonians as they came up nor to surround them after they had gone past, had fled, especially alarmed by the sight of the slingers; and that action had made safe the flank of Alexander's army, which he had feared might be assailed from above. The Macedonian army advanced in thirty-two ranks; for the narrow place did not allow the line to be extended more widely. Then the folds of the mountains began to widen and open a greater space, so that not only could the infantry take their usual order, but the cavalry could cover their flanks. —

Iam in conspectu, sed extra teli iactum utraque acies erat, cum priores Persae inconditum et trucem sustulere clamorem. [2] Redditur et a Macedonibus, maior exercitus numero, iugis montium vastisque saltibus repressus: quippe semper circumiecta nemora petraeque, quantamcumque accepere vocem, multiplicato sono referunt. [3] Alexander ante prima signa ibat identidem manu SU08 inhibens, ne suspensi acrius ob nimiam festinationem concitato spiritu capesserent proelium. [4] Cumque agmini obequicaret, varia oratione, ut cuiusque animis aptum erat, milites adloquebatur. Macedones, tot bellorum in Europa victores, ad subigendam Asiam atque ultima Orientis non ipsius magis quam suo ductu profecti, inveteratae virtutis admonebantur: [5] illos terrarum

orbis liberatores emensosque olim Herculis et Liberi patris terminos non Persis modo, sed etiam omnibus gentibus iuposituros iugum. [6] Macedonum provincias Bactra et Indos fore. Minima esse, quae nunc intuerentur, sed omnia victoria aperiri. Non in praeruptis petris Illyriorum et Thraciae saxis sterilem laborem fore, spolia totius Orientis offerri. gladio futurum opus: totam aciem suo pavore fluctuantem umbonibus posse propelli. [7] Victor ad haec Atheniensium Philippus pater invocabatur, domitaeque nuper Boeotiae et urbis in ea nobilissimae ad solum [p. 27] dirutae species repraesentabatur animis. Iam Granicum alrmem, iam tot urbes aut expugnatas aut in fidem acceptas omniaque, quae post tergum erant, strata et pedibus ipsorum subiecta memorabat. [8] Cum adierat Graecos, admonebat ab his gentibus inlata Graeciae bella Darei prius, deinde Xerxis insolentia, aquam ipsos terramque poscentium, ut ne que fontium haustum nec solitos cibos relinquerent deditis. [9] Ab his templa minis et ignibus esse deleta, urbes eorum expugnatas, foedera divini humanique iuris violata referebat. Illyrios vero et Thracas raptò vivere adsuetos aciem hostium auro purpuraque fulgentem intueri iubebat, praedam, non arma gestantem: [10] irent et inbellibus feminis aurum viri eriperent, aspera montium suorum iuga nudasque calles et perpetuo rigentes gelu divitibus Persarum campis agrisque mutarent.

X. Already the two armies were in sight of each other, but not yet within spear-range, when the foremost Persians raised confused and savage shouts. These were returned also by the Macedonians, making a sound too loud for their actual numbers, since they were echoed by the mountain heights and huge forests; for surrounding rocks and trees always send back with increased din whatever sound they have received. Alexander went on ahead of his foremost standards repeatedly checking his men by a gesture of his hand, in order that they might not in too eager excitement be out of breath when they entered the battle. And as he rode past the ranks, he addressed the soldiers in different terms, such as were appropriate to the feelings of each. The Macedonians, victors in Europe in so many wars, who had set out, not more under his lead than their own, to subjugate Asia and the farthest parts of the Orient were reminded of their old-time valour-they, the liberators of the whole world, who had formerly passed beyond the bounds of Hercules and Father Liber, would impose their yoke, not alone on the Persians, but also on all nations. Bactra and the Indi would be provinces of the Macedonians. What they now saw before them was the least of their spoils, but everything is laid open to men by victory.

Theirs would not be a profitless labour on the steep rocks of Illyricum and the crags of Thrace, but the spoils of the whole Orient were before them. They would hardly need the sword; that whole army, wavering because of its own fear, could be driven before them by the bosses of their shields. He invoked, besides, his father Philip, victor over the Athenians, and presented to their minds a picture of the recent subjugation of Boeotia and the razing to the

ground of its most famous city. He spoke now of the river Granicus, now of so many cities either stormed or received in surrender, and called to mind that all that was behind them had been overthrown and trampled under their feet. Whenever he came to Greek troops, he reminded them that it was by these nations that war had been made upon their country through the insolence first of Darius and then of Xerxes, who demanded from them earth and water, in order to leave to the surrendered neither a draught from their springs nor their usual food. By these their temples had been overthrown and burned, their cities stormed, and the obligations of human and ^[10] divine law violated. As to the Illyrians and the Thracians, men accustomed to live by plunder, he bade them look upon the enemies' army, gleaming with gold and purple, bearing booty rather than arms; let them go on as men and snatch their gold from cowardly women, exchanging their bare mountain-tracks, stiff with perpetual frost, for the rich fields and plains of the Persians.

Iam ad teli iactum pervenerant, cum Persarum equites ferociter in laevum cornu hostium invecti sunt: quippe Dareus equestri proelio decernere optabat phalangem Macedonici exercitus robur esse coniectans. Iamque etiam dextrum Alexandri cornu circumibatur. ^[2] Quod ubi Macedo conspexit, duabus alis equitum ad iugum montis iussis subsistere ceteros in medium belli discrimen strenue transfert. ^[3] Subductis deinde ex acie Thessalis equitibus praefectum eorum occulte circumire tergum suorum iubet Parmenionique coniungi et, quod is imperasset, inpigre exequi. ^[4] Iamque immissi in medium Persarum undique circumfusi egregie tuebantur se, sed conferti et quasi cohaerentes tela vibrare non ^[p. 28] poterant: simul erant emissa in hostem, concurrentia implicabantur levique et vano ictu pauca in hostem, plura in humum innoxia cadebant. Ergo comminus pugnam coacti conserere gladios inpigre stringunt. ^[5] Tum vero multum sanguinis fusum est: duae quippe acies ita cohaerebant, ut armis arma pulsarent, mucrones in ora dirigerent. Non timido, non ignavo cessare tum licuit: collato pede, quasi singuli inter se dimicarent, in eodem vestigio stabant, donec vincendo locum sibi facerent. ^[6] Tum demum ergo promovebant gradum, cum hostem prostraverant. At illos novus excipiebat adversarius fatigatos, nec vulnerati, ut alias solent, acie poterant excedere, cum hostis instaret a fronte, a tergo sui urgerent. ^[7] Alexander non ducis magis quam militis munia exequabatur opimum decus caeso rege expetens: quippe Dareus curru sublimis eminebat, et suis ad se tuendum et hostibus ad incessendum ingens incitamentum. ^[8] Ergo frater eius Oxathres, cum Alexandrum instare ei cerneret, equites, quibus praeerat, ante ipsum currum regis obiecit. Armis et robore corporis multum super ceteros eminens, animo vero et pietate in paucissimis, illo utique proelio clarus alios inprovidae instantes prostravit, alios in fugam avertit. ^[9] At Macedones circa regem — et erant mutua adhortatione firmati — cum ipso in equitum agmen inrumpunt. Tum vero similis ruinae strages erat. Circa currum Darei iacebant nobilissimi duces ante oculos regis egregia morte defuncti, omnes in ora proni, sicut dimicantes procubuerant adverso corpore vulneribus acceptis.

XI. Now they had come within spear-throw, when the cavalry of the Persians made a fierce charge upon their enemies' left wing; for Darius chose to make it a contest of cavalry, in the belief that the phalanx was the main strength of the Macedonian army. And now he was beginning to encircle Alexander's [2] right wing also. When the Macedonian saw this, he ordered two squadrons of horsemen to remain on the ridge of the mountains and promptly shifted the rest to the main danger-point of the battle. Then he detached the Thessalian horse from the line of battle, and ordered their commander secretly to pass around the rear of his men and join Parmenion, there to do vigorously whatever he should order. And now, having plunged into the midst of the Persians, although surrounded on all sides, they were defending themselves valiantly; but being crowded together and, as it were, joined man to man, they were not able to poise a their weapons, and as soon as these were hurled, they met one another and were entangled, so that a few fell upon the enemy with a light and ineffective stroke, but more dropped harmless to the ground. Forced therefore to join battle hand to hand, they promptly drew their swords.

[5] Then truly there was great bloodshed; for the two armies were so close together that shield struck against shield, and they directed their sword-points at each others faces. Not the weak, not the cowardly, might then give way; foot to foot they fought together like single champions, standing in the same spot until they could make room for themselves by victory. Therefore they moved ahead only when they had struck down a foeman. But in their fatigue a fresh adversary engaged them, and the wounded could not, as they are wont to do at other times, leave the line of battle, since the enemy were pressing on in front and their own men pushed them back from behind.

[7] Alexander performed the duties not more of a commander than of a soldier, seeking the rich renown of slaying the king; for Darius stood high in his chariot, a great incentive to his own men for protecting him and to the enemy for attack. Therefore his brother Oxathres, when he saw Alexander rushing upon the king, interposed the cavalry which he commanded directly before the chariot of Darius.

Towering high above the rest in arms and bodily strength, and notable in courage and loyalty among a very few, Oxathres, brilliant at any rate in that cattle, struck down some, who pressed on recklessly, and turned others to flight. But the Macedonians round their king — and they were encouraged by mutual exhortation — with Alexander himself broke into the band of horsemen Then indeed men were building fallen in pieces. Around the chariot of Darius lay his most distinguished leaders, slain by a noble death before the eyes of their king all prone on their faces, just as they had fallen while fighting, after receiving wounds in front.

[10] Inter hos Atizyes et Rheomithres et [p. 29] Sabaces, praetor Aegypti, magnorum exercituum praefecti, noscitantur: circa eos cumulata erat

peditum equitumque obscurior turba. Macedonum quoque non quidem multi, sed promptissimi tamen caesi sunt: inter quos Alexandri dextrum femur leviter mucrone perstrictum est. [11] Iam que, qui Dareum vehebant equi, confossi hastis et dolore efferati iugum quaterere et regem curru excutere coeperant, cum ille veritus, ne vivus veniret in hostium potestatem, desilit et in equum, qui ad hoc ipsum sequebatur, inponitur insignibus quoque imperii, ne fugam proderent, indecore abiectis. [12] Tum vero ceteri dissipantur metu et, qua cuique ad fugam patebat via, erumpunt arma iacentes, quae paulo ante ad tutelam corporum sumpserant: adeo pavor etiam auxilia formidat. [13] Instabat fugientibus eques a Parmenione emissus, et forte in illud cornu omnes fuga abstulerat. At in dextro Persae Thessalos equites vehementer urgebant, [14] iamque una ala ipso inpetu proculcata erat, cum Thessali strenue circumactis equis dilapsi rursus in proelium redeunt sparsosque et inconpositos victoriae fiducia barbaros ingenti caede prosternunt. [15] Equi pariter equitesque Persarum serie lamnarum obsiti, genus grave tegmine, quod celeritate maxime constat, aegre moliebantur: quippe in circumagendis equis illos Thessali inulti occupaverant. [16] Hac tam prospera pugna nuntiata Alexander, non ante ausus persequi barbaros, utrimque iam victor instare fugientibus coepit. Haud amplius regem quam mille equites sequebantur, [17] cum ingens multitudo hostium cederet: sed quis aut in victoria aut in fuga [p. 30] copias numerat? Agebantur ergo a tam paucis pecorum modo, et idem metus, qui cogebat fugere, fugientes morabatur. [18] At Graeci, qui in Darei partibus steterant, Amynta duce — praetor hic Alexandri fuerat, tunc transfuga — [19] abrupti a ceteris haud sane fugientibus similes evaserant. Barbari longe diversam fugam intenderunt: alii, qua rectum iter in Persidem ducebat, quidam circumitu rupes saltusque montium occultos petivere, pauci castra Darei. [20] Sed iam ilia quoque victor intraverat omni quidem opulentia ditia. Ingens auri argentique pondus, non belli, sed luxuriae apparatus, diripuerant milites, cumque plus raperent, quam capere possent, passim strata erant itinera vilioribus sarcinis, quas in comparatione meliorum avaritia contempserat. [21] Iamque ad feminas perventum erat. Quibus quo cariora ornamenta sunt, violentius detrahebantur: [22] ne corporibus quidem vis ac libido parcebat. Omni planctu tumultuque, prout cuique fortuna erat, castra repleverant, nec ulla facies mali deerat, cum per omnes ordines aetatesque victoris crudelitas ac licentia vagaretur. [23] Tunc vero inpotentis fortunae species conspici potuit, cum ii, qui Dareo tabernaculum exornaverant omni luxu et opulentia instructum, eadem ilia Alexandro, quasi veteri domino, reservabant. Namque id solum intactum omiserant milites ita tradito more, [24] ut victorem victi regis tabernaculo exciperent. Sed omnium oculos animosque in semet averterant captivae mater coniunxque Darei: ilia non maiestate solum, sed etiam aetate venerabilis, haec formae pulchritudine ne illa quidem sorte corruptae. Receperat in sinum filium nondum sextum annum aetatis egressum, in spem tantae [p. 31] fortunae, quantam pater eius paulo ante amiserat, genitum. [25] At in gremio anus aviae iacebant adultae duae virgines non suo tantum, sed etiam illius maerore

confectae. Ingens circa eam nobilium feminarum turba constiterat laceratis crinibus abscissaque veste, pristini decoris inmemores, reginas dominasque veris quondam, tunc alienis nominibus invocantes. [26] Illae suae calamitatis oblatae, in utro cornu Dareus stetisset, quae fortuna discriminis fuisset, requirebant: negabant se captas, si viveret rex. Sed illum equos subinde mutantem longius fuga abstulerat. [27] In acie autem caesa sunt Persarum peditum C milia, decem equitum, at a parte Alexandri ad quattuor milia quingenti saucii fuere, ex peditibus CCC omnino et duo desiderati sunt, equitum centum quinquaginta interfecti. Tantulo inpendio ingens victoria stetit.

Among them were recognized Atizyes, Rheomithres and Sabaces, governor of Egypt, commanders of great armies; around these were heaped an obscurer throng of infantry and horsemen. Of the Macedonians also were slain, not many indeed, but yet very valiant men; among those wounded, Alexander himself was slightly grazed in the right thigh by a sword.

And already the horses of Darius' chariot, pierced with spears and frantic from pain, had begun to toss the yoke and shake the king from his place, when he, fearing lest he should come alive into the enemies power, leaped down and mounted upon a horse which followed for that very purpose, shamefully casting aside the tokens of his rank, that they might not betray his flight. Then indeed the rest were scattered in fear, and where each had a way of escape open, they burst out, throwing away the arms which a little before they had taken up to protect themselves; to such a degree does panic tear even its means of help.

The cavalry sent forth by Parmenion was pressing the fugitives hard, and, as it happened, their flight had taken them all away to that wing. But on the right the Persians were strongly attacking the thessalian horsemen, and already one squadron had been ridden down by their very onset, when the Thessalians, smartly wheeling their horses about, slipped aside and returning to the fray, with great slaughter overthrew the barbarians, whom confidence in their victory had scattered and thrown into disorder. The horses and horsemen alike of the Persians, weighed down by the linked plates which covered them as far as the knees, were hard put to it to heave their column along; for it was one which depended above all on speed; for the Thessalians in wheeling their horses had far outstripped them.

[16] When this very successful action was reported to Alexander, who before that had not ventured to pursue the barbarians, being now victor on both wings, he began to press after the fugitives. Not more than a thousand horsemen followed the king when the enemies' huge army gave ground; but who in the hour of victory or of flight counts the troops? Therefore the Persians were driven like sheep by so few, and that same fear which forced them to flee now delayed them. But the Greeks who had fought on Darius

side, led by Amyntas — he had been one of Alexander's generals, but was then a deserter — being separated from the rest, had escaped, not at all in the manner of runaways. The barbarians had fled in widely differing directions: some where the direct road led to Persia, others made, by round-about ways, for the rocks and hidden defiles of the mountains, a few for the camp of Darius.' But that camp also, rich with every kind of wealth, the victor had already entered. The soldiers had plundered a huge weight of gold and silver, the equipment, not of war, but of luxury, and since they were taking more than they could carry, the roads were strewn here and there with packs of less value, which their avarice had scorned in comparison with richer prizes.

[21] And now they had reached the women, from whom their ornaments were being torn with the greater violence the more precious they were; force and lust were not sparing even their persons. They had filled the camp with wailing and tumult of every kind, according to the fortune of each; and no form of evil was lacking, since the cruelty and licence of the victor was ranging among all ranks and ages.

[23] Then truly an example of Fortune's tyranny might be seen, since those who had lavishly adorned Darius' tent and supplied it with every luxury and form of wealth were now guarding those same treasures for Alexander, as if for their original owner. For these alone the soldiers had left untouched, since it was an established custom that they should receive the victor in the conquered king's tent.

[24] But the captive mother and wife of Darius had turned the eyes and minds of all upon themselves, the former venerable, not alone because of her majesty, but because of her age as well; the latter because of her beauty, which was not marred even by her present lot. She had taken into her arms a son, who had not yet passed his sixth year, born to the hope of as great a fortune as his father had lost a short time before. But in the lap of their aged grandmother lay two grown-up maidens, her granddaughters, overwhelmed with grief, not for themselves merely, but also for her. About her stood a great throng of highborn women with torn hair and garments rent, forgetful of their former dignity, calling upon their queens and mistresses by titles formerly, but no longer, theirs. They, oblivious of their wretchedness, were asking on what wing Darius had stood, what had been the fortune of the battle; they said that they were not captives if the king still lived. But him, with frequent changes of horses, flight had carried far away.

[27] Now in the battle 100,000 Persian foot-soldiers were killed and 10,000 horsemen. But on Alexander's side about 4500 were wounded, of the infantry in all 302 were missing, of the cavalry, 150 were killed. At so slight a cost was that great victory won.

Rex avidius Dareum persequendo fatigatus, postquam et nox adpetebat et

consequendi spes non erat, in castra paulo ante a suis capta pervenit. [2] Invitari deinde amicos, quibus maxime adsueverat, iussit — quippe summa dumtaxat cutis in femine perstricta non prohibebat interesse convivio — , [3] cum repente e proximo tabernaculo lugubris clamor barbaro ululatu planctuque permixtus epulantes conterruit. Cohors quoque, quae excubabat ad tabernaculum regis, verita, ne maioris motus principium esset, armare se coeperat. [4] Causa subiti pavoris fuit, quod mater uxorque Darei cum captivis nobilibus regem, quem interfectum esse [p. 32] [5] credebant, ingenti gemitu eiulatuque deflebant. Unus namque e captivis spadonibus, qui forte ante ipsarum tabernaculum steterat, amiculum, quod Dareus, sicut paulo ante dictum est, ne cultu proderetur, abiecerat, in manibus eius, qui repertum ferebat, agnovit ratusque interfecto detractum esse falsum nuntium mortis eius attulerat. [6] Hoc mulierum errore conperto Alexander fortunae Darei et pietati earum inlacrimasse fertur. Ac primo Mithrenem, qui Sardis tradiderat, peritum linguae Persicae, ire ad consolandas eas iusserat: [7] veritus deinde, ne proditor captivarum iram doloremque renovaret, Leonnatum ex purpuratis suis misit iussum. indicare, falso lamentari eas vivum. Ille cum paucis armigeris in tabernaculum, in quo captivae erant, pervenit missumque se a rege nuntiari iubet. [8] At ii, qui in vestibulo erant, ut armatos conspexere, rati actum esse de dominis in tabernaculum currunt vociferantes, adesse supremam horam missosque, qui occiderent captas. [9] Itaque, ut quae nec prohibere possent nee admittere auderent, [10] nullo responso dato tacitae opperiebantur victoris arbitrium. Leonnatus expectato diu, qui se introduceret, postquam nemo procedere audebat, relictis in vestibulo satellitibus intrat in tabernaculum. Ea ipsa res turbaverat feminas, quod inrupisse, non admissus videbatur: [11] itaque mater et coniunx provolutae ad pedes orare coeperunt, ut, priusquam interficerentur, Darei corpus ipsis patrio more sepelire permetteret, functas supremo in regem officio impigre [p. 33] esse morituras. [12] Leonnatus et vivere Dareum ait et ipsas non incolumes modo, sed etiam apparatu pristinae fortunae reginas fore. Tum demum Darei mater adlevare se passa est. [13] Alexander postero die cum cura sepultis militibus, quorum corpora invenerat, Persarum quoque nobilissimis eundem honorem haberi iubet matrique Darei permittit, quos vellet, patrio more sepeliret. [14] Illa paucos arta propinquitate coniunctos pro habitu praesentis fortunae humari iussit, apparatus funerum, quo Persae suprema officia celebrarent, invidiosum fore existimans, cum victores haud pretiose cremarentur. [15] Iamque iustis defunctorum corporibus solutis praemittit ad captivas, qui nuntiarent ipsum venire, inhibitaque comitantium turba tabernaculum cum Hephaestione intrat. [16] Is longe omnium amicorum carissimus erat regi: cum ipso pariter eductus, secretorum omnium arbiter libertatis quoque in admonendo eo non alius plus habebat, quod tamen ita usurpabat, ut magis a rege permissum quam vindicatum ab eo videretur. Et sicut aetate par erat regi, ita corporis habitu praestabat: [17] ergo reginae illum esse regem ratae suo more veneratae sunt. Inde ex captivis spadonibus, quis Alexander esset, monstrantibus Sisigambis advoluta est

pedibus eius ignorationem numquam antea visi regis excusans. Quam manu adlevans rex: 'Non errasti,' inquit, 'mater: nam et hic Alexander est.' [18] Equidem hac continentia animi si ad ultimum vitae perseverare potuisset, feliciorem fuisse [p. 34] crederem, quam visus est esse, cum Liberi Patris imitaretur triumphum usque ab Hellesponto ad Oceanum omnes gentes victoria emensus. [19] Sic vicisset profecto superbiam atque iram, mala invicta, sic abstinuisset inter epulas caedibus amicorum egregiosque bello viros et tot gentium secum domitores indicta causa veritus esset occidere. [20] Sed nondum fortuna se animo eius superfuderat: ita, qui orientem tam moderate et prudenter tulit, ad ultimum magnitudinem eius non cepit. [21] Tunc quidem ita se gessit, ut omnes ante eum reges et continentia et dementia vincerentur: virgines reginas excellentis formae tam sancte habuit, quam si eodem quo ipse parente genitae forent, [22] coniugem eandemque sororem, quam nulla aetatis suae pulchritudine corporis vicit, adeo ipse non violavit, ut summam adhibuerit curam, ne quis captivo corpori inluderet. [23] Omnem cultum reddi feminis iussit, nec quicquam ex pristinae fortunae magnificentia captivis praeter fiduciam defuit. [24] Itaque Sisigambis: 'Rex,' inquit, 'mereris, ut ea precemur tibi, quae Dareo nostro quondam precatae sumus, nec nostro odio dignus es, qui tantum regem non felicitate solum, sed etiam aequitate superaveris. [25] Tu quidem matrem me et reginam vocas, sed ego me tuam famulam esse confiteor. Et praeteritae fortunae fastigium capio et praesentis iugum pati possum: tua interest, quantum in nos licuerit, si id potius dementia quam saevitia vis esse testatum.' [26] Rex bonum animum habere eis iussis Darei filium collo suo admovit, atque nihil ille conspectu tum primum a se visi conterritus cervicem eius manibus amplectitur. Motus ergo [p. 35] rex constantia pueri Hephaestionem intuens: 'Quam vellem,' inquit, 'Dareus aliquid ex hac indole hausisset!' Tum tabernaculo egressus. [27] Tribus aris in ripa Pinari amnis Iovi atque Herculi Minervaeque sacratis Syriam petit Damascum, ubi regis gaza erat, Parmenione praemisso.

XII. The king, wearied by his too eager pursuit of Darius, as soon as both night drew near and there was no hope of overtaking him, came to the camp which his men had shortly before captured. Then he directed that the most intimate of his friends be invited — for the grazing of the mere surface of the skin on his thigh did not prevent him from taking part in a banquet — when on a sudden a sorrowful sound from the next tent, mingled with oriental wailing and lamentation, alarmed the revellers. The cohort also which was on guard at the king's tent, fearing lest it might be the beginning of a greater commotion, had proceeded to arm itself. The reason for the sudden alarm was, that the mother and the wife of Darius, with the captive women of high rank, were mourning with great groaning and outcry for the king, whom they believed to have been killed. For a eunuch among the captives, who chanced to have stood before their tent, recognized the cloak which Darius, as was said a short time before had thrown away, in order that his dress might not betray him, in the hands of the man who had found it and was bringing it in; and

thinking that it had been dragged from his slain body, he had brought a false report of his death.

[6] On hearing of this mistake of the women Alexander is said to have wept over the fortune of Darius and their affection. And at first he had ordered Mithrenes, who had surrendered Sardis and who knew the Persian language, to go and console them; then, fearing lest the sight of the traitor should renew the prisoners' anger and grief, he sent Leonnatus, one of his court, with orders to let them know that they were wrongly grieving for a living man. Leonnatus with a few of his body-guard entered the tent in which the women were, and ordered it to be announced [8] that he had been sent by the king. But those who were in the vestibule, when they saw the armed men, thinking that it was all over with their mistresses, ran into the tent, crying that the last hour had come and that men had been sent to kill the captive women. Therefore, since they could not keep them out and did not dare to admit them, the women made no reply and in silence were awaiting the victor's will.

[10] Leonnatus, having waited a long time for someone to invite him to enter, after no one dared to appear, left his attendants in the vestibule and went into the tent. This very action disturbed the women, because he seemed to have broken in, not to have been given audience; and so the mother and the wife, prostrating themselves at his feet, began to plead that, before they were put to death, permission should be granted to them to bury Darius' body in their native manner; that after performing that last duty to the king they would without reluctance meet [12] death. Leonnatus said that Darius was alive, and that they would not only be unharmed, but would also be queens, retaining all the tokens of then-former fortune. Not until then did the mother of Darius suffer herself to be raised to her feet.

[13] Alexander on the following day, after having caused the soldiers whose bodies he had found to be buried with care, gave orders that the same honour should be paid to the noblest of the Persians as well, and that Darius mother be allowed to bury those whom she wished in the manner of their nation. She therefore directed that a few of her nearest of kin should be buried in accordance with the state of their present fortune, believing that the pomp of the funerals with which the Persians celebrate the last victors to the dead would be out of Place, when the victors were cremated in no costly manner. And now, alter the proper rites had been performed for the bodies of the dead, Alexander sent a messenger to the captive women that he himself was coming to them and denying admission to his throng of attendants, he entered the tent with Hephaestion. He was by far the dearest to the king of all his friends; brought up with him, and the confidant of all his secrets, he also had more freedom than anyone else in admonishing him, a privilege which he nevertheless used in such a manner that it seemed rather to be allowed by the king than claimed by himself: and ugh Hephaestion was of the same age as

the king, he nevertheless excelled him in bodily stature Hence the queens, thinking that he was the king, did obeisance to him in their native fashion. Therein upon some of the captive eunuchs pointed out which was Alexander, and Sisigambis fell at his feet, begging pardon for not recognizing the king, whom she had never seen before. The king, taking her hand and raising her to her feet, said: "You were not mistaken, mother; for this man too is Alexander." [18] And indeed, if he could have continued to practise such moderation to the end of his life, I could believe that he would have been happier than he seemed to be when he was imitating the triumphal procession of Father Liber, passing victorious over every nation all the way from the Hellespont to the Ocean.

[19] Then he would surely have mastered pride and wrath, faults which he did not conquer, thus he would have refrained from murdering his friends at banquets, and he would have feared to put to death without a trial men distinguished in warfare, and in company with him the conquerors of so many nations. But not yet had Fortune overflowed his mind. So true is it that he who bore her stream so temperately and wisely when it was rising, at the last was not able to contain her flood when it became great. But at that time, at any rate, he so conducted himself that he surpassed all former kings in continence and clemency; the royal maidens of surpassing beauty he treated with as much deference as if they had been born from the same mother as himself: the wife of Darius, who was also his sister, whom no woman of her time surpassed in personal beauty, he was so far from violating, that he took the greatest care that no one should make shameful sport of her person while she was a prisoner. He gave orders that all their ornaments should be returned to the women, and the captives lacked nothing of the splendour of their former fortune except confidence.

[24] And so Sisigambis said: "O King, you deserve that we should offer for you the same prayers which we formerly offered for our own Darius, and you do not merit our hatred, since you have surpassed so great a king, not in good fortune alone, but also in justice. You indeed call me mother and queen, but I confess that I am your handmaid. I both rise to the greatness of my past rank, and I can bear the yoke of my present lot. It is important for you that you should wish that the extent of your power over us should be attested by clemency rather than cruelty." [26] Alexander, bidding them be of good courage, took the son of Darius in his embrace, and the child, not at all frightened at the sight of one whom he looked upon then for the first time, put his arms around his neck. Whereupon the king, touched by the boy's fearlessness, with a glance at Hephaestion said:

How I could wish that Darius had acquired some part of such a nature." Then he left the tent.

[27] On the bank of the river Pinarus Alexander consecrated three altars, to

Jupiter, Hercules, and Minerva, and made for Damascus in Syria, where the king's treasure was, having sent Parmenion ahead.

At ille cum praecessisse se et Darei satrapam conperisse cognosset, veritus, ne paucitas suorum sperneretur, accersere maiorem manum statuit. [2] Sed forte in exploratores ab eo praemissos incidit nazione Mardus, qui ad Parmeniona perductus litteras ad Alexandrum a praefecto Damasci missas tradit ei nec dubitare eum, quin omnem regiam supellectilem cum pecunia traderet, adiecit. [3] Parmenio adservari eo iusso litteras aperit, in quis erat scriptum, ut mature Alexander aliquem ex ducibus suis mitteret cum manu exigua, cui, quae rex penes ipsum reliquisset, traderet. Itaque Mardum datis comitibus ad proditorem remittit. [4] Ille e manibus custodientium elapsus Damascum ante lucem intrat. Turbaverat ea res Parmenionis animum insidias timentis, et ignotum iter sine duce non audebat ingredi: felicitati tamen regis sui confisus agrestes, qui duces itineris essent, excipi iussit. Quibus celeriter repertis quarto die ad urbem pervenit iam metuente praefecto, ne sibi fides habita non esset. [5] Igitur quasi parum munimentis oppidi fidens ante solis ortum pecuniam regiam — [p. 36] gazam Persae vocant — cum pretiosissimis rerum efferri iubet, fugam simulans, re vera, ut praedam hosti offerret. [6] Multa milia virorum feminarumque excedentem oppido sequebantur, omnibus miserabilis turba praeter eum, cuius fidei commissa erat. Quippe, quo maior proditionis merces foret, obicere hosti parabat gratiorem omni pecunia praedam, nobiles viros, praetorum Darei coniuges liberosque, praeter hos Graecarum urbium legatos, [7] quos Dareus, velut in arce tutissima, in proditoris reliquerat manibus. Gaugabas Persae vocant humeris onera portantes: ii cum tempestatis vim tolerare non possent — quippe et procella subito nivem effuderat, et humus rigebat gelu tum adstricta — , vestes, quas cum pecunia portabant, auro et purpura insignes induunt nullo prohibere auso, cum fortuna regis etiam humillimis in ipsum licentiam faceret. [8] Praebuere ergo Parmenioni non spernendi agminis speciem: qui intentiore cura suos quasi ad iustum proelium paucis adhortatus equis calcaria iubet subdere et acri impetu in hostem evehi. [9] At illi, qui sub oneribus erant, omissis his per metum capessunt fugam: armati quoque, qui eos prosequabantur, eodem metu arma iactare ac nota deverticula petere coeperunt. [10] Praefectus, quasi esset ipse conterritus, simulans cuncta pavore compleverat. Iacebant totis campis opes regiae, illa pecunia stipendio ingenti militum praeparata, ille cultus tot nobilium virorum, tot inlustrium feminarum, [11] aurea vasa, aurei freni, tabernacula regali magnificentia ornata, vehicula quoque a suis destituta [p. 37] ingentis opulentiae plena, facies etiam praedantibus tristes, si qua res avaritiam moraretur. Quippe tot annorum incredibili et fidem excedente fortuna cumulata tunc alia stirpibus lacerata, alia in caenum demersa cernebantur: non sufficebant praedantium manus praedae. [12] Iamque etiam ad eos, qui primi fugerant, ventum erat: feminae pleraeque parvos trahentes liberos ibant. Inter quas tres fuere virgines, Ochi, qui ante Dareum regnaverant, filiae, olim quidem ex fastigio paterno rerum mutatione detractae, sed tum sortem earum crudelius

adgravante fortuna. [13] In eodem grege uxor quoque eiusdem Ochi fuit Oxathrisque — frater hie erat Darei — filia et coniunx Artabazi, principis purpuratorum, filiusque: [14] Hystanes fuit nomen. Pharnabazi quoque, cui summum imperium maritimae orae rex dederat, uxor cum filio excepta est, Mentoris filiae tres ac nobilissimi ducis Memnonis coniunx et filius, vixque ulla domus purpurati afuit tantae cladi. [15] Lacedaemonii et Athenienses societatis fide violata Persas secuti: Aristogiton et Dropides et Iphicrates, inter Athenienses genere famaue longe clarissimi, Lacedaemonii Pasippus et Onomastorides cum Onomante et Callicratide, hi quoque domi nobiles. [16] Summa pecuniae signatae fuit talentum n milia et sescenta, facti argenti pondus quingenta aequabat. Praeterea XXX [p. 38] milia hominum cum vn milibus iumentorum dorso onera portantium capta sunt. [17] Ceterum tantae fortunae proditorem dei ultores celeriter debita poena persecuti sunt. Namque unus e consciis eius, credo, regis vicem etiam in ilia sorte reveritus, interfecti proditoris caput ad Dareum tulit, opportunum solacium prodito: quippe et ultus inimicum erat, et nondum in omnium animis memoriam maiestatis suae exolevisse cernebat.

XIII. But Parmenion, when he had gone on in advance and had received information that the satrap of Darius was at hand, fearing lest the small numbers of his men should arouse contempt, decided to summon a greater force. But it chanced that a native of Mardia fell in with the scouts whom Parmenion had sent ahead, and when he was brought interpretation. Here, as always when it is necessary to fill out lacunae, real or assumed, the supplements are purely to Parmenion, delivered to him a letter which had been sent to Alexander by the governor of Damascus, adding that he had no doubt that the governor would hand over all the royal equipment as well as [3] the money. Parmenion, after giving orders that the Mardian should be put under guard, opened the letter, in which it was written that Alexander should speedily send one of his generals with a small force, to whom he might hand over what Darius had left in his charge. Accordingly he sent back the Mardian to the traitor with an escort; he escaped from his guards and entered Damascus before daylight.

This conduct had disturbed the mind of Parmenion, who feared a plot, and he did not venture to enter upon an unknown road without a guide; nevertheless, trusting to the good fortune of his king, he gave orders that some peasants should be captured, to serve as guides for the journey. When these had been quickly found, he arrived at the city on the fourth day, where the governor was already in a state of fear lest he had not been trusted. Therefore, feigning lack of confidence in the fortifications of the town, before sunrise he gave orders that the king's money — the Persians call it *gaza* — along with his most precious possessions should be brought out, pretending flight, but actually intending to offer it as booty to the enemy. As Parmenion was leaving the city of Damascus, many thousands of men and women followed him, a

throng to excite the pity of au, except the man to whose protection they had been entrusted. For in order that the reward for his treachery might be the greater, he was preparing to deliver to the enemy a booty more acceptable than by money, namely, men of high rank, the wives and children of the generals of Darius, and besides these the envoys from the Greek cities, whom Darius had left in the hands of the traitor, as if in a very safe citadel.

[7] The Persians call men who carry burdens on their shoulders *gangabae*; these, since they could not endure the severity of the weather — for a storm had suddenly brought a fall of snow and the ground was stiff being then bound in frost-put on the robes adorned with gold and purple, which they were carrying with the money, and no one dared to forbid them, since the ill-fortune of Darius gave licence over him [8] even to the lowest of men. They therefore presented to Parmenion the appearance of an army not to be despised; so with unusual care he encouraged his men with a few words, as if for a regular battle, bidding them put spurs to their horses and make a swift charge upon the enemy.

[9] But those who were carrying the burdens dropped them and took flight in terror; from the same fear the armed men too who were escorting them began to throw away their arms and make for familiar hiding-places. The governor, by pretending that he himself was panic-stricken, had caused general alarm. Scattered over all the fields lay the king's riches, that money designed for the pay of a great force of soldiers, the adornments of so many men of high rank, of so many illustrious women, golden vases, golden bridles, tents adorned with regal splendour, chariots too, abandoned by their owners and filled with vast riches, a sad sight even for the plunderers, if anything could stand in the way of avarice. For of the fortune, incredible and beyond belief, which had been stored up in the course of so many years, a part was now seen rent by brambles, a part buried in mud; the hands of the ravishers were not sufficient to carry the spoil.

[12] And now they had come also to those who had fled first; very many women were dragging their little children as they went along. Among them were three maidens, daughters of Ochus, who had reigned before Darius; they had formerly been brought down from the high estate of their father by a revolution, but then Fortune was making their lot still more cruel. In the same throng were also the wife of the aforesaid Ochus, and the daughter of Oxathres — he was the brother of Darius — and the wife of Artabazus, chief of the courtiers, and his son; Hystanes was his name.

The wife also of Phamabazus, to whom Darius had given supreme command of the seacoast, along with his son, was taken, the three daughters of Mentor, and the wife and the son of that most famous general Memnon; hardly any house of a member of the court escaped that great disaster. There were captured with these the Lacedaemonians' and Athenians who had violated

their pledge of alliance and followed the Persians: Aristogiton and Dropides and Iphicrates, by far the most renowned among the Athenians for birth and reputation, the Lacedaemonians Pasippus and Onomastorides with Onomas and Callicratides, these also men of note at home.

The sum of coined money was 2600 talents, the weight of wrought silver amounted to 500 pounds. Besides these, 30,000 men, with 7000 pack-animals 17 carrying burdens on their backs, were taken. But the betrayer of so great a fortune the avenging deities quickly visited with the punishment he deserved, For one of his accomplices, reverencing the majesty of the king, I suppose, even in his present condition, slew the traitor and carried his head to Darius, a timely solace for his betrayal; for he both had gained vengeance over his enemy, and also saw that the memory of his grandeur was not yet effaced from the minds of everyone.

“Darius had sent the greater part of his money and his other property to Damascus; even this wealth at Damascus was captured soon afterwards by Parmenion.

BOOK IV.

Dareus, tanti modo exercitus rex, qui triumphantis magis quam dimicantis more curru sublimis inierat proelium, per loca, quae prope immensis agminibus inpleverat, iam inania et ingenti solitudine vasta fugiebat. [2] Pauci regem sequebantur: nam nec eodem omnes fugam intenderant et deficientibus equis cursum eorum, quos rex subinde mutabat, aequare non poterant. [3] Onchas deinde pervenit, ubi excepere eum Graecorum quattuor milia: non segnius tamen ad Euphraten contendit, id demum credens fore ipsius, quod celeritate praecipere potuisset. [4] At Alexander Parmenionem, per quem apud Damascus recepta erat praeda, iussum eam ipsam et captivos diligenti adservare custodia, Syriae, quam Coelen vocant, praefecit. [5] Novum imperium Syri non- [p. 40] dum belli cladibus satis domiti aspernabantur: sed celeriter subacti oboedienter imperata fecerunt. Aradus quoque insula deditur regi. [6] Maritimam tum oram et pleraque longius etiam a mari recedentia rex eius insulae, Strato, possidebat: [7] quo in fidem accepto castra movit ad urbem Marathon. Ibi illi litterae a Dareo redduntur, quibus ut superbe scriptis vehementer offensus est: praecipue eum movit, quod Dareus sibi regis titulum nec eundem Alexandri nomini adscripserat.

I. DARIUS, a king at the head of an army lately so great, who rather as if celebrating a triumph than waging war had entered battle standing on high in his chariot, was already in flight through the places which he had filled with his all but countless forces, but which now were without signs of life, a huge waste [2] and solitary desert. The king's followers were few; for not all had turned their flight in the same direction as he, and those who did so could not with their exhausted horses keep pace with those which the [3] king kept constantly changing. Then he arrived at Onchae, where 4-000 Greeks received him; but nevertheless he hastened with undiminished speed to the Euphrates, believing that he would be master only of what he was able by swiftness to keep the enemy from seizing.

[4] But Alexander had made Parmenion, through whom the booty at Damascus had been recovered, governor of the part of Syria called Coelê, with orders to preserve the booty itself and the prisoners with diligent care. The Syrians, not yet sufficiently tamed by the disasters of the war, rejected the new rule; but they were quickly subdued and obediently did what they were ordered. The island of Aradus also surrendered to Alexander. Straton, the king of the island, at that time possessed the adjoining sea-coast and many places also farther back from the sea; after receiving him in surrender Alexander went on to [7] the city of Marathus. There a letter from Darius was delivered to him by which he was exceedingly offended because of its arrogant tone; it angered him especially that Darius had added the title of King to his own name and had not given the same title [8] to Alexander.

[8] Postulabat autem magis quam petebat, ut accepta pecunia, quantamcumque tota Macedonia caperet, matrem sibi et coniugem liberosque restitueret: de regno aequo, si vellet, Marte contenderet. [9] Si saniora consilia tandem pati potuisset, ut contentus patrio cederet alieni imperii finibus, socius amicusque esset. [10] In ea se fidem et dare paratum et accipere. Contra Alexander in hunc maxime modum rescripsit: 'Rex Alexander Dareo S. Cuius nomen sumpsisti, Dareus Graecos, qui oram Hellesponti tenent, coloniasque Graecorum Ionias omni clade vastavit, [11] cum magno deinde exercitu mare traiecit inlato Macedoniae et Graeciae bello. Rursus Xerxes gentis eiusdem ad oppugnandos nos cum in manium barbarorum copiis venit: qui navali proelio victus Mardonium tamen reliquit in Graecia, ut absens quoque popularetur urbes, agros ureret. [12] Philippum vero, parentem meum, quis ignorat ab iis interfectum esse, quos ingentis pecuniae spe sollicitaverant vestri? Inopia enim bella suscipitis et, cum habeatis arma, licemini hostium capita, sicut tu proxime talentis mille, tanti exercitus rex, percussorem in me emere voluisti. [13] Repello igitur bellum, non infero. Et di [p. 41] quoque pro meliore stant causa: magnam partem Asiae in dicionem redegei meam, te ipsum acie vici. Quem etsi nihil a me inpetrare oportebat, utpote qui ne belli quidem in me iura servaveris, tamen, si veneris supplex, et matrem et coniugem et liberos sine pretio recepturum esse promitto. [14] Et vincere et consulere victis scio. Quodsi te committere nobis times, dabimus fidem inpune venturum. De cetero, cum mihi scribes, memento non solum regi te, sed etiam tuo scribere.' Ad hanc perferendam Thersippus est missus. [15] In Phoenicem dein descendit et oppidum Byblon traditum recepit. Inde ad Sidonem ventum est, urbem vetustate famaue conditorum inclitam. [16] Regnabat in ea Strato, Darei opibus adiutus: is quia deditionem is magis popularium quam sua sponte fecerat, regno visus indignus, Hephaestionique permissum, ut, quem eo fastigio e Sidoniis dignissimum arbitraretur, [17] constitueret regem. Erant Hephaestioni duo hospites, clari inter suos iuvenes: qui facta ipsis potestate regnandi negaverunt quemquam patrio more in id fastigium recipi nisi regia stirpe ortum. [18] Admiratus Hephaestion magnitudinem animi spernentis, quod alii per ignes ferrumque peterent: 'Vos quidem macte virtute,' inquit, 'estote, qui primi intellexistis, quanto maius esset regnum fastidire quam accipere. Ceterum date aliquem regiae stirpis, qui meminerit a vobis acceptum habere se regnum.' [19] Atque illi, cum multos imminere tantae spei cernerent singulis amicorum [p. 42] Alexandri iam ob nimiam regni cupiditatem adulantis, statuunt neminem esse potius quam Abdalonymum quendam, longa quidem cognatione stirpi regiae adnexum, sed ob inopiam suburbanum hortum exigua colentem stipe. [20] Causa ei paupertatis sicut plerisque probitas erat, intentusque operi diurno strepitum armorum, qui totam Asiam concusserat, non exaudiebat. [21] Subito deinde, de quibus ante dictum est, cum regiae vestis insignibus hortum intrant, quem forte steriles herbas eligens Abdalonymus repurgabat. [22] Tum rege eo salutato alter ex his: 'Habitus,' inquit, 'hic vestis, quem cernis in meis manibus, cum isto squalore permutandus tibi est. Ablue

corpus inluvie terrenisque sordibus squalidum: cape regis animum et in eam fortunam, qua dignus es, istam continentiam perfer. Et cum in regali solio residebis vitae necisque omnium civium dominus, cave obliviscaris status, in quo accipis regnum, immo, hercule, propter quem.’ [23] Somnio similis res Abdalonymo videbatur: interdum, satisne sani essent, qui tam proterve sibi inluderent, percontabatur. Sed ut cunctanti squalor ablutus est et iniecta vestis purpura auroque distincta et fides a iurantibus facta, serio iam rex iisdem comitantibus in regiam pervenit. [24] Fama deinde, ut solet, strenue tota urbe discurrit : aliorum studium, aliorum indignatio eminebat, divitissimus quisque humilitatem inopiamque eius apud amicos Alexandri criminabatur. [25] Admitti eum rex protinus iussit diuque contemplatus : [p. 43] ‘Corporis,’ inquit, ‘habitus famae generis non repugnat, sed libet scire, inopiam qua patientia tuleris.’ Tum ille: ‘Utinam,’ inquit, ‘eodem animo regnum pati possim! hae manus suffecere desiderio meo: nihil habenti nihil defuit.’ [26] Magnae indolis specimen ex hoc sermone Abdalonymi cepit. Itaque non Stratonis modo regiam supellectilem attribui ei iussit, sed pleraque etiam ex Persica praeda: regionem quoque urbi adpositam dicioni eius adiecit. [27] Interea Amyntas, quem ad Persas ab Alexandro transfugisse diximus, cum quattuor milibus Graecorum ipsius ex acie persecutis fugam Tripolin pervenit. Inde in naves militibus inpositis Cyprum transmisit et, cum in illo statu rerum id quemque, quod occupasset, habiturum arbitraretur velut certo iure possessum, Aegyptum petere decrevit, utrique regi hostis et semper ex ancipiti mutatione temporum pendens. [28] Hortatusque milites ad spem tantae rei docet Sabacen, praetorem Aegypti, cecidisse in acie: Persarum praesidium et sine duce esse et invalidum, Aegyptios semper praetoribus eorum infestos pro sociis ipsos, non pro hostibus aestimatuos. [29] Omnia experiri necessitas cogebat: quippe cum primas spes fortuna destituit, futura praesentibus videntur esse potiora. Igitur conclamant, duceret, quo videretur. Atque ille utendum animis, dum spe calerent, ratus ad Pelusium ostium penetrat, simulans a Dareo se esse praetorem missum. [p. 44] [30] Potitus ergo Pelusii Memphim copias promovit. Ad cuius famam Aegyptii, vana gens et novandis quam gerendis aptior rebus, ex suis quisque vicis urbibusque huc ipsi concurrunt ad delenda praesidia Persarum. [31] Qui territi tamen spem retinendi Aegyptum non omiserunt. Sed eos Amyntas proelio superatos in urbem compellit castrisque positos victores ad populandos agros. Velut in medio positis bonis hostium cuncta agebantur: [32] itaque Mazaces, quamquam infelici proelio suorum animos territos esse cognoverat, tamen palantes et victoriae fiducia incautos ostentans perpulit, ne dubitarent ex urbe erumpere et res amissas recipere. [33] Id consilium non ratione prudentius quam eventu felicius fuit: ad unum omnes cum ipso duce occisi sunt. Has poenas Amyntas utrique regi dedit, nihilo magis ei, ad quem transfugerat, fidus quam illi, quem deseruerat. [34] Darei praetores, qui proelio apud Isson superfuerant, cum omni manu, quae fugientes secuta erat, [35] adsumpta etiam Cappadocum et Paphlagonum iuventute Lydiam recipere temptabant. Antigonos, praetor Alexandri, Lydiae praeerat: qui quamquam

plerosque militum ex praesidiis ad regem dimiserat, tamen barbaris spretis in aciem suos eduxit. Eadem illic quoque fortuna partium fuit: [36] tribus proeliis alia atque alia regione commissis Persae funduntur. Eodem [p. 45] tempore classis Macedonum ex Graecia accita Aristomenen, qui ad Hellesponti oram recipendam a Dareo erat missus, captis eius aut eversis navibus superat. [37] A Milesiis deinde Pharnabazus, praefectus Persicae classis, pecunia exacta et praesidio in urbem Chium introducto centum navibus Andrum et inde Siphnum petiit. Has quoque insulas praesidiis occupat, pecunia multat. [38] Magnitudo belli, quod ab opulentissimis Europae Asiaeque regibus in spem totius orbis occupandi gerebatur, Graeciae quoque et Cretae arma commoverat. [39] Agis, Lacedaemoniorum rex, octo milibus Graecorum, qui ex Cilicia profugi domos repetierant, contractis bellum Antipatro, Macedoniae praefecto, moliebatur. [40] Cretenses has aut illas partes secuti nunc Spartanorum, nunc Macedonum praesidiis occupabantur. Sed leviora inter illos fuere discrimina unum certamen, ex quo cetera pendebant, intuente fortuna.

Moreover, Darius demanded, rather than asked, that having accepted a sum of money great enough to fill all Macedonia, Alexander should restore to him his mother and his wife and children; as to the sovereignty, he might fight for it, if he so [9] desired, on equal terms. If he could at last listen to more wholesome advice, he would be content with his native kingdom, withdraw from lands ruled by another, and be his friend and ally. To the acceptance of such conditions he was ready to give and to receive a pledge.

In reply Alexander wrote substantially as follows:

King Alexander to Darius, greeting. Darius, whose name you have assumed, brought devastation on the Greeks who dwell on the shore of the Hellespont, and on the Ionian colonies of the Greeks, with every possible disaster, then he crossed the sea with a great army and made war upon Macedonia and Greece.

Again, Xerxes, of the same Tace, came to attack us with hordes of savage barbarians; although defeated in a sea-fight, he nevertheless left Mardonius in Greece, in order that even in his absence he might [12] lay waste our cities and burn our fields. As to my father Philip, who does not know that he was killed by those whom your countrymen had tempted with the hope of a vast sum of money? Impious, in fact, are the wars you wage, and although you have arms, you bid for the lives of your enemies, just as lately you, the king of so great an army, for a thousand talents wished to hire an assassin to slay me.” Therefore it is a war of defence that I am waging, not of offence. And the gods also favour the better cause; I have reduced a great part of Asia into my power, I have defeated you yourself in battle. Although there is nothing that you have a right to expect from me, inasmuch as in dealing with me you have not even observed the laws of war, yet, if you will come to me as a suppliant, I promise that you shall recover without ransom your mother and your wife and your

children. I know both how to conquer and how to treat the conquered. But if you fear to trust yourself to me, I will pledge my word that you may come without danger. For the future, when you write to me, remember that you are writing, not only to a king, but also to your king." Thersippus was sent to deliver this letter.

[15] Then Alexander marched down into Phoenicia and received the town of Byblos in surrender. From there he came to Sidon, a city renowned for its antiquity and fame of its founders. In it Straton was ruling, supported by the power of Darius; but because he had surrendered rather at the desire of the people than of his own accord, he was deemed unworthy to rule and Hephaestion was allowed to choose as king from among the Sidonians the one whom he thought most worthy of that high station.'

[17] Hephaestion was the guest of two young men distinguished among their countrymen; when they were offered the privilege of ruling, they said that according to the custom of their country no one was admitted to that eminence unless born of royal stock. Hephaestion, admiring the lofty spirit that declined what others sought by fire and sword, said "Accept my congratulations, since you have been the first to appreciate how much greater it is to disdain royal power than to receive it. But name someone of royal descent, who will remember that he is holding a sovereignty that was conferred by you."^[19] And they, although they were aware that many, eager for so great a prospect, were already courting various friends of Alexander from excessive longing for the throne, decided that no one was preferable to a certain Abdalonymus, a man who had, it is true, a distant connexion with the royal family, but who, because of narrow means, was cultivating a garden in the suburbs at scanty profit. The reason for his poverty, as is true of many men, was his honesty, and intent as he was on his daily toil, he did not hear the din of arms which had shaken all Asia. Unexpectedly then the young men who were mentioned before came with the insignia of the royal dress into the garden, which, as it chanced, Abdalonymus was engaged in clearing up, by plucking out the useless weeds. Then, after hailing him as king, one of them said: "You must change that mean garb of yours for the apparel which you see in my hands; wash yourself, stained as you are by the dirt and filth of the earth; take on the spirit of a king and carry on your self-control into that fortune of which you are worthy. And when you sit upon the royal throne, master of the life and death of all the citizens, do not forget the condition in which — nay, by Heaven! because of which — you are receiving the crown. — It all seemed to Abdalonymus like a dream; from time to time he kept asking whether those who were so saucily making sport of him were altogether sane. But when, as he hesitated, the dirt was washed from his body and a robe adorned with purple and gold was put upon him, and the good faith of the messengers was confirmed by oaths, now a king in earnest, attended by the same youths, he entered the palace.

[24] Then Rumour, as is her wont, busily ran about through the whole city; the approval of some, the indignation of others, was manifest, all the richest citizens appeared before Alexander's friends and protested against the new king's low condition and his [25] poverty. Alexander at once ordered that he be given audience, and after gazing at him for a long time said: "Your bearing does not belie the report of your origin, but I am glad to know of the patience with which you have endured privation." Then the new king replied: "I only hope that I may be able to endure sovereignty with the same spirit! these hands have been able to satisfy my desires; having nothing, I have lacked nothing." From these words of Abdalonymus the king gained an impression of his high character. Accordingly he gave orders that not only the regal equipment of Straton should be assigned to him, but also many articles from the Persian booty; he also added to his dominion a territory adjacent to the city.

Meanwhile Amyntas, who, as I have said, had deserted from Alexander to the Persians, with 4000 Greeks who had followed him in his flight from the field of battle came to Tripolis. From there, having embarked his troops on ships, he crossed over to Cyprus, and since he thought that in the present state of affairs every man would possess as if by an inalienable right whatever he had seized, he decided to go to Egypt, being an enemy to both kings and always ready to take advantage of a critical change [28] of circumstances. And having roused his soldiers to the hope offered by so great an exploit, he told them that Sabaces, the governor of Egypt, had fallen in battle; that the Persian garrison was both leaderless and weak, and that the Egyptians, always at odds with their governors, would regard them as allies, [29] not as enemies. Necessity compelled them to try everything; for when Fortune has stranded our first hopes, the future seems to be preferable to the present. Therefore they all shouted that he might lead them wherever he wished. So, thinking it best to make use of their spirits while they were warm with hope, he made his way to the Pelusian mouth, pretending that he had been sent as governor by [30] Darius. Then, having got possession of Pelusium, he moved his forces on to Memphis. At the report of this the Egyptians, a fickle race and more inclined to start a revolution than to achieve anything great of their own accord rushed thither together, each from his own village or city, to destroy the Persian garrisons.

The Persians, although terrified, did not nevertheless abandon hope of retaining their hold upon Egypt.

[31] But Amyntas defeated them in battle, drove them into the city, and after pitching a camp led out his victorious troops to lay waste the fields. As if the property of the enemy was open to all, everything [32] was being carried off; hence Mazaces, although he knew that the minds of his men were terrified by their defeat, yet pointed out that the enemy were straggling and careless

through the confidence inspired by victory and induced them not to hesitate to sally forth from the city and recover their lost possessions.

[33] That plan was equally wise in design and successful in its result. All the Greeks were slain to a man, along with their leader himself. Such was the penalty that Amyntas paid to both kings, having shown himself not a whit more loyal to the one to whom he had deserted than to the one whom he had forsaken.

[34] The generals of Darius who had survived the battle of Issus, and all the force that had followed them in their flight, with the addition of vigorous young soldiers of the Cappadocians and Paphlagonians, were [35] trying to recover Lydia. The governor of Lydia was Antigonos, one of Alexander's generals; he, although he had sent very many soldiers from his garrisons to the king, nevertheless scorned the barbarians and led his forces out to battle. There also the fortune of the contending parties was the same; in three battles fought in one region and another the Persians were routed. At the same time a fleet of the Macedonians, which had been 'summoned from Greece, defeated Aristomenes, who had been sent by Darius to recover the coast of the Hellespont, and captured [37] or sank his ships. Then Pharnabazus, commander of the Persian fleet, having exacted money from the Milesians and put a garrison into the city of Chios, sailed with a hundred ships to Andros and from there to Siphnos. These islands also he occupied with garrisons, besides fining them.

[38] The great war which was being waged by the most powerful kings of Europe and Asia in the hope of getting control of the whole world had set in motion [39] the arms also of Greece and of Crete. Agis, king of the Lacedaemonians, having assembled the 8000 Greeks who had fled from Cilicia and returned home, was undertaking a war with Antipater, governor of [40] Macedonia. The Cretans, who had sided first with one party and then with the other, had their country occupied by garrisons now of the Spartans, now of the Macedonians. But the crises among these were of slight importance, since Fortune had her eyes fixed upon the one contest on which all the rest depended.

Iam tota Syria, iam Phoenice quoque excepta Tyro Macedonum erat, habebatque rex castra in continenti, a qua urbem angustum fretum dirimit. [2] Tyros, et magnitudine et claritate ante omnes urbes Syriae Phoenicesque memorabilis, facilius societatem Alexandri acceptura videbatur quam imperium. Coronam igitur auream donum legati adferebant commeatusque large et hospitaliter ex oppido advexerant. Ille dona ut ab amicis accipi iussit benigneque legatos adlocutus Herculi, quem praecipue Tyrii colerent, sacrificare velle se dixit: [3] Macedonum reges credere ab illo deo ipsos genus ducere, se vero, ut id faceret, etiam oraculo [p. 46] monitum. [4] Legati respondent esse templum Herculis extra urbem in ea sede, quam Palaetyron

ipsi vocent: [5] ibi regem deo sacrum rite facturum. Non tenuit iram, cuius alioqui potens non erat. Itaque: ‘Vos quidem,’ inquit, ‘fiducia loci, quod insulam incolitis, pedestrem hunc exercitum spernitis, sed brevi ostendam in continent vos esse. Proinde sciatis licet, aut intraturum me urbem aut oppugnaturum.’ [6] Cum hoc responso dimissi suos monere coeperunt, ut regem, quem Syria, [7] quem Phoenice recepisset, ipsi quoque urbem intrare paterentur. At illi loco satis fisi obsidionem ferre decreverant. Namque urbem a continenti quattuor stadiorum fretum dividit Africo maxime obiectum crebros ex alto fluctus in litus evolventi. [8] Nec accipiendo operi, quo Macedones continenti insulam iungere parabant, quicquam magis quam ille ventus obstat. Quippe vix leni et tranquillo mari moles agi possunt, Africus vero prima quaeque congesta pulsu inlisi maris subruit, nec ulla tam firma moles est, quam non exedant undae et per nexus operum manantes et, ubi acrior flatus existit, summi operis fastigio superfusae. [9] Praeter hanc difficultatem haud minor alia erat. Muros turresque urbis praealtum mare ambiebat: non tormenta nisi e navibus procul excussa mitti, non scalae moenibus adplicari poterant, praeceps in salum murus pedestre interceperat iter: naves nec habebat rex et, si admovisset, pendentes et instabiles missilibus arceri poterant. [10] Inter quae parva dictu res Tyriorum fiduciam accendit. Carthaginensium legati ad celebrandum [p. 47] sacrum anniversarium more patrio tunc venerant: quippe Carthaginem Tyrii condiderunt semper parentum loco culti. [11] Hortari ergo Poeni coeperunt, ut obsidionem forti animo paterentur: brevi Carthagine auxilia ventura. Namque ea tempestate magna ex parte Puni eis classibus maria obsidebantur. [12] Igitur bello decreto per muros turresque tormenta disponunt, arma iunioribus dividunt, opifices, quorum copia urbs abundabat, in officinas distribuunt. Omnia belli apparatu strepunt: ferreae quoque manus — harpagonas vocant — , quas operibus hostium inicerent, corvique et alia tuendis urbibus excogitata praeparabantur. [13] Sed cum fornacibus ferrum, quod excudi oportebat, inpositum esset, admotisque follibus ignem flatu accenderent, sanguinis rivi sub ipsis flammis exitisse dicuntur: idque omen in Macedonum interitum verterunt Tyrii. [14] Apud Macedonas quoque cum forte panem quidam militum frangerent, manantis sanguinis guttas notaverunt, territoque rege Aristander, peritissimus vatum, si extrinsecus cruor fluxisset, Macedonibus id triste futurum ait: contra, cum ab interiore parte manaverit, urbi, quam obsidere destinassent, exitium portendere. [15] Alexander cum et classem procul haberet et longam obsidionem magno sibi ad cetera impedimento videret fore, caduceatores, qui ad pacem eos compellerent, misit: quos Tyrii contra ius gentium occisos praecipitaverunt in altum. Atque ille suorum tam indigna morte commotus urbem obsidere statuit. [p. 48] [16] Sed ante iacienda moles erat, quae continenti urbem committeret. Ingens ergo animis militum desperatio incessit cernentibus profundum mare, quod vix divina ope posset inpleri: quae saxa tam vasta, quas tam proceras arbores posse reperiri? exhaustas esse regiones, ut illud spatium exaggeraretur: exaestuaris semper fretum, quoque

artius volutetur inter insulam et continentem, hoc acrius furere. [17] At ille haudquaquam rudis pertractandi militares animos speciem sibi Herculis in somno oblatam esse pronuntiat dextram porrigentis: illo duce, illo aperiente in urbem intrare se visum. Inter haec caduceatores interfectos, gentium iura violata referebat: unam esse urbem, quae cursum victoris morari ausa esset. [18] Ducibus deinde negotium datur, ut suos quisque castiget, satisque omnibus stimulatis opus orsus est. Magna vis saxorum ad manum erat Tyro Vetere praebente, materies ex Libano monte ratibus et turribus faciendis advehebatur. [19] Iamque a fundo maris in altitudinem modicam opus creverat, [20] nondum tamen aquae fastigium aequabat, cum Tyrii parvis navigiis admotis per ludibrium exprobrabant, illos armis inclitos dorso sicut iumenta onera gestare: interrogabant etiam, num maior Neptuno Alexander esset. Haec ipsa insectatio alacritatem militum accendit. [21] Iamque paulum moles aqua eminebat, et simul aggeris latitudo crescebat urbique admovebatur, cum Tyrii magnitudine molis, cuius incrementum eos antea fefellerat, conspecta levibus navigiis nondum commissum [p. 49] opus circumire coeperunt, missilibus quoque eos, qui pro opere stabant, incessere. [22] Multis ergo inpune vulneratis, cum et remove et adpellere scaphas in expedito esset, ad curam semet ipsos tuendi ab opere converterant. Et, quo longius moles agebatur a litore, hoc magis, quidquid ingerebatur, praealtum absorbebat mare. [23] Igitur rex munientibus coria velaque iussit obtendi, ut extra teli iactum essent, duasque turres ex capite molis erexit, e quibus in subeuntes scaphas tela ingeri possent. [24] Contra Tyrii navigia procul a conspectu hostium litori adpellunt expositisque militibus eos, qui saxa gestabant, obtruncant. In Libano quoque Arabum agrestes inconpositos Macedonas adorti xxx fere interficiunt paucioribus captis.

II. Already all Syria, already Phoenicia also, except Tyre, were in the possession of the Macedonians, and Alexander was encamped on the mainland, from which a narrow strait separates the city.

[2] Tyre, noteworthy both in size and in fame among all the cities of Syria and Phoenicia, seemed more inclined to accept an alliance with Alexander than to submit to his rule. Therefore envoys were bringing him the gift of a golden crown and the Tyrians had sent him from the city provisions in abundance and in a spirit of hospitality. Alexander gave orders that the gifts should be received as a token of friendship, and addressing the envoys courteously, said that he wished to offer sacrifice to Hercules, whom the [3] Tyrians specially honoured; that the kings of Macedon believed that they derived their descent from that god, and that moreover he had been [4] advised by an oracle to do that thing. The envoys replied that there was a temple of Hercules outside of the city, in the place which they call Old Tyre; that there the king would properly offer sacrifice to [5] the god. Alexander could not restrain his anger, which as a rule he was unable to control. Accordingly he said: "You indeed, relying on your situation, because you live on an island, despise this army of

foot-soldiers, but I will soon show you that you are on the mainland. Therefore I want you to know that I will either enter your city or besiege it.” [6] The envoys, dismissed with this response, began to warn their countrymen that a king whom Syria and Phoenicia had received they also should suffer to [7] enter their city. But the Tyrians, having plenty of confidence in their situation, had decided to sustain a siege; for a strait of four stadia separates the city from the mainland and was especially exposed to the Afric wind, which rolls upon the shore wave on wave from the deep. And there was nothing which more than that wind stood in the way of receiving the work by which the Macedonians were preparing to join the island to the mainland. Even with a calm and mild sea foundations can only with difficulty be laid, while the Afric wind, by the blows of the sea as it dashes against them undermines all the first structures, and no mass is so firm that the waters do not eat it away, both by trickling through the joints of the works, and when a more violent wind rises, by pouring over the top of the entire structure. Besides [9] this difficulty there was another equally great. The walls and towers of the city were surrounded by very deep sea; artillery could not be used except when its shots were hurled from ships at a distance, nor could scaling-ladders be applied to the fortifications, since the walls, descending sheer into the surge, had blocked any approach on foot; moreover Alexander had no ships, and if he could have brought them up to the wall, being afloat and unsteady, they could have been kept at bay by missiles.

[10] Meanwhile a thing slight to mention fired the confidence of the Tyrians. Envoys of the Carthaginians had come at that time to celebrate an annual festival in the manner of their country; for the Tyrians founded Carthage and were always honoured as the forefathers of the Carthaginians. Therefore they began to urge the Tyrians to endure the siege with a courageous spirit; soon help would come from Carthage. For at that time the seas were in great part beset by the Punic fleets. Accordingly, the Tyrians declared war and placed artillery at intervals along the walls and in the towers, distributed arms to the men of military age, and assigned workmen, of whom the city had a great abundance, to the various factories. The whole place resounded with preparation for war; iron hands also (they call them *harpagones*, “grapplers”), to throw upon the enemies’

works, ravens, and other devices for the protection of cities were made ready in advance.

[13] But when the iron which it was necessary to forge had been placed in the furnaces, and the fires were fanned into a blaze by the application of bellows, streams of blood are said to have flowed out in the very midst of the flames, and this the Tyrians interpreted as portending the destruction of the Macedonians. Among the Macedonians also, when some of the soldiers happened to break bread, they noticed drops of blood trickling out, and when

the king was alarmed, Aristander, the most skilled of the seers, declared that if the blood had flowed from without, it would be an unfavourable omen for the Macedonians; but on the contrary, since it flowed from an inner part, it foretold destruction for the city which they had determined to besiege. Alexander, both because the fleet which he had was afar off, and because he saw that a long blockade would be a great hindrance to the rest of his plans, sent heralds to urge the Tyrians to make peace; but these, in violation of the law of nations, they killed and threw into the sea. Upon this the king, greatly angered by such outrageous death of his men, resolved to besiege the city.

But first it was necessary to make a causeway, in order to connect the city with the mainland. Hence the minds of the soldiers were assailed by extreme discouragement, as they looked upon the deep sea, which could hardly be filled even by divine help; what rocks huge enough, they thought, what trees tall enough, can be found? It would be necessary to empty whole regions in order to fill so great a space with material; then too the strait is always in commotion, and the more confined the space in which it is whirled about between the island and the mainland, the more fiercely does it rage. But Alexander, who was by no means inexperienced in working upon the minds of soldiers, announced that an apparition of Hercules had appeared to him in his sleep, offering him his right hand; with that god leading him and opening the way he dreamed that he entered the city. In his speech he also reminded them of the murder of the heralds and the violation of the law of nations; this, he added, was the only city that had ventured ^[18] to delay the victor's progress. Then he instructed each of his generals to whip up his own soldiers' courage, and when all had been sufficiently aroused, he began the work.

A great amount of rocks was available, supplied by Old Tyre, timber was brought from Mount Libanus for making rafts and towers. And already the work had grown from the bottom of the sea to a moderate height, but nevertheless had not yet reached the surface of the waters, when the Tyrians, bringing up some small boats, mocked them with the taunt that those men famous in arms were carrying loads on their backs like beasts of burden; they also asked whether Alexander was greater than Neptune. These very insults inspired the soldiers to greater eagerness. And now the massive structure was rising a little above the water and at the same time the causeway was increasing in width and moving towards the city, when the Tyrians, seeing the size of the structure, whose increase had hitherto escaped their notice, began to encircle with light craft the work which did not yet form a juncture, and also to assail — with missiles those who stood upon it. Therefore, when many had been wounded without harm to their assailants, since it was easy both to withdraw and to bring up the skiffs, they had diverted them from their work to the care of protecting their own lives. Besides, the farther the causeway was pushed from the shore, the more did the great depth of the sea swallow up whatever was thrown into it.

[23] Therefore the king gave orders that hides and canvas should be stretched before the workmen, in order that they might be out of reach of the missiles,” and raised two towers on the highest part of the causeway, from which weapons could be showered upon the boats as they came up. To meet this the Tyrians brought the boats to the shore, too far away to be seen by the enemy, and landing soldiers, butchered those who were carrying rocks. On Mount Libanus also the peasants of the Arabians attacked the Macedonians when they were in disorder, killed about thirty, and took a smaller number of prisoners.

Ea res Alexandrum dividere copias coegit et, ne segniter adsidere uni urbi videretur, operi Perdiccan Crateronque praefecit, ipse cum expedita manu Arabiam petiit. [2] Inter haec Tyrii navem magnitudine eximia saxis harenaque a puppi oneratam, ita ut multum prora emineret, bitumine ac sulphure inlitam remis concitaverunt, et, cum magnam vim venti vela quoque concepissent, celeriter ad molem successit. [3] Tum prora eius accensa remiges desiluere in scaphas, quae ad hoc ipsum praeparatae sequebantur, navis autem igne concepto latius fundere incendium coepit, quod, priusquam posset occurri, turres et cetera opera in capite molis posita comprehendit. [4] At qui desiluerant in parva navigia, faces et, quidquid alendo igni aptum erat, in eadem opera ingerunt. Iamque non imae modo Macedonum turres, sed etiam summa tabulata conceperant [p. 50] ignem, cum ii, qui in turribus erant, partim haurirentur incendio, partim armis omissis in mare semet ipsi inmitterent. [5] At Tyrii, qui capere eos quam interficere mallent, natantium manus stipitibus saxisque lacerabant, [6] donec debilitati inpune navigiis excipi possent. Nec incendio solum opera consumpta, sed forte eodeni die vehementior ventus motum ex profundo mare inlisit in molem, crebrisque fluctibus conpages operis verberatae laxare se, saxaque interfluens unda medium opus rupit. [7] Prorutis igitur lapidum cumulis, quibus iniecta terra sustinebatur, praeceps in profundum ruit, tantaeque molis vix ulla vestigia invenit Arabia rediens Alexander. Hic, quod in adversis rebus solet fieri, alius in alium culpam referebant, cum omnes verius de saevitia maris queri possent. [8] Rex novi operis molem orsus in adversum ventum non latere, sed recta fronte direxit: ea cetera opera velut sub ipsa latentia tuebatur: latitudinem quoque aggeri adiecit, ut turres in medio excitatae procul teli iactu abessent. [9] Totas autem arbores cum ingentibus ramis in altum iaciebant, deinde saxis onerabant rursusque cumulo eorum alias arbores iniciebant, tum humus aggregabatur: superque alia strue saxorum arborumque cumulate velut quodam nexu continens opus iunxerant. Nee Tyrii, [10] quidquid ad inpediendam molem excogitari poterat, segniter exequabantur. Praecipuum auxilium erat, qui procul hostium conspectu subibant aquam occultoque lapsu ad molem usque penetrabant, falcibus palmites arborum eminentium ad se trahentes. Quae ubi secutae erant, pleraque secum in profundum [p. 51] dabant: tum levatos onere stipites trunosque arborum haud aegre moliebantur, deinde totum opus, quod stipitibus fuerat innixum, fundamento lapso sequebatur. [11] Aegro animi

Alexandro nec, perseveraret an abiret, satis certo classis Cypro advenit eodemque tempore Cleander cum Graecis militibus in Asiam nuper advectis. e et XC navigia in duo dividit cornua: laevum Pnytagoras, rex Cypriorum, cum Cratero tuebatur, Alexandrum in dextro quinqueregis regia vehebat. [12] Nee Tyrii, quamquam classem habebant, ausi navale inire certamen: tris omnino ante ipsa moenia opposuerunt, quibus rex invectus ipse eas demersit. [13] Postera die classe ad moenia admota undique tormentis et maxime arietum pulsu muros quatit: quos Tyrii raptim obstructis saxis refecerunt, interiorum quoque murum, ut, si prior fefellisset, illo se tuerentur, munire orsi. [14] Sed undique vis mali urgebat: mole intra teli iactum erant, classis moenia circumibat, terrestri simul navalique clade obruebantur. Quippe binas quadriremes Macedones inter se ita iunxerant, ut prorae cohaerent, puppes intervallo, quantum capere poterant, distarent: [15] hoc puppium intervallum antennis asseribusque validis deligatis superque eos pontibus stratis, qui militem sustinerent, inpleverant. Sic instructas quadriremes ad urbem agebant: inde missilia in propugnantes ingerebantur tuto, quia proris miles tegebatur. [16] Media nox erat, cum classem sic, uti [p. 52] dictum est, paratam circumire muros iubet. Iamque naves urbi undique admovebantur, et Tyrii desperatione torpebant, cum subito spissae nubes intendere se caelo et, quidquid lucis internitebat, offusa caligine extinctum est. [17] Tum inhorrescens mare paulatim levare, deinde acriore vento concitatum fluctus cedere et inter se navigia concludere. Iamque scindi coeperunt vincula, quibus conexas quadriremes erant, ruere tabulata et cum ingenti fragore in profundum secum milites trahere. [18] Neque enim conserta navigia ulla ope in turbido regi poterant: miles ministeria nautarum, remex militis officia turbabat, et, quod in eiusmodi casu accidit, periti ignavis parebant. Quippe gubernatores alias imperare soliti tum metu mortis iussa exequiebantur. Tandem remis pertinacius everberatum mare veluti eripientibus navigia classicis cessit, adpulsaque sunt litori lacerata pleraque. [19] Isdem forte diebus Carthaginiensium legati XXX superveniunt, magis obsessis solacium quam auxilium. [20] Quippe domestico bello Poenos impediri nec de imperio, sed pro salute dimicare nuntiabant. Syracusani tum Africam urebant et haud procul Carthaginis muris locaverant castra. Non tamen defecere animis Tyrii, quamquam ab ingenti spe destituti erant, sed coniuges liberosque devehendos Carthaginem tradiderunt, fortius, quidquid accideret, laturos, si carissimam sui partem extra sortem communis periculi habuissent. [21] Cumque unus e civibus in contione indicasset, oblatam esse per somnum sibi speciem Apollinis, quem eximia religione colerent, urbem deserentis molemque a Mace- [p. 53] donibus in salo iactam in silvestrem saltum esse mutatam, [22] quamquam auctor levis erat, tamen ad deteriora credenda prae metu aurea catena devinxere simulacrum araeque Herculis, cuius numini urbem dicaverant, inseruere vinculum quasi illo deo Apollinem retenturo. Syracusis id simulacrum devexerant Poeni et in maiore locaverant patria multisque aliis spoliis urbium a semet captarum non Carthaginem magis quam Tyrum ornaverant. [23] Sacrum quoque, quod equidem dis minime cordi esse

crediderim, multis saeculis intermissum repetendi auctores quidam erant, ut ingenuus puer Saturno immolaretur — quod sacrilegium verius quam sacrum Carthaginienses a conditoribus traditum usque ad excidium urbis suae fecisse dicuntur — , ac nisi seniores obstitissent, quorum consilio cuncta agebantur, humanitatem dira superstitio vicisset. ^[24] Ceterum efficacior omni arte necessitas non usitata modo praesidia, sed quaedam etiam nova admovit. Namque ad implicanda navigia, quae muros subibant, validos asseres funibus inligaverant, ut, cum tormento asseres promovissent, subito laxatis funibus inicerent. ^[25] Unci quoque et falces ex isdem asserebus dependentes aut propugnatores aut ipsa navigia lacerabant. Clipeos vero aereos multo igne torrebant, quos repletos fervida harena caenoque decocto e muris subito devolvebant. ^[26] Nec ulla pestis magis timebatur: quippe ubi inter loricam corpusque fervens harena penetraverat, nec ulla vi excuti poterat ^[p. 54] et, quidquid attigerat, perurebat, iacientesque arma laceratis omnibus, quis protegi poterant, vulneribus inulti patebant. Corvi vero et ferreae manus tormento remissae plerosque rapiebant.

III. This state of affairs compelled Alexander to divide his forces, and lest he should seem slow in besieging one city, he left Perdiccas and Craterus in charge of that work and himself went to Arabia with a light-armed band. Meanwhile the Tyrians so loaded a ship of unusual size, by piling rocks and sand in the stern, that the prow was greatly raised, smeared it with bitumen and sulphur, and drove it ahead by oars; and when its sails also had caught the wind in full force, it quickly reached the causeway. Then, after setting fire to the prow, the rowers leaped into skiffs which were following, designed in advance for that very purpose, but the ship, having caught fire, began to spread far and wide flames, which, before they could be prevented, seized upon the towers and other works that had been ^[4] placed at the head of the causeway: then those who had leaped into the small boats heaped upon the towers and other works firebrands and whatever else was suitable for feeding the flames. And now, not only the lower parts of the Macedonians' towers, but also the topmost storeys had caught fire, whereupon those who were in the towers were either consumed by the flames or threw away their arms and leaped ^[5] into the sea. But the Tyrians, who preferred to take them prisoner rather than kill them, lacerated the hands of the swimmers with stakes and stones, until they were disabled and could be taken into the boats without danger. Not only were the works consumed by the fire, but it chanced that on that day a more furious wind stirred up the sea from its very depths and dashed it against the causeway, and the joints of the structure, lashed by surge after surge, loosened, so that the sea, flowing in between the blocks, broke right through the work. Therefore, when the heaps of stones which supported the earth that had been heaped upon them were demolished, the whole structure sank headlong into the deep, and Alexander, on returning from Arabia, found hardly any traces of so great a causeway.

Thereupon, as usually happens in disasters, they all put the blame on one another, although all might more reasonably have found fault with the fury of the sea. The king, on beginning to build a new causeway, made its front (instead of its side) face directly into the unfavourable wind. Thus the front protected the rest of the works, which were hidden, as it were, behind it “; he also made the causeway wider, in order that the towers erected on the middle of it might be far out of range of a weapon. Furthermore, they threw whole trees with their great branches into the deep, then loaded them with rocks, again threw other trees upon the pile of rocks, and finally heaped on earth; besides this, by piling up successive masses of rocks and trees they had joined together a continuous causeway, as if by a kind of bond. Nor were the Tyrians inactive in carrying out whatever could be devised to hamper the building of the causeway. A special help in this effort were those who plunged into the sea far out of sight of the enemy, and by gliding under water made their way as far as the causeway, and with hooks pulled towards them the projecting ends of the branches of the trees; and when the trees also were dragged away, they carried with them many parts of the structure into deep water. Then the divers without difficulty heaved away at the logs and tree-trunks, thus deprived of their weight, until finally the entire part of the work which was supported by the tree-trunks, since its foundation was gone, followed and collapsed.

Just when Alexander was feeling discouraged, and was not quite certain whether to continue the siege or to withdraw, a fleet arrived from Cyprus, and at the same time Cleander came with the Greek soldiers which had recently been transported to Asia. These 120 ships Alexander divided into two wings; of the left Pnytagoras, king of the Cypriotes, and Craterus had command, on the right the royal five-banker carried Alexander. The Tyrians, although they had a fleet, did not dare to risk a sea-fight; to oppose the enemy, they placed in position only three ships, directly before the walls, and these the king himself rammed and sank.

[13] On the following day, Alexander, bringing his fleet up to the city's defences, shattered the walls on every side with artillery, and in particular by the battering of rams. The Tyrians hastily repaired the breaches by blocking them with rocks, and began also to build an inner wall, in order to protect themselves with this, if the first wall failed them. But the power of misfortune was pressing them on every side; the causeway was advanced within spear-range of the walls, which were also surrounded by the fleet; they were being overwhelmed by disaster on sea and on land. For the Macedonians had joined four-bankers together in pairs, in such a way that while their prows were united, the sterns were as far apart as it was possible to have them; this space between the sterns they had filled with yards of ships and strong beams bound together, and upon them had built platforms, as a standing-place for soldiers. These four-bankers, thus equipped, they rowed up to the city; from them

missiles were showered upon the defenders with safety, since the soldiers were protected by the prows.

It was in the middle of the night when Alexander gave orders for the fleet, prepared as described, to encircle the walls. And already the ships were moving towards the city from every side, and the Tyrians were paralysed with despair, when suddenly thick clouds spread over the heavens, and whatever light penetrated them was shut out by a widespread mist. Then a rough sea began to rise by degrees, and soon, urged on by a more violent wind, stirred up billows, and the craft dashed against one another. And already the bonds by which the four-bankers were fastened together began to be torn apart, the platforms to break up and with a mighty roar to drag the soldiers with them into the deep. For the ships, when joined together, could not in any way be managed in such a time of disorder; the soldiers disturbed the work of the sailors, the oarsmen the duties of the soldiers, and, as usually happens in such a crisis, the skilful obeyed the ignorant. For the helmsmen, who at other times were wont to take command, then through fear of death did what they were ordered. At last the sea, lashed with greater vigour by the oars, yielded to the sailors, who were rescuing the ships as if by main force, and the vessels were brought to the shore, for the most part badly damaged.

It chanced that in those same days thirty Carthaginian envoys arrived, rather a consolation to the besieged than a help. For they announced that the Carthaginians were involved in a war at home and were fighting, not for dominion, but for their lives.

At that time the Syracusans were devastating Africa and had pitched their camp not far from the walls of Carthage. Nevertheless the Tyrians did not lose courage, in spite of being abandoned by this great hope, but entrusted to the envoys their wives and children to be taken to Carthage, being ready to bear more bravely whatever might befall them if they could keep their dearest treasures without share in the common peril. And when one of their citizens declared in a public assembly that a vision of Apollo, whom they worshipped with special veneration, had appeared to him in his sleep as deserting the city, and that, the causeway which the Macedonians had constructed in the sea had changed into a forest tract, ^[22] although the author of the tale was a man of slight importance, yet, inclined through fear to believe the worst, they bound the statue of Apollo with a chain of gold to its base, and attached the chain to the altar of Hercules, to whose divine power they had dedicated their city, supposing that that god would hold Apollo back. The Carthaginians had carried off that statue from Syracuse and had placed it in their ancestral fatherland, and with many other spoils of the cities which they had captured they had adorned lyre rather than Carthage.

[23] Some even proposed renewing a sacrifice which had been discontinued for many years, and which I for my part should believe to be by no means

pleasing to the gods, of offering a freeborn boy to Saturn — this sacrilege rather than sacrifice, handed down from their founders, the Carthaginians are said to have Performed until the destruction of their city — and unless the elders, in accordance with whose counsel everything was done, had opposed it, the awful only the usual means of defence, but also some novel ones. For in order to catch in their toils the ships which came up close under the walls, they had bound stout beams to ropes, so that when they had thrown forward these beams with a hurling-engine, they might suddenly, while the ropes ran slack, drop the beams upon the ships. Hooks also and scythes hanging from those same beams lacerated either the attackers or the ships themselves. Moreover, the Tyrians heated brazen shields in a great fire, and after filling them with hot sand and boiling filth hurled [26] them down from the walls. And no plague was more feared than this; for when the burning-hot sand had made its way between the coat-of-mail and the body, it could not be shaken out by any effort and burned through whatever it had touched; and the soldiers, throwing away their arms and tearing to bits everything by which they could be protected, were exposed to wounds without being able to retaliate. Besides this, ravens and iron claws, released by hurling-engines, carried off many.

Hic rex fatigatus statuerat soluta obsidione Aegyptum petere. [2] Quippe cum Asiam ingenti velocitate percucurrisset, circa muros unius urbis haerebat tot maximarum rerum opportunitate dimissa. Ceterum tam discedere inritum quam morari pudebat, famam quoque, qua plura quam armis everterat, ratus leviolem fore, si Tyrum quasi testem, se posse vinci, reliquisset. Igitur ne quid inexpertum omitteret, plures naves ad moveri iubet delectosque militum inponi. [3] Et forte belua invisitatae magnitudinis super ipsos fluctus dorso eminens ad molem, quam Macedones iecerant, ingens corpus adplicuit diverberatisque fructibus adlevans semet utrimque conspecta est: [4] deinde a capite molis rursus alto se inmersit ac modo super undas eminens magna sui parte, modo superfusus fluctibus condita haud procul munimentis urbis se mersit. [5] Utrisque laetus fuit beluae aspectus: Macedones iter iaciendo operi monstrasse eam augurabantur, Tyrii Neptunum, occupati maris vindicem, abripuisse beluam ac molem brevi profecto ruituram. Laetique omine eo ad epulas dilapsi oneravere se vino, quo graves orto sole navigia conscendunt redimita floribus coronisque: adeo victoriae non omen modo, sed etiam gratulationem praeceperant. [6] Forte rex classem in diversam partem agi iusserat xxx minoribus navigiis relictis in litore: (??) quibus Tyrii duobus captis cetera ingenti terruerunt [p. 55] metu, donec suorum clamore audito Alexander classem litori, a quo fremitus acciderant, admovit. [7] Prima e Macedonum navibus quinqueremis velocitate inter ceteras eminens occurrit: quam ut conspexere Tyriae, duae ex diverso in latera eius invectae sunt, in quarum alteram quinqueremis eadem concitata et ipsa rostro icta est et illam invicem tenuit. [8] Iamque ea, quae non cohaerebat, libero impetu est vecta in aliud quinqueremis latus. Invehebatur tum opportunitate mira triremis e classe Alexandri in eam ipsam, quae quinqueremi imminebat, tanta vi, ut Tyrius

gubernator in mare excuteretur e puppi. [9] Plures deinde Macedonum naves superveniunt, et rex quoque aderat, cum . Tyrii inhibentes remis aegre evellere navem, quae haerebat, portumque omnia simul navigia repetunt. Confestim rex insecutus portum quidem intrare non potuit, cum procul e muris missilibus summo veretur, naves autem omnes fere aut demersit aut cepit. [10] Biduo deinde ad quietem dato militibus iussisque et classem et machinas pariter admove, ut undique territis instaret, ipse in altissimam turrem ascendit ingenti animo, periculo maiore: quippe regio insigni et armis fulgentibus conspicuus unus praecipue telis petebatur. [11] Et digna prorsus spectaculo edidit: multos e muris propugnantes hasta transfixit, quosdam etiam comminus gladio clipeoque impulsos praecipitavit. Quippe turris, ex qua dimicabat, muris hostium propemodum cohaerebat. [12] Iamque crebris arietibus saxo- [p. 56] rum conpage laxata munimenta defecerant et classis intraverat portum et quidam Macedonum in turres hostium desertas evaserant, cum Tyrii tot simul malis victi alii supplices in templa confugiunt, alii foribus aedium obseratis occupant liberum mortis arbitrium, nonnulli ruunt in hostem haud inulti tamen perituri, [13] magna pars summa tectorum obtinebat saxa et, quidquid fors in manus dederat, ingerentes subeuntibus. Alexander exceptis, qui in templa confugerant, omnes interfici ignemque tectis inici iubet. [14] His per praecones pronuntiatis nemo tamen armatus opem a dis petere sustinuit: pueri virginesque templa conpleverant, viri in vestibulo suarum quisque aedium stabant, [15] parata saevientibus turba. Multis tamen saluti fuere Sidonii, qui intra Macedonum praesidia erant. Hi urbem quidem inter victores intraverant, sed cognationis cum Tyriis memores — quippe utramque urbem Agenorem condidisse credebant — multos Tyrionum clam protegentes ad sua perduxere navigia: quibus occultatis Sidona devecti sunt. [16] XV milia hoc furto subducta saevitiae sunt. Quantumque sanguinis fusum sit, vel ex hoc aestimari potest, quod intra munimenta urbis vi milia armatorum trucidata sunt. [17] Triste deinde spectaculum victoribus ira praebuit regis: II milia, [18] in quibus occidendis defecerat rabies, crucibus adfixi per ingens litoris spatium pependerunt. Carthaginensium legatis pepercit addita denuntiatione belli, quod praesentium rerum necessitas moraretur. [19] Tyros septimo mense, quam oppugnari coepta erat, capta est, urbs et vetustate originis et crebra fortunae varietate ad memoriam posteritatis insignis. Condita [p. 57] ab Agenore diu mare non vicinum modo, sed, quodcumque classes eius adierunt, dicionis suae fecit. Et, si famae libet credere, haec gens litteras prima aut docuit aut didicit. Coloniae certe eius paene orbe toto diffusae sunt: Carthago in Africa, in Boeotia Thebae, Gades ad Oceanum. [20] Credo libero conmeantes mari saepiusque adeundo ceteris incognitas terras elegisse sedes iuventuti, qua tunc abundabant, sive quia crebris motibus terrae — nam hoc quoque traditur — cultores eius fatigati nova et externa domicilia armis sibimet quaerere cogeantur. [21] Multis ergo casibus defuncta et post excidium renata nunc tandem longa pace cuncta refovente sub tutela Romanae mansuetudinis adquiescit.

IV. At this point Alexander from utter weariness had determined to raise the siege and go to Egypt. For after he had overrun Asia with great speed he was lingering around the walls of a single city, thus losing - the opportunity for so many mighty exploits. But he was as much ashamed to withdraw baffled, as to delay, thinking that his reputation also, by which he had overthrown more than by his arms, would be impaired if he should leave Tyre as a witness that he could be defeated. Therefore, in order to leave nothing untried, he ordered more ships to be brought up and the best of his soldiers to be embarked upon them. And it chanced that a sea-monster, of a size never before seen, rising even above the waves with its back, brought its huge body up to the causeway which the Macedonians had built, and striking the surges asunder as it lifted itself, was seen by both sides. Then from the peak of the causeway it again plunged under the sea, and now rising above the surface with a great part of its bulk, now hidden as the waves dashed over it, it disappeared under water not far from the walls of the city. The appearance of the monster gave joy to both sides; the Macedonians interpreted it as showing the direction in which to go on building up the work; the Tyrians thought that Neptune, as an avenger of the usurped sea, had brought the monster against the causeway, and that it would surely soon fall in ruins. Rejoicing in the omen, the Tyrians turned aside to feasting and loaded themselves with wine, and still under its influence at sunrise, they embarked upon ships wreathed with flowers and garlands; so over-hasty were they to perceive, not only an omen of victory, but even an occasion for celebrating one.

[6] As it happened, the king had ordered his fleet to be brought to the opposite side of the harbour, leaving thirty of the smaller ships at the shore; of these the Tyrians captured two and greatly terrified the rest, until Alexander, hearing the shouts of his men, moved his fleet to the part of the shore from which the uproar had come. The first of the Macedonians ships to reach the spot was a five-banker, conspicuous among the rest for speed; when the Tyrian ships caught sight of it, two of them charged its sides from opposite directions, against one of which the five-banker rushed, and was itself rammed by the beak of the other and in turn held it fast. And then the other Tyrian ship, which was not held fast, made a free attack on the other side of the five-banker. Then with wonderful timeliness a three-banker of Alexander's fleet charged upon the very ship which was threatening the five-banker, with such force that the Tyrian steersman was hurled from the stern into the sea. Then more Macedonian ships came up, and the king also was close at hand, when the Tyrians backed water and with difficulty tore away the ship which was entangled, and all their vessels together made for the port. Immediately Alexander pursued them; he was unable to enter the harbour, since he was thrust far from the walls by missiles, but he captured or sank nearly all the ships.

Then two days were given to the soldiers for rest, and they were ordered to

bring up both the fleet and at the same time the machines, in order that Alexander might terrify the enemy by an attack on all sides; he himself mounted a very lofty tower, with great courage and still greater danger; for being conspicuous for his royal garb and gleaming arms, he more than any other was a special target for missiles.

[11] And his exploits were well worth beholding; many defenders on the ramparts he ran through with his spear, some he attacked hand to hand with sword and shield, and hurled them headlong from the parapets.

For the tower from which he was fighting was almost joined to the enemies' walls.

[12] And now, after the blows of many rams had loosened the structure of the stones, the fortifications had begun to give way, and the fleet had entered the port, and some of the Macedonians had made their way into the towers deserted by the enemy, then of the Tyrians, overcome by so many evils at once, some took refuge as suppliants in the temples, others bolted the doors of their houses and anticipated the enemy by a death of their free choice, still others rushed upon the foe to die, but yet not unavenged; a great part manned the roofs of their houses and showered stones and whatever chance had put into their hands upon the Macedonians as they came up. Alexander gave orders that all except those who had taken refuge in the temples should be slain and the houses set on fire. Although this order was proclaimed by heralds, yet not a single armed man could bring himself to seek aid from the gods; boys and maidens had filled the temples, the men stood each in the vestibule of his own house, a throng at the mercy of the raging foe.

[15] To many, however, the Sidonians, who formed a part of the Macedonian forces, were a means of safety. These, it is true, had entered the city among the victors, but mindful of their kinship with the Tyrians — for they believed that Agenor founded both cities — they secretly protected many of the Tyrians and took them to their ships, in which they were hidden and conveyed to Sidon. By this deception 15,000 were saved from the victor's cruelty. But how great the bloodshed was may be calculated from this alone, that 6000 armed men were butchered within [17] the city's ramparts. After that the king's wrath furnished the victors with an awful spectacle; 2000 men, for the slaying of whom frenzy had spent itself, hung nailed to crosses along a great stretch of the shore. He spared the Carthaginian envoys, but added a declaration of war, although the war was delayed by the urgency of present affairs.

[19] Tyre was taken in the seventh month after the beginning of the siege, a city worthy of note in the memory of later times both for its ancient origin and its frequent changes of fortune. Founded by Agenor, it long held under its sway, not only the neighbouring part of the sea, but whatever portion of it its fleets could reach. Also, if one wishes to believe report, this people was the first

either to teach, or to learn, the art of writing. At any rate, its colonies were distributed over almost the whole world; Carthage in Africa, Thebes in Boeotia, Gades on the Ocean. I suppose that, as they went to and fro on the free sea, and often visiting lands unknown to other peoples, they selected homes for their young men, of whom they then had an over-abundant supply; or it may be that the Tyrians, exhausted by frequent earthquakes — for this also is reported — were forced to seek new homes for themselves in foreign lands by arms. Having therefore suffered many disasters and having risen again from their ruins, now at last wholly restored by long-continued Peace, they are at rest under the protection of Roman clemency.

Isdem ferme diebus Darei litterae adlatæ sunt tandem ut regi scriptæ. Petebat, uti filiam suam — Statiræ erat nomen — nuptiis Alexander sibi adiungeret: dotem fore omnem regionem inter Hellespontum et Halyn amnem sitam, inde orientem spectantibus terris contentum se fore. [2] Ne dubitaret, quod offerretur, accipere: numquam diu eodem vestigio stare fortunam, semperque homines, quantamcumque felicitatem habeant, invidiam tamen sentire maiorem. [3] Vereri se, ne avium modo, quas naturalis levitas ageret ad sidera, inani ac puerili mente se efferret: nihil difficilius esse quam in illa ætate tantam capere fortunam. [4] Multas se adhuc reliquias habere nee semper inter angustias posse deprehendi: transeundum esse Alexandro Euphraten Tigrimque et Araxen et Choaspen, magna munimenta [p. 58] regni sui, veniendum in campos, ubi paucitate suorum erubescendum sit, in Mediam, Hyrcaniam, Bactra: [5] et Indos, Oceani accolas, quando aditurum, ne Sogdianos et Arachosios nominem ceterasque gentes ad Caucasum et Tanain pertinentes? [6] Senescendum fore tantum terrarum vel sine proelio obeunti. Se vero ad ipsum vocare desineret: [7] namque illius exitio se esse venturum. Alexander iis, qui litteras attulerant, respondit, Dareum sibi aliena promittere et, quod totum amiserit, velle partiri. Doti sibi dari Lydiam, Ionas, Aeolidem, Hellesponti oram, victoriae suae præmia. Leges autem a victoribus dici, accipi a victis: in utro statu ambo essent, si solus ignoraret, quam primum Marte decerneret. [8] Seque, cum transiret mare, non Ciliciam aut Lydiam — quippe tanti belli exiguum hanc esse mercedem —, sed Persepolim, caput regni eius, Bactra deinde et Ecbatana ultimique Orientis oram imperio destinasse. Quocumque ille fugere potuisset, ipsum sequi posse: desineret terrere fluminibus, quem sciret maria transisse. [9] Reges quidem hæc invicem scripserant. Sed Rhodii urbem suam portusque dedebant Alexandro. Ille Ciliciam Socrati tradiderat Philota regioni circa Tyrum iusso præsidere. Syriam, quæ Coele appellatur, [10] Andromacho Parmenio tradiderat bello, quod supererat, interfuturus. Rex Hephaestione Phoenices [p. 59] oram classe prætervehi iusso ad urbem Gazam cum omnibus copiis venit. [11] Isdem fere diebus sollemne erat ludicrum Isthmiorum, quod conventu totius Graeciae celebratur: in eo concilio Graeci, ut sunt temporaria ingenia, decernunt, ut xv legarentur ad regem, qui ob res pro salute ac libertate Graeciae gestas coronam auream donum victoriae ferrent. [12] Idem paulo ante incertae famae

captaverant auram, ut, quocumque pendentes animos tulisset fortuna, sequerentur. [13] Ceterum non ipse modo rex obibat urbes adhuc iugum imperii recusantes, sed praetores quoque ipsius, egregii duces, pleraque invaserant, Calas Paphlagoniam, Antigonus Lycaoniam: Balacrus Hydarne, Darei praetore, [14] superato denuo Miletum cepit, Amphoterus et Hegelochus clx navium classe insulas inter Achaiam atque Asiam in dicionem Alexandri redegerunt. Tenedo quoque recepta Chium incolis ultro vocantibus statuerant occupare, [15] sed Pharnabazus, Darei praetor, comprehensis, qui res ad Macedones trahebant, rursus Apollonidi et Athenagorae, suarum partium viris, urbem cum modico praesidio militum tradit. [16] Praefecti Alexandri in obsidione urbis perseverabant non tam suis fisci viribus quam ipsorum, qui obsidebantur, voluntate. Nec fefellit opinio: namque inter et duces militum orta seditio inrumpendi in urbem [p. 60] occasionem dedit, [17] cumque porta effracta cohors Macedonum intrasset, oppidani olim consilio proditionis agitato adgregant se Amphotero et Hegelocho, Persarumque praesidio caeso Pharnabazus cum Apollonide et Athenagora vincti traduntur, [18] XII triremes cum suo milite ac remige, praeter eas XXX inanes et piratici lembi Graecorumque in milia a Persis mercede conducta. His in supplementum copiarum suarum distributis piratisque supplicio adfectis captivos remiges adiecere classi suae. [19] Forte Aristonicus, Methymnaeorum tyrannus, cum piraticis navibus ignarus omnium, quae apud Chium acta erant, prima vigilia ad portus claustra successit interrogatusque a custodibus, quis esset, Aristonicum ad Pharnabazum venire respondit. [20] Illi Pharnabazum quidem iam quiescere et non posse tum adiri, ceterum patere socio atque hospiti portum et postero die Pharnabazi copiam fore adfirmant. [21] Nec dubitavit Aristonicus primus intrare, secuti sunt ducem piratici lembi, ac, dum adplicant navigia crepidini portus, obicitur a vigilibus claustrum, et, qui proximi excubabant, ab isdem excitantur. Nullo ex iis auso repugnare omnibus catenae iniectae sunt, Amphotero deinde Hegelochoque traduntur. [22] Hinc Macedones transiere Mytilenen. Quam Chares Atheniensis nuper occupatam II milium Persarum praesidio tenebat, sed, cum obsidionem tolerare non posset, urbe tradita pactus, ut incolumi abire liceret, Imbrum petit. Deditis Macedones pepercerunt. [p. 61]

V. At about that same time a letter of Darius was brought, at last written as to a king. He asked that Alexander should take to wife his daughter — her name was Statira; that her dowry would be the entire region lying between the Hellespont and the Halys River, and that Darius would be content with the lands extending eastward from that river. Darius reminded him that he ought not to hesitate to accept the offer; that Fortune never stands long on the same spot, and that men, however great success they may enjoy, are nevertheless exposed to greater envy.

[3] That he feared lest Alexander, like the birds, whose natural lightness drives them on towards the stars, might be carried away by a vain and childish spirit;

that nothing was more difficult at his time of life than [4] to be able to prove equal to so great a fortune. That Darius still had many lands left, and could not always be caught amid narrow defiles; Alexander had the Euphrates and Tigris to cross, the Araxes and Choaspes, mighty defences of the Persian empire, and must come into open plains, where he would have to blush for the small number of his forces, to Media, [5] Hyrcania, Bactra; and when would he reach the Indi, neighbours of the Ocean, not to mention the Sogdiani and the Arachosii, and the rest of the nations extending to the Caucasus and the Tanais? He must grow old merely in traversing such an expanse of lands, even if he could do so without fighting.

[6] Further, Alexander should cease to summon him to come to him; for he would come of his own accord, to his enemy's destruction.

[7] Alexander replied to those who had brought the letter that Darius was promising him what was not his own, and wished to give him a share of what he had wholly lost. As a dowry were offered him Lydia, the Ionians, Aeolis, the coast of the Hellespont, the prizes of his own victory! Moreover, conditions were imposed by victors, accepted by the vanquished. If Darius alone did not know in what relation they both stood, let him settle the question as soon as possible [8] on the field of battle. Also let him know that Alexander, when he crossed the sea, had not aimed at the rule of Cilicia or Lydia — for that would be a slight reward for so great a war — but of Persepolis, the capital of Darius' kingdom, then of Bactra and Ecbatana, and the lands of the remotest Orient. Whithersoever Darius should have been able to flee, he could follow; let him cease to try to frighten with rivers one whom he knew to have crossed seas.

9The kings indeed had exchanged these letters. But the Rhodians were surrendering their city and ports to Alexander. He had entrusted Cilicia to Socrates and ordered Philotas to govern the region about Tyre. The part of Syria which is called Coelê had been handed over to Andromachus by Parmenion, who was destined to share largely in what remained of the war. Alexander, after ordering Hephaestion to coast along the shore of Phoenicia with the fleet, came with all his forces to the city of Gaza.

[11] At about that same time was the regular festival of the Isthmians, which is crowded by an assemblage of all Greece; at that meeting the Greeks, being by nature time-serving, decided that fifteen envoys should be sent to the king, and, because of what he had done for the safety and freedom of Greece, should take him a golden crown in recognition of his victory.

[12] These same Greeks a short time before had been listening for the breeze of uncertain report, with the intention of following whithersoever Fortune should lead their wavering minds.

But not only was Alexander himself proceeding to reduce the cities which still rejected the yoke of his rule, but his generals also, distinguished leaders, had invaded many places: — Calas Paplilagonia, Antigonus Lycaonia; Balacrus, having vanquished Hvdarnes, Darius' satrap, had recovered Miletus, Amphoterus and Hegelochus with a fleet of 160 ships had brought the islands between Achaia and Asia under the sway of Alexander. After recovering Tenedos also, they had decided to take Chios at the ^[15] direct request of its citizens, but Pharnabazus, Darius admiral, seized those who were trying to turn the rule over to the Macedonians and delivered the city again to Apollonides and Athenagoras, men of the Persian faction, with a force of soldiers of moderate size.

[16] Alexander's generals persisted in the siege of the city, reiving not so much on their own strength as on the inclination of the besieged. And they were not mistaken; for a disagreement which arose between Apollonides and the leaders of the soldiers gave an opportunity for forcing their way into the city, an after a gate had been broken down and a cohort of Macedonians had entered, the townsmen, who had previously planned to betray the city, attached themselves to Amphoterus and Hegelochus, the Persian garrison was slain, and Pharnabazus as well as Apollonides and Athenagoras were bound and surrendered to the Macedonians, also twelve triremes with their soldiers and oarsmen, and besides these, thirty ships without crews, and fifty piratical boats and 3000 Greeks serving as mercenaries with the Persians. These last were distributed as a reinforcement of the Macedonian forces, the pirates were put to death, and the captured oarsmen were enrolled in the fleet.

[19] It chanced that Aristonicus, the despot of Methymnê, with some pirate ships, being unaware of everything which had taken place at Chios, in the first watch came to the barriers of the port, and on being asked by the guards who he was, replied that he was ^[20] Aristonicus coming to Pharnabazus. They declared that Pharnabazus was already sleeping and could not be approached, but that the port was open to an ally and friend of his, and that Aristonicus would have ^[21] access to him on the following day. Aristonicus did not hesitate to enter first and ten pirate vessels followed their leader; and while they were bringing the ships up to the quay of the port, the guards put the barrier in place and summoned those who were on watch near by. Since none of the pirates dared to resist, they were all put in chains; then they were ^[22] delivered to Amphoterus and Hegelochus. From there the Macedonians crossed to Mitylenê. This city had lately been seized by Chares, the Athenian, who was holding it with a garrison of 2000 Persians; but since he could not withstand a siege, Chares surrendered the city after stipulating that he should be allowed to leave in safety, and went to Imbros. The Macedonians spared the surrendered.

Dareus desperata pace, quam per litteras legatosque inpetrari posse crediderat,

ad reparandas vires bellumque inipigre renovandum intendit animum. [2] Duces ergo copiarum Babylon iam convenire, Bessum quoque, Bactrianorum praetorem, quam maximo posset exercitu coacto, descendere ad se iubet. [3] Sunt autem Bactriani inter illas gentes promptissimi horridis ingeniis multumque a Persarum luxu abhorrentibus : siti haud procul Scytharum bellicosissima gente et raptu vivere adsueta semper in armis erant. [4] Sed Bessus suspecta perfidia haud sane aequo animo in secundo se continens gradu regem terrebat: nam cum regnum adfectaret, proditio, quo sola id adsequi poterat, timebatur. [5] Ceterum Alexander, quam regionem Dareus petisset, omni cura vestigans tamen explorare non poterat more quodam Persarum arcana regum mira celantium fide: [6] non metus, non spes elicit vocem, qua prodantur occulta. Vetus disciplina regum silentium vitae periculo sanxerat : lingua gravius castigatur quam ullum probum, nec magnam rem Magi sustineri posse credunt ab eo, cui tacere grave sit, quod homini facillimum voluerit esse natura. [7] Ob hanc causam Alexander omnium, quae apud hostem gererentur, ignarus urbem Gazam obsidebat. Praeerat urbi Betis eximiae in regem suum fidei modicoque praesidio muros ingentis operis tuebatur. [8] Alexander aestimato locorum situ agi cuniculos iussit facili ac levi humo acceptante occultum opus: quippe multam harenam vicinum mare [p. 62] evomit, nec saxa cotesque, quae interpellent specus, [9] obstant. Igitur ab ea parte, quam oppidani conspiciere non possent, opus orsus, ut a sensu eius averteret, turres muris admoveri iubet. Sed eadem humus movendis inutilis turribus desidente sabulo agilitatem rotarum morata etiam tabulata turrium perfringebat, multique vulnerabantur inpune, cum idem recipiendis qui admovendis turribus labor eos fatigaret. [10] Ergo receptui signo dato postero die muros corona circumdari iussit. Ortoque sole, priusquam admoveret exercitum, opem deum exposcens sacrum patrio more faciebat. [11] Forte praetervolans corvus glebam, quam unguibus ferebat, subito amisit: quae cum regis capiti incidisset, resoluta defluxit, ipsa autem avis in proxima turre consedit. Inlita erat turris bitumine ac sulphure, in qua alis haerentibus frustra se adlevare conatus a circumstantibus capitur. [12] Digna res visa, de qua vates consuleret: et erat non intactae a superstitione mentis. Ergo Aristander, cui maxima fides habebatur, urbis quidem excidium ait augurio illo portendi: [13] ceterum periculum esse, ne rex vulnus acciperet. Itaque monuit, ne quid eo die inciperet. Ille quamquam unam urbem sibi, quo minus securus Aegyptum intraret, obstare aegre ferebat, tamen paruit vati signumque receptui dedit. Hinc animus crevit obsessis, egressique porta recedentibus inferant signa cunctationem hostium [14] suam fore occasionem rati. Sed acrius quam constantius proelium inierunt: quippe ut Macedonum signa circumagi videre, repente sistunt gradum. Iamque ad regem proeliantium clamor pervenerat, cum denuntiati periculi haud sane memor loricam tamen, quam raro induebat, amicis orantibus sumpsit et ad prima signa [p. 63] pervenit. [15] Quo conspecto Arabs quidam, Daiei miles, maius fortuna sua facinus ausus, gladium clipeo tegens quasi transfuga genibus regis advolvitur. Ille adsurgere supplicem

recipique inter suos iussit. [16] At barbarus gladio strenue i(?) dextram translato cervicem adpetiit regis. Qui exigua corporis declinatione evitato ictu in vanum manum barbari lapsam amputat gladio, denuntiatio in illum diem periculo, ut arbitrabatur ipse, defunctus. [17] Sed, ut opinor, inevitabile est fatum: quippe dum inter primores promptius dimicat, sagitta ictus est, quam per lorica adactam, stantem in humero medicus eius Philippus evellit. [18] Plurimus deinde sanguis manare coepit omnibus territis, quia non, quam alte penetrasset telum, lorica obstante cognoverant. Ipse ne oris quidem colore mutato suppressi sanguinem et vulnus obligari iussit. [19] Diu ante ipsa signa vel dissimulato vel victo dolore perstiterat, cum suppressus paulo ante sanguis labente ligamento, quo retentus erat, manare largius coepit, et vulnus, quod tepens adhuc dolorem non moverat, frigente sanguine intumuit. [20] Linqui deinde animo et submitti genu coepit, quem proximi exceptum in castra receperunt. Et Betis interfectum ratus urbem ovans victoria repetit. [21] At Alexander nondum percurato vulnere aggerem, quo moenium altitudinem aequaret, extruxit pluribusque cuniculis muros subruere iussit. [22] Oppidani ad pristinum fastigium moenium novum extruxere munimentum, sed ne id quidem turres aggeri inpositas poterat aequare. [23] Itaque interiora quoque urbis infesta telis erant. Ultima pestis urbis fuit cuniculo subrutus munis, per cuius [p. 64] ruinas hostis intravit. [24] Ducebat ipse rex antesignanos, et, dum incautius subit, saxo crus eius adfligitur. Innixus tamen telo nondum prioris vulneris obducta cicatrice inter primores dimicat, ira quoque accensus, [25] quod duo in obsidione urbis eius vulnera acceperat. Betim egregia edita pugna multisque vulneribus confectum deseruerunt sui, nec tamen segnus proelium capescebat lubricis armis suo pariter atque hostium sanguine. [26] Sed cum undique telis peteretur, ad postremum exhaustis viribus vivus in potestatem hostium pervertit. Quo adducto insolenti gaudio iuvenis elatus, alias virtutis etiam in hoste mirator: ‘Non, ut voluisti,’ inquit, ‘morieris, sed, quidquid in captivum inveniri potest, passurum esse te cogita.’ [27] Ille non interrito modo, [28] sed contumaci quoque vultu intuens regem nullam ad minas eius reddidit vocem. Tum Alexander: ‘Videtisne obstinatum ad tacendum?’ inquit, ‘num genu posuit? num vocem supplicis misit? Vincam tamen silentium et, si nihil aliud, certe gemitu interpellabo.’ [29] Ira deinde vertit in rabiem iam tum peregrinos ritus nova subiciente fortuna. Per talos enim spirantis lora traiecta sunt, religatumque ad currum traxere circa urbem equi gloriantes rege, Achullen, a quo genus ipse deduceret, imitatum se esse poena in hostem capiendam. [30] Cecidere Persarum Arabumque circa X milia, nec Macedonibus incruenta victoria fuit. Obsidio certe non tam claritate urbis nobilitata est quam geminato periculo regis. Qui Aegyptum adire festinans Amyntan cum X triremibus in Macedoniam ad conquisitionem novorum militum misit. [31] Namque etiam secundis atterebantur tamen copiae, [p. 65] devictarumque gentium militi minor quam domestico fides habebatur.

VI. Darius, despairing of peace, which he had believed that he could obtain through letters and envoys, devoted his attention to recruiting his forces [2] and

vigorously renewing the war. To this end he ordered the leaders of his troops to come together in Babylonia, and Bessus also, governor of the Bactriani, to muster the largest army possible and come down “[3] to him. Now the Bactriani are the most valiant among those nations, of rude dispositions and not at all inclined to the luxurious habits of the Persians; situated as they are not far from the Scythians, a nation fond of war and accustomed to live by plunder, [4] they were always in arms. But Bessus was a cause of alarm to Darius, who suspected him of treachery, because he could not with any patience be kept in a second rank; for since he aspired to royal power, treason, by which alone he could attain it, was feared.

[5] Alexander, however, although trying to track Darius with all care, could not find out for what region he had made, because of a custom of the Persians of keeping the secrets of their kings with [6] a marvellous fidelity; not fear, not hope, can elicit a single word by which confidences are betrayed. The ancient discipline of the kings had enjoined silence on pain of death. An unbridled tongue is more severely punished than any act of wickedness, and the Magi believe that no great cause can be upheld by one who finds it hard to keep silence, which Nature has decreed to be the easiest thing for a man to do. For this reason Alexander, unaware of everything which was going on among the enemy, was besieging the city of Gaza.

The governor of the city was Betis, a man of exceptional loyalty to his king, and he was defending strongly fortified walls with a force of only moderate size. Alexander, after examining the situation of the place,” ordered mines to be dug, since the soil, being light and easy to work, was suitable for underground operations; for the neighbouring sea throws up a great amount of sand and there are neither stones — nor sharp rocks to hinder tunnelling. Accordingly he began the work at a place which was out of sight of the defenders, and to prevent their being aware of it, he ordered towers to be moved against the walls. But the same ground was useless for moving towers, since the sinking of the sand retarded the turning of the wheels and broke down the flooring of the towers, and many men were wounded without being able to retaliate, since the toil, which was the same in moving back the towers as in pushing them forward, wore them out. Therefore the signal for retreat was sounded, and on the following day Alexander gave orders to surround the walls with a cordon of soldiers. And at sunrise, before leading forward the army, imploring the help of the gods, he performed a sacrifice in accordance with the usage of his country.

[11] It chanced that a raven as it flew by suddenly dropped a clod “which it was carrying in its claws; when this had fallen upon the king’s head, it broke in pieces and flowed down upon him, and the bird itself perched upon the nearest tower. The tower had been smeared with bitumen and sulphur, in which the bird’s wings stuck fast, and after vainly trying to fly away it was caught by the

bystanders. The event seemed important enough to warrant consulting the soothsayers, and the king's mind was not unaffected by superstition. As a result, Aristander, in whom he had the greatest confidence, said that the destruction of the city was in fact foretold by that augury, but that there was danger that the king would sutler a wound; and so the seer warned him not to begin an attack on that day. Alexander, although he was troubled that a single city stood in his way of entering Egypt care-free, nevertheless yielded to the soothsayer and gave the signal for retreat.

By this step the courage of the besieged was increased, and sallying forth from a gate they made an attack on the retreating Macedonians, thinking that the hesitation of the enemy would be their opportunity. But they entered battle with more impetuosity than firmness; for when they saw the standards of the Macedonians turned about, they suddenly checked their advance. And already the shouts of the combatants had reached the king's ears, when, wholly unmindful of the danger which had been foretold, he nevertheless, at the entreaties of his friends, put on his corselet, which he rarely wore, and made his way to the van. On seeing him an Arab, a soldier of Darius, dared a deed greater than his fortune warranted; concealing a sword behind his shield, he fell at the king's knees, pretending to be a deserter. Alexander bade the suppliant rise and be ^[16] received among his own men. But the barbarian, quickly shifting the sword to his right hand, aimed a stroke at the king's neck; but he, avoiding the blow by a slight inclination of his body, with his sword severed the hand of the barbarian which had missed its mark, thus, as he thought, being quit of the danger with which he had been threatened for that day.

[17] But in my opinion fate is inescapable; for while he was fighting with too great daring among the foremost, he was struck by an arrow, which was driven through his corselet and standing in his shoulder was drawn out by his physician Philip. Then a great flow of blood began, to the terror of all because the cuirass prevented them from knowing to what depth the weapon had penetrated. Alexander himself, not even changing colour, gave orders that the blood be stanchd and the wound bound up. For a long time he kept his place before the very standards, either concealing the pain or overcoming it, when the blood, which had been checked shortly before, began to flow more abundantly since the bandage by which it had been kept back slipped, and the wound, which had not yet caused pain while still warm, swelled as the blood grew cold. Then he began to lose consciousness and to sink upon his knees, and those nearest to him took him in their arms and carried him to the camp. And Betis, thinking that he had been killed, returned to the city, exulting in his victory.

[21] But Alexander, before his wound was yet wholly healed, had a mound constructed equal in height to the walls of the city, and ordered the walls to be

undermined by many tunnels. Then the besieged built a new fortification up to the original height of the walls, but not even that was able to equal in height the towers erected on the enemy's mound.

[23] Hence the interior of the city also was exposed to missiles. The final disaster to the city was the undermining of a wall by a tunnel, and through its ruins the enemy entered the city. The king himself led the vanguard, and while he was advancing too incautiously, he was wounded in the leg by a stone. In spite of this, leaning upon his spear, although the scar of his former wound was not yet closed, he continued to fight among the foremost, inflamed also by anger, because in the siege of that city he had suffered two wounds.

[25] Betis, after fighting a gallant battle and being exhausted by many wounds, was deserted by his men, but nevertheless fought on with equal vigour, although his armour was slippery alike with his own [26] blood and that of the enemy. But since he was the target of weapons from all sides, his strength at last gave out and he came alive into the power of the foe. When he was brought before the king, Alexander, usually an admirer of valour even in an enemy, exulting, young as he was, with insolent joy, said: "You shall not die as you have wished, but be sure that you shall suffer whatever can be devised against a captive." Betis, gazing at the king with an expression not only undaunted but haughty, answered [28] not a word to his threats. Then Alexander cried:

Do you not see how determined he is to keep silence? He has not bent his knee, has he? Has he uttered a word of entreaty? Yet I will overcome his silence, and, if in no other way, I will put an end to it by groans." Then his wrath changed to frenzy, for even then his new fortune suggested foreign customs. For while Betis still breathed, thongs were passed round his ankles, he was bound to the king's chariot, and the horses dragged him around the city, while the king boasted that in taking vengeance on an enemy he had imitated Achilles, from whom he derived his race.

[30] There fell of the Persians and Arabians about 10,000; nor was it a bloodless victory for the Macedonians. Certain it is that the siege has become famous, not so much from the renown of the city as for the double danger to the king. He, hastening to go to Egypt, sent Amyntas with ten triremes to Macedonia, to levy new soldiers. For even in successful battles his forces were nevertheless worn away, and less confidence was felt in the soldiers of the conquered nations than in those from home.

Aegyptii olim Persarum opibus infensi — quippe avare et superbe imperitatum sibi esse credebant — ad spem adventus eius erexerant animos, utpote qui Amyntam quoque transfugam et cum precario imperio venientem laeti recepissent. [2] Igitur ingens multitudo Pelusium, qua intraturus videbatur, convenerat. Atque ille septimo die, postquam a Gaza copias moverat, in

regionem Aegypti, quam nunc Castra Alexandri vocant, pervenit. [3] Deinde pedestribus copiis Pelusium petere iussis ipse cum expedita delectorum manu Nilo amne vectus est. Nec sustinere adventum eius Persae defectione quoque perterriti. [4] Iamque haud procul Memphi erat: in cuius praesidium Mazaces, praetor Darei, relictus sponte amne superato octingenta talenta Alexandro omnemque regiam supellectilem tradidit. [5] A Memphi eodem flumine vectus ad interiora Aegypti penetrat compositisque rebus ita, ut nihil ex patrio Aegyptiorum more mutaret, adire Iovis Hammonis oraculum statuit. [6] Iter expeditis quoque et paucis vix tolerabile ingrediendum erat: terra caeloque aquarum penuria est, steriles harenae iacent. Quas ubi vapor solis accendit, fervido solo exurente vestigia intolerabilis aestus existit, [7] luctandumque est non solum cum ardore et siccitate regionis, sed etiam cum tenacissimo sabulo, quod praealtum et vestigio cedens aegre moliuntur pedes. [8] Haec Aegyptii vero maiora iactabant: sed ingens cupido animum stimulabat adeundi Iovem, quem generis sui auctorem haud contentus mortali [p. 66] fastigio aut credebatur esse aut credi volebat. [9] Ergo cum iis, quos ducere secum statuerat, secundo amne descendit ad Mareotin paludem. Eo legati Cyrenensium dona attulere pacem et, ut adiret urbes suas, petentes. [10] Ille donis acceptis amicitiaque coniuncta destinata exequi pergit. Ac primo quidem et sequente die tolerabilis labor visus nondum tam vastis nudisque solitudinibus aditis, iam tamen sterili et emoriente terra. [11] Sed ut aperuere se campi alto obruti sabulo, haud secus quam profundum aequor ingressi terram oculis requirebant: [12] nulla arbor, nullum culti soli occurrebat vestigium. Aqua etiam defecerat, quam utribus cameli vexerant, et in arido solo ac fervido sabulo nulla erat. [13] Ad hoc sol omnia incenderat, siccaque et adusta erant ora, cum repente — sive illud deorum munus sive casus fuit — obductae caelo nubes condidere solem, ingens aestu fatigatis, etiam si aqua deficeret, [14] auxilium. Idem vero, ut largum quoque imbrem excusserunt procellae, pro se quisque excipere eum, [15] quidam ob sitim inpotentes sui ore quoque hianti captare coeperunt. Quadriduum per vastas solitudines absumptum est. Iamque haud procul oraculi sede aberant, cum complures corvi agmini occurrunt: modico volatu prima signa antecedentes et modo humi residebant, [16] cum lentius agmen incederet, modo se pennis levabant ducentium iterque monstrantium ritu. Tandem ad sedem consecratam deo ventum est. Incredibile dictu, inter vastas solitudines sita undique ambientibus ramis vix in densam umbram cadente sole contexta est, [17] multique fontes dulcibus aquis passim manantibus alunt silvas. Caeli quoque mira temperies, verno [p. 67] tepori maxime similis, omnes anni partes pari salubritate percurrit. [18] Accolae sedis sunt ab oriente proximi Aethiopum. In meridiem versam Arabes spectant — Trogodytis cognomen est — : horum regio usque ad Rubrum mare excurrit. [19] At qua vergit ad occidentem, alii Aethiopes colunt, quos Simos vocant. A septentrione Nasamones sunt, gens Syrtica, navigiorum spoliis quaestuosa: quippe obsident litora et aestu destituta navigia notis sibi vadis occupant. [20] Incolae nemoris, quos Hammonios vocant, dispersis tuguriis habitant: medium nemus pro arce

habent, triplici muro circumdatum. [21] Prima munitio tyrannorum veterem regiam clausit, in proxima coniuges eorum cum liberis et pelicibus habitabant — hic quoque dei oraculum est — , ultima munimenta satellitum armigerorumque sedes erant. [22] Est et aliud Hammonis nemus: in medio habet fontem — Solis aquam vocant — : sub lucis ortum tepida manat, medio die, cuius vehementissimus est calor, frigida eadem fluit, inclinato in vesperam calescit, media nocte fervida exaestuat, quoque nox propius vergit ad lucem, multum ex nocturno calore decrescit, donec sub ipsum diei ortum adsueto tepore languescat. [23] Quod pro deo colitur, non eandem effigiem habet, quam vulgo diis artifices accommodaverunt: umbilico maxime similis est habitus zmaragdo et gemmis coagmentatus. [24] Hunc, cum responsum petitur, navigio aurato gestant sacerdotes multis argenteis pateris ab utroque navigii latere pendentibus: [p. 68] sequuntur matronae virginesque patrio more inconditum quoddam carmen canentes, quo propitiari Iovem credunt, ut certum edat oraculum. [25] Ac tum quidem regem propius adeuntem maximus natus e sacerdotibus filium appellat, hoc nomen illi parentem Iovem reddere adfirmans. Ille se vero et accipere ait et agnoscere humanae sortis oblitus. [26] Consuluit deinde, an totius orbis imperium fatis sibi destinaretur. Pater aequè in adulationem conpositus terrarum omnium rectorem fore ostendit. [27] Post haec institit quaerere, an omnes parentis sui interfectores poenas dedissent. Sacerdos parentem eius negat ullius scelere posse violari, Philippi autem omnes luisse supplicia: [28] adiecit, invictum fore, donec excederet ad deos. Sacrificio deinde facto dona et sacerdotibus et deo data sunt, permissumque amicis, ut ipsi quoque consulerent Iovem. Nihil amplius quaesierunt quam, an auctor esset sibi divinis honoribus colendi suum regem. Hoc quoque acceptum fore Iovi vates respondent. [29] Vera et salubri aestimatione fidem oraculi vana profecto responsa eludere potuissent, sed fortuna, quos uni sibi credere coegit, magna ex parte avidos gloriae magis quam capaces facit. [30] Iovis igitur filiuni se non solum appellari passus est, sed etiam iussit rerumque gestarum famam, dum augere vult tali appellatione, [31] corrumpit. Et Macedones, adsueti quidem regio imperio, sed in maiore libertatis umbra quam ceteri degentes, immortalitatem adfectantem contumacius, [32] quam aut ipsis expediebat aut regi, aversati sunt. Sed haec suo quaeque tempori reserventur: nunc cetera exequi pergam. [p. 69]

VII. The Egyptians, hostile of old to the power of the Persians — for they believed that they had been governed avariciously and arrogantly — had taken courage at the prospect of Alexander's coming, since they had welcomed even Amyntas although a deserter coming with authority depending on favour.

Therefore a vast multitude of them had assembled at Pelusium, where they thought that Alexander would enter the country. And in fact six days after moving his forces from Gaza he came to that part of Egypt [3] which they now call Alexander's Camp. From there he ordered the infantry forces to go to

Pelusium, and he himself with a light-armed band of elite troops sailed up the river Nile. The Persians did not await his coming, being greatly alarmed also by the revolt ^[4] of the Egyptians. And already he was not far from Memphis, when Mazaces, the general of Darius who had been left in charge of the city, of his own accord crossed the river, and delivered to Alexander 800 ^[5] talents and all the royal furniture. From Memphis the king sailed on the same river to the interior of Egypt, and after arranging matters in such a way as to make no change in the native customs of the Egyptians, he decided to visit the oracle of Jupiter Ammon.

^[6] The journey which it was necessary to make was hardly endurable even for those who were lightly equipped and few in number; on earth and in the sky there is scarcity of water; it is a flat waste of barren sands. When the burning sun inflames these, intolerable heat results and the fiery soil scorches the soles of ^[7] the feet, and one has to contend, not only against the high temperature and dryness of the region, but also the extreme tenaciousness of the coarse sand, through which, as it is very deep and gives way beneath the ^[8] step, the feet toil with difficulty. These troubles the Egyptians in fact exaggerated; but yet a great longing plied spurs to the king's purpose of visiting Jupiter, whom he, not content with mortal eminence, either believed, or wished men to believe, to be the founder of his race. Therefore, with those whom he had decided to take with him he went down the river to the Mareotic Lake. Thither envoys from Cyrenê brought gifts, and asked for peace and for a visit to their cities. He accepted the gifts and after concluding friendship with them continued to pursue his intended journey.

^[10] And indeed on the first and the following day the toil seemed endurable, since the solitudes to which they had come were not yet so desolate and barren, ^[11] yet the land was already sterile and moribund. But when plains covered with deep sand disclosed themselves, just as if they had entered a vast sea, they ^[12] looked in vain for land; not a tree, not a trace of cultivated soil met the eye. The water also, which camels had carried in leather bottles, gave out, and there was none to be found in the dry soil and burning sand. Besides this, the sun had made everything fiery-hot, their mouths were dry and parched, when suddenly — whether that was a gift of the gods or mere chance — the sky was overcast with clouds which hid the sun, a great help to those worn out by the heat, even if water were lacking. But indeed, when storms poured out copious rain also, each man received it in his own way; some, beside themselves with thirst, even began to try to catch it in their open mouths. Four days were spent in traversing desert wastes.

And now they were not far from the abode of the oracle, when a great flock of ravens met the army; flying at a moderate speed before the van, they now lighted on the ground when the line advanced more slowly, now raised themselves on their wings, as if acting as guides and showing the way. At

length they arrived at the abode consecrated to the god. Incredible to relate, although situated amid desert wastes, it is so covered on all sides by encircling branches that the sun barely penetrates their dense shade, and many founts of sweet water, flowing in all directions, nourish the woods. A wonderful mildness of climate too, very like the warmth of spring, continues through all seasons of the year with like whole someness. The nearest neighbours of the place, to the east, are of the Ethiopian race. Towards the south they face in the direction of those Arabians whose name is the Trogodytes; the land of these extends as far as the Red Sea. But where the slope is towards the west, other Ethiopians dwell, whom they call the Snub-nosed. To the north are the Nasamonies, a race of the Syrtes enriched from the spoils of ships; for they beset the shores, and since they know the shoals, seize the vessels which are stranded by the shifting sea. The dwellers in the grove, whom they call Ammonii, live in scattered huts; the middle of the grove they hold as a citadel, surrounded by three walls. The first of these enclosed the ancient palace of their kings, within the next their wives lived with their children and concubines; here also is the oracle of the god; the outermost fortification was the abode of the attendants and the men-at-arms.

There is also another grove of Ammon; in the middle of it is a fountain — they call it the water of the Sun — ; at daybreak its flow is lukewarm, in the middle of the day, which is very hot indeed, the same fount is cold, as the day inclines towards evening it grows warmer, in the middle of the night it boils forth hot, and as the night approaches nearer to dawn, it decreases greatly from its nocturnal heat, until at daybreak it cools off to its normal temperature.

What is worshipped as the god does not have the same form that artificers have commonly given to the deities; its appearance is very like that of a navel fastened in a mass of emeralds and other gems.

When an oracle is sought, the priests carry this in a golden boat with many silver cups hanging from both sides of the boat; matrons and maidens follow, singing in the native manner a kind of rude song, by which they believe Jupiter is propitiated and led to give a trustworthy response.

At the time we are describing, as the king drew near, the eldest of the priests called him son, declaring that his father Jupiter gave him that name. Alexander indeed said that he accepted and acknowledged it, forgetful of his human condition. He then asked whether the rule of the whole world was destined for him by the fates. The prophet, equally disposed to flattery, answered that he would be the ruler of all lands. After this the king went on to inquire whether all the murderers of his father had paid the penalty. The priest said that his father could suffer from no man's crime, but that for the crime against Philip all had suffered punishment; he added that Alexander would be invincible till he departed to join the gods." Then, after sacrifice had been offered, gifts were given both to the priests and to the god, and the king's

friends also were allowed to consult Jupiter. They asked nothing more than whether the god authorized them to pay divine honours to their king. The prophets replied that this also would be acceptable to Jupiter.

[29] In the light of a genuine and entirely sane appraisal, these unquestionably vague responses of the oracle would have brought ridicule upon its trustworthiness, but Fortune makes those whom she has forced to have confidence in herself alone more eager as a rule for glory than big enough to have room for it. Accordingly, Alexander not only allowed himself to be called the son of Jupiter, but even ordered it, and thus while he wished to increase the renown of his exploits by such a title, he really [31] spoils it. And the Macedonians, accustomed, it is true, to the rule of a king, but living in the shadow of a greater freedom than the other peoples, opposed his claim to immortality more stubbornly than was expedient either for themselves or for their [32] king. But instances of this may be reserved each for its appropriate time. Now I shall proceed with the rest of my narrative.

Alexander ab Hammone rediens ad Mareotin paludem haud procul insula Pharo sitam venit. Contemplatus loci naturam primum in ipsa insula statuerat urbem novam condere: [2] inde ut adparuit magnae sedis insulam haud capacem esse, elegit urbi locum, ubi nunc est Alexandria, appellationem trahens ex nomine auctoris. Complexus, quidquid soli est inter paludem ac mare, octoginta stadiorum muris ambitum destinavit, qui exaedificandae urbi praeessent, relictis Memphim petit. [3] Cupido haud iniusta quidem, ceterum intempestiva incesserat non interiora modo Aegypti, sed etiam Aethiopiam invisere: Memnonis Tithonique celebrata regia cognoscendae vetustatis avidum trahebat paene extra terminos solis. [4] Sed imminens bellum, cuius multo maior supererat moles, otiosae peregrinationi tempora exemerat. Itaque Aegypto praefecit Aeschylum Rhodium et Peucesten Macedonem quattuor milibus militum in praesidium regionis eius datis, claustra Nili fluminis Polemonem tueri iubet: XXX ad hoc triremes datae. [5] Africae deinde, quae Aegypto iuncta est, praepositus Apollonius, vectigalibus eiusdem Africae Aegyptique Cleomenes. Ex finitimis urbibus commigrare Alexandream iussis novam urbem magna multitudo inplevit. [6] Fama est, cum rex orbem futuri muri polenta, ut Macedonum mos est, destinasse!, avium greges advolasse et polenta esse pastas: [p. 70] cumque id omen pro tristi a plerisque esset acceptum, respondisse vates, magnam illam urbem advenarum frequentiam culturam, multisque eam terris alimenta praebituram. [7] Regem, cum secundo amni deflueret, adsequi cupiens Hector, Parmenionis filius, eximio aetatis flore, in paucis Alexandro carus, parvum navigium conscendit pluribus, [8] quam capere posset, inpositis. Itaque mersa navis omnes destituit. Hector diu flumini obluctatus, cum madens vestis et adstricti crepidis pedes natare prohiberent in ripam tamen semianimis evasit et, ut primum fatigatus spiritum laxavit, quem metus et periculum intenderat, nullo adiuvante — quippe in diversum evaserant alii — [9] exanimatus est. Amissi eius desiderio

vehementer adflictus est repertumque corpus magnifico extulit funere. Oneravit hunc dolorem nuntius mortis Andromachi, quem praefecerat Syriae: [10] vivum Samaritae cremaverant. Ad cuius interitum vindicandum, quanta maxima celeritate potuit, [11] contendit, advenientique sunt traditi tanti sceleris auctores. Andromacho deinde Menona substituit adfectisque supplicio, qui praetorem interemerant, tyrannos, inter quos Methymnaeorum Aristonicum et Stesilaum, popularibus suis tradidit: quos illi ob iniurias tortos necaverunt. [12] Atheniensium deinde, Rhodiorum et Chiorum legatos audit: Athenienses victoriam gratulabantur et, ut captivi Graecorum suis restituerentur, orabant, Rhodii et Chii de praesidio querebantur. [13] Omnes aequa [p. 71] desiderare visi inpetraverunt. Mytilenaeis quoque ob egregiam in partes fidem et pecuniam, quam in bellum impenderant, reddidit et magnam regionem finitimam adiecit. [14] Cypriorum quoque regibus, qui et a Dareo defecerant ad ipsum et oppugnanti Tyrum miserant classem, pro merito honos habitus est. [15] Amphoterus deinde, classis praefectus, ad liberandam Cretam missus — namque et Persarum et Spartanorum armis pleraque eius insulae obsidebantur — ante omnia mare a piraticis classibus vindicare iussus: quippe obnoxium praedonibus erat bello utrumque in regem converse. [16] His compositis Herculi Tyrio ex auro crateram cum XXX pateris dicavit inminensque Dareo ad Euphraten iter pronuntiari iussit.

VIII. Alexander, as he returned from Ammon, came to the Mareotic Lake, situated not far from the island of Pharos. Contemplating the nature of the place, he had decided at first to build a city on the [2] island itself; then, as it was apparent that the island was not large enough for a great settlement, he chose for the city the present site of Alexandria, which derives its name from that of its founder. Embracing all the ground between the Lake and the sea, he planned a circuit of eighty stadia for the walls, and having left men to take charge of building the city, he went to Memphis. A desire that was not really unreasonable, but untimely, had seized him to visit not only the interior of Egypt, but also Ethiopia; eager as he was to become acquainted with ancient remains, the celebrated palace of Memnon and Tithonus was drawing him almost beyond the limits of the sun.

But the imminent war, of which a much greater burden remained, had put an end to the season for leisurely travel. Therefore he put Aeschylus the Rhodian and Peucestes the Macedonian in charge of Egypt, giving them 4000 soldiers for the defence of that region, and ordered Polemon to defend the mouths of the Nile; for this purpose thirty triremes were given. Then Apollonius was put in command of the part of Africa which is adjacent to Egypt, and Cleomenes was made collector of the tributes of that part of Africa and of Egypt. Having ordered inhabitants of the neighbouring cities to move to Alexandria, he filled the new city with a great population. It is reported that when the king had marked out the circuit of the new city with peeled barley, as is the custom of the Macedonians, flocks of birds flew to the spot and ate the barley; and when

that was regarded by many as a bad omen, the seers predicted that a great number of new-comers would dwell in that city, and that it would furnish sustenance to many lands.

[7] When the king was floating down the river, Hector, a son of Parmenion, in the fine flower of his youth and one of Alexander's greatest favourites, desiring to overtake him, embarked upon a small craft, which was loaded with more men than it could carry. So the boat sank with the loss of all on board. Hector struggled for a long time with the river, and although his drenched clothing and the sandals which were tightly fastened to his feet interfered with his swimming, nevertheless made his way half-dead to the bank; but he was tired out, and as he was trying to ease his breathing, which fear and the danger had strained, since no one came to his help — for the others had made their escape to the opposite bank — he died. The king was filled with great grief for the loss of his friend, and when his body was recovered, buried it in a magnificent funeral.

This sorrow was made greater by news of the death of Andromachus, to whom he had given the charge of Syria; the Samaritans had burned him alive. To avenge his murder, he hastened to the spot with all possible speed, and on his arrival those who had been guilty of so great a crime were delivered to him.

Then he put Menon in place of Andromachus and executed those who had slain his general. Certain tyrants, including Aristonicus and Stesilaiis of Methymnê, he handed over to their own subjects, who put them to death by torture because of their outrages.

Then Alexander gave audience to the envoys of the Athenians, the Rhodians, and the Chians; the Athenians congratulated him on his victory and begged that the Greek prisoners should be restored to their country; the Rhodians and the Chians made complaints of their garrisons. The requests of all seemed just, and were granted. To the people of Mitylenê also, because of their remarkable loyalty to his cause, he not only repaid the money which they had spent on the war, but also added a great tract of neighbouring territory. To the kings of the Cypriotes besides, who had both gone over from Darius to him and had sent him a fleet when he was besieging Tyre, honour was paid according to their deserts.

Then Amphoterus, commander of the fleet, was sent to free Crete — for many parts of that island were beset by the arms both of the Persians and of the Spartans — with orders above all to clear the sea of the pirate fleets; for it was a prey to corsairs, who [16] made war on both kings. After attending to these affairs, he dedicated a mixing-bowl of gold and thirty cups to the Tyrian Hercules, and, intent upon Darius, ordered a march towards the Euphrates to be announced.

At Dareus, cum Aegypto devertisse in Africam hostem conperisset, dubitaverat, utrumme circa Mesopotamiam subsisteret an interiora regni sui peteret, haud dubie potentior auctor praesens futurus ultimis gentibus inigre bellum capessendi, quas aegre per praefectos suos moliebatur. [2] Sed ut idoneis auctoribus fama vulgavit Alexandrum cum omnibus copiis, quamcumque ipse adisset regionem, petiturum, haud ignarus, quam cum strenuo res esset, omnia longinquarum gentium auxilia Babyloniam contrahi iussit. Bactriani Scythaeque et Indi convenerant iam, et ceterarum gentium copiae partibus simul adfuerunt. [3] Ceterum cum dimidio ferme maior esset exercitus, quam in Cilicia fuerat, multis arma deerant. Quae summa cura [p. 72] comparabantur: equitibus equisque tegumenta erant ex ferreis lamminis serie inter se conexis, quis antea praeter iacula nihil dederat, scuta gladiique adiciebantur, [4] equorumque greges peditibus distributi sunt, ut maior pristino esset equitatus. [5] Ingensque, ut credebat, hostium terror ducentae falcatae quadrigae, unicum illarum gentium auxilium, secutae sunt: ex summo temone hastae praefixae ferro eminebant, utrimque a iugo ternos direxerat gladios, inter radios rotarum plura spicula eminebant in adversum, aliae deinde falces summissae e rotarum orbibus haerebant et aliae in terram demissae, quidquid obvium concitatis equis fuisset, amputaturae. [6] Hoc modo instructo exercitu ac perarmato Babylone copias movit. A parte dextra erat Tigris, nobilis fluvius, laevam tegebat Euphrates, agmen Mesopotamiae campos inpleverat. [7] Tigri deinde superato cum audisset haud procul abesse hostem, Satropaten, equitum praefectum, cum mille delectis praemisit. [8] Mazaeo praetori sex milia data, quibus hostem transitu amnis arceret: eidem mandatum, ut regionem, quam Alexander esset aditurus, popularetur atque ureret. Quippe credebat inopia debellari posse nihil habentem, nisi quod rapiendo occupasset: ipsi autem commeatus alii terra, alii Tigri amne subvehebantur. [9] Iam pervenerat Arbela, vicum ignobilem, nobilem sua clade facturus. Hic [p. 73] commeatum sarcinarumque maiore parte deposita Lycum amnem ponte iunxit et per dies quinque sicut ante Euphraten traiecit exercitum. [10] Inde octoginta fere stadia progressus ad alterum amnem — Boumelo nomen est — castra posuit. Opportuna explicandis copiis regio erat, equitabilis et vasta planities: ne stirpes quidem et brevia virgulta operiunt solum, liberque prospectus oculorum etiam ad ea, quae procul recessere, pennittitur: atque, si qua campi eminebant, iussit aequari totumque fastigium extendi. [11] Alexandro, qui numerum copiarum eius, quantum procul coniectari poterat, aestimabant, vix fecerunt fidem tot milibus caesis maiores copias esse reparatas. [12] Ceterum omnis periculi et maxime multitudinis contemptor undecimis castris ad Euphraten pervenit. Quo pontibus iuncto equites primos ire, phalangem sequi iubet Mazaeo, qui ad inhibendum transitum eius cum sex milibus equitum occurrerat, non auso perieulum sui facere. [13] Paucis deinde non ad quietem, sed ad praeparandos animos diebus datis militi strenue hostem insequi coepit metuens, ne interiora regni sui peteret sequendusque esset per loca omni solitudine atque inopia vasta. [14] Igitur quarto decimo die

praeter Armeniam penetrat ad Tigrin. Tota regio ultra amnem recenti fumabat incendio: quippe Mazaeus, quaecumque adierat, haud secus quam hostis urebat. [15] Ac primo caligine, quam fumus effuderat, obscurante lucem insidiarum metu substitit, deinde ut speculatores praemissi tuta omnia nuntiaverunt, paucos equitum ad [p. 74] temptandum vadum fluminis praemisit. Cuius altitude primo summa equorum pectora, mox, ut in medium alveum ventum est, cervices quoque aequabat. [16] Nee sane alius amnis ad Orientis plagam tam violentus invehitur multorum torrentium non aquas solum, sed etiam saxa secum trahens. Itaque a celeritate, qua defluit, Tigri nomen est inditum, quia Persica lingua tigrin sagittam appellant. [17] Igitur pedes velut divisus in cornua circumdato equitatu, levatis super capita armis haud aegre ad ipsum alveum penetrat. [18] Primus inter pedites rex egressus in ripam vadum militibus manu, quando vox exaudiri non poterat, ostendit. Sed gradum firmare vix poterant, cum modo saxa lubrica vestigium fallerent, [19] modo rapidior unda subduceret. Praecipuus erat labor eorum, qui humeris onera portabant: quippe cum semetipsos regere non possent, in rapidos gurgites incommodo onere auferebantur, et dum sua quisque spolia consequi studet, maior inter ipsos quam cum amni orta luctatio est, cumulique sarcinarum passim fluitantes plerosque perculerant. [20] Rex monere, ut satis haberent arma retinere: cetera se redditurum. Sed neque consilium neque imperium accipi poterat: obstrepebat hinc metus, praeter hunc invicem luctantium mutuus clamor. [21] Tandem, qua leniore tractu amnis aperit vadum, [22] emersere, nec quicquam praeter paucas sarcinas desideratum est. Deleri potuit exercitus, si quis vincere ausus esset, sed perpetua fortuna regis avertit inde hostem. Sic Granicum tot milibus equitum peditumque in ulteriore stantibus ripa superavit. sic angustis in Ciliciae callibus tantam multitudinem [p. 75] hostium: [23] audaciae quoque, qua maxime viguit, ratio minui potest, quia numquam in discrimen venit, an temere fecisset. Mazaeus, qui, si transeuntibus flumen supervenisset, haud dubie oppressurus fuit inconpositos, in ripa demum ad iam perarmatos adequitare coepit. [24] Mille admodum equites praemiserat: quorum paucitate Alexander explorata, deinde contempta praefectum Paeonum equitum Aristona laxatis habenis invehit iussit. [25] Insignis eo die pugna equitum et praecipue Aristonis fuit: praefectum equitatus Persarum Satropaten directa in guttur hasta transfixit fugientemque per medios hostes consecutus ex equo praecipitavit et obluctanti gladio caput dempsit. Quod relatum magna cum laude ante regis pedes posuit.

IX. But Darius, when he learned that his enemy had turned aside from Egypt into Africa, hesitated whether to halt in the neighbourhood of Mesopotamia or to make for the interior parts of his realm, thinking that he would undoubtedly be a more influential advocate of taking up war resolutely, if he were present in person with those remote nations, which he was with difficulty arousing through his satraps.

[2] But when the report spread abroad on good authority that Alexander with

all his forces would seek him in whatever region he should take refuge, being well aware with how energetic a foe he had to deal, he ordered all the aid from distant nations to be assembled in Babylonia. The Bactriani and Scythians, as well as the Indi, had already come together, and the forces of the remaining nations also were present to help his cause.

But although the army was almost half again as large as it had been in Cilicia, many lacked arms. These were being procured with the greatest zeal; the cavalry and their horses had coverings of iron plates joined together in one mesh; to those to whom before he had given nothing but javelins, shields and swords were added, and herds of horses to be broken were distributed to the infantrymen, in order that the cavalry might be more numerous than before. And as a mighty terror to the foe, he believed, two hundred scythed chariots a supplementary arm peculiar to those nations, followed; from the end of the pole spears tipped with iron projected, and on each side of the yoke he had affixed three swords on each side, between the spokes of the wheels many sharp points projected in opposite directions to each other, and then other scythes fixed in the rim of the wheels pointed upwards, and still others pointed towards the ground, to cut to pieces whatever came in the way of the horses as they were swiftly driven on.

[6] When his army had been equipped and thoroughly armed in this way, Darius moved his forces from Babylon. On his right side was the Tigris, a famous river, the Euphrates protected his left side, his army [7] had filled the plains of Mesopotamia. Then, after crossing the Tigris, when he heard that the enemy was not far off, he sent ahead Satropates, commander of the cavalry, with 1000 elite horsemen. To Mazaeus, satrap of Babylon, 6000 were given, with which to keep the enemy from crossing the river; [8] he was also directed to pillage and burn the region which Alexander was about to approach. For Darius believed that his enemy could be vanquished by want, since he had nothing except what he could seize by pillage; but to himself supplies were being brought, some by land, others by the Tigris River.

[9] And now he had reached Arbela, an insignificant village, but one which he was to make famous by his disaster. Here he left the greater part of his provisions and baggage, bridged the river Lycus, and as before at the Euphrates spent five days in getting his army across. From there, having advanced about eighty stadia, he pitched his camp by a second river — its name is Boumelus. It was a region most advantageous for deploying his forces, being an empty plain suitable for cavalry; not even shrubs and short bushes hide the ground, and an unobstructed view is allowed even to objects which are far away; and if there was any eminence in the plains, he gave orders that it should be levelled and the whole rising made fiat.

[11] Those who estimated the number of Darius' forces, so far as it could be inferred from a distance, could hardly make Alexander believe that after so

many thousands had been killed still greater forces had been recruited. But being a man who scorned every danger, and especially great numbers, he encamped on the eleventh day at the Euphrates. Having bridged the river in two places, he ordered the cavalry to go first and the phalanx to follow; for Mazaeus, who had hastened to the spot with 6000 horsemen in order to prevent his crossing, did not dare to risk himself in a battle. Then, after a few days had been granted to the soldiers, not for rest, but to strengthen their morale, he began vigorously to follow the enemy, for fear that Darius might make for the interior of his kingdom and that it might be necessary to follow him through places altogether deserted and without supplies. Accordingly on the fourteenth day he penetrated beyond Armenia to the Tigris. The entire region beyond the river was smoking from a recent conflagration; for Mazaeus was setting fire to whatever he came to, as if it were the enemy's territory. And at first, since the darkness which the smoke had spread abroad obscured the light of day, Alexander halted through fear of ambushes, then, as the scouts that had been sent ahead reported that all was safe, he sent on a few of the cavalry, to try to ford the river. The water rose at first as high as the horses' flanks, then, when they came to mid-channel, to their necks as well.

[16] And certain it is that no other river in the region of the Orient rushes on with such violence, carrying with it not only the waters of many torrents, but also rocks. And so, from the speed of its flow it has been given the name "Tigris," because in the Persian tongue they call an arrow *tigris*.

[17] Therefore the infantry, as if divided into wings encircled by the cavalry, and carrying their arms over their heads, without any difficulty penetrated to the mid-channel. The king being the first among the infantry to land on the farther bank, pointed out the shallower water to the soldiers with his hand, when his voice could not be heard. But they could with difficulty keep a firm footing, since now the slippery stones deceived their steps and now too swift a current swept their feet away. The toil of those was the greatest who carried burdens upon their shoulders; for since they could not direct their own course they were carried away by the unmanageable burden into swift and deep places, and while each man was striving to save his own spoils, a greater struggle arose among themselves than with the river, and the heaps of packs floating here and there had upset many of them. The king admonished them to be satisfied with keeping hold of their weapons; that he would restore everything else. But neither advice nor command could be heard; on the one hand fear dazed them, and besides this their shouting at one^[21] another as they struggled together. At last, where the current of the river was less violent and disclosed shallower water, they landed, without the loss of anything except a few packs.

The army could have been destroyed, if anyone had had the courage to conquer it, but the king's constant good fortune turned the enemy from the

spot. In the same way he crossed the Granicus, while so many thousands of horse and foot were at a standstill on the further bank; thus in the narrow passes of Cilicia he overcame such a horde of foes; even the charge of reckless daring, which he had in abundance, can have less force, because there was never opportunity to decide whether he had acted rashly. Mazaeus, who, if he had fallen upon them while they were crossing the river, would undoubtedly have overwhelmed them in their disorder, did not begin to ride against them until they were on the bank and fully armed. Mazaeus had sent ahead only 1000 horsemen; and Alexander, having ascertained their small number and then treated it with scorn, ordered Ariston, commander of the Paeonian cavalry, to charge them at full speed.” [25] Glorious on that day was the fighting of the cavalry, and in particular of Ariston; aiming his spear straight at the throat of Satropates, leader of the Persian horsemen, he ran it through, then overtaking him as he fled through the midst of the enemy, hurled him from his horse, and in spite of his resistance cut off his head with a sword, brought it back, and amid great applause laid it at the king’s feet.

Biduo ibi stafiva rex habuit: in proximum deinde pronuntiari iter iussit. [2] Sed prima fere vigilia luna deficiens primum nitorem sideris sui condidit, deinde sanguinis colore suffuso lumen omne foedavit, sollicitisque sub ipsum tanti discriminis casum ingens religio et ex ea formido quaedam incussa est. [3] Dis invitis in ultimas terras trahi se querebantur: iam nec flumina posse adiri nec sidera pristinum servare fulgorem, vastas terras, deserta omnia occurrere: in unius hominis iactationem tot milium sanguinem inpendi, [p. 76] fastidio esse patriam, abdicari Philippum patrem, caelum vanis cogitationibus petere regem. [4] Pro seditione res erat, cum ad omnia interritus duces principesque militum frequentes adesse praetorio iubet Aegyptiosque vates, [5] quos caeli ac siderum peritissimos esse credebat, quid sentirent, expromere iubet. At illi, qui satis scirent temporum orbis implere destinatas vices lunamque deficere, cum aut terram subiret aut sole premeretur, rationem quidem ipsis perceptam non edocent valgu: [6] ceterum adfirmant solem Graecorum, lunam esse Persarum, quotiensque illa deficiat, ruinam stragemque illis gentibus portendi, veteraque exempla percensent Persidis regum, quos adversis dis pugnasse lunae ostendisset defectio. [7] Nulla res multitudinem efficacius regit quam superstitio: alioqui inpotens, saeva, mutabilis, ubi vana religione capta est, melius vatibus quam ducibus suis paret. Igitur edita in vulgus Aegyptiorum responsa rursus ad spem et fiduciam erexere torpentes. [8] Rex impetu animorum utendum ratus secunda vigilia castra movit: [9] dextra Tigrim habebat, a laeva montes, quos Gordyaeos vocant. Hoc ingressis iter speculatores, qui praemissi erant, sub lucis ortum Dareum adventare nuntiaverunt. Instructo igitur milite et composito agmine antecedebat. [10] Sed Persarum moratores erant, mille ferme, qui speciem magni agminis fecerant: quippe ubi explorari vera non possunt, falsa per metum augentur. [11] His cognitis rex cum paucis suorum adsecutus agmen refugientium [p. 77] ad suos alios cecidit, cepit alios: equitesque praemisit speculatum, simul ut ignem,

quo barbari cremaverant vicos, extinguerent. [12] Quippe fugientes raptim tectis acervisque frumenti iniecerant flammam, quae cum in summo haesissent, ad inferiora nondum penetraverant. [13] Extincto igitur igne plurimum frumenti repertum est: copia aliarum quoque rerum abundare coeperunt. Ea res ipsa militi ad persequendum hostem animum incendit: quippe urente et populante eo terram festinandum erat, ne incendio cuncta praeciperet. [14] In rationem ergo necessitas versa est: quippe Mazaeus, qui antea per otium vicos incenderat, iam fugere contentus pleraque inviolata hosti reliquit. [15] Alexander haud longius CL stadiis Dareum a se abesse conpererat: itaque ad satietatem quoque copia commeatuum instructus quadriduo in eodem loco substitit. [16] Interceptae deinde Darei litterae sunt, quibus Graeci milites sollicitabantur, ut regem aut interficerent aut proderent, dubitavitque, an eas pro contione recitaret, satis confisus Graecorum quoque erga se benivolentiae ac fidei. [17] Sed Parmenio deterruit non esse talibus promissis inbuendas aures militum adfirmans: patere vel unius insidiis regem, nihil nefas esse avaritiae. [18] Secutus consilii auctorem castra movit. Iter facienti spado e captivis, qui Darei uxorem comitabantur, deficere eam nuntiat et vix spiritum ducere. [19] Itineris continui labore animique aegritudine fatigata inter socrus et virginum filiarum manus conlapsa erat, deinde [p. 78] et extincta. [20] Id ipsum nuntians alius supervenit. Et rex haud secus, quam si parentis mors nuntiata esset, crebros edidit gemitus lacrimisque obortis, qualis Dareus profudisset, in tabernaculum, in quo mater erat Darei defuncto adsidens corpori, venit. [21] Hic vero renovatus est maeror, ut prostratam humi vidit. Recenti malo priorum quoque admonita receperat in gremium adultas virgines, magna quidem mutui doloris solacia, sed quibus ipsa deberet esse solacio. [22] In conspectu erat nepos parvulus, ob id ipsum miserabilis, quod nondum sentiebat calamitatem ex maxima parte ad ipsum redundantem. [23] Crederes Alexandrum inter suas necessitudines flere et solacia non adhibere, sed quaerere. Cibo certe abstinuit omnemque honorem funeri patrio Persarum more servavit, dignus hercule, qui nunc quoque tantae et mansuetudinis et continentiae ferat fructum. [24] Semel omnino eam viderat, quo die capta est, nec ut ipsam, sed ut Darei matrem videret, eximiamque pulchritudinem formae eius non libidinis habuerat invitamentum, sed gloriae. [25] E spadonibus, qui circa reginam erant, Tyriotes inter trepidationem lugentium elapsus per eam portam, quae, quia ab hoste aversa erat, levius custodiebatur, ad Darei castra pervenit exceptusque a vigilibus in tabernaculum regis perducitur gemens et veste lacerata. [26] Quem ut conspexit Dareus, multiplici doloris expectatione commotus et, quid potissimum timeret, incertus: ‘Vultus,’ inquit, ‘tuus nescio quod ingens malum praefert, sed cave miseri hominis auribus parcas: didici esse infelix, et saepe calamitatis solacium [p. 79] est nosse sortem suam. [27] Num, quod maxime suspicor, eloqui timeo, ludibria meorum nuntiaturus es mihi et, [28] ut credo, ipsis quoque omni tristiora supplicio?’ Ad haec Tyriotes: ‘Istud quidem procul abest,’ inquit: ‘quantuscumque enim reginis honos ab his, qui parent, haberi potest, tuis a victore servatus est. Sed uxor tua paulo ante excessit e vita.’ [29]

Tunc vero non gemitus modo, sed etiam eiulatus totis castris exaudiebatur. Nec dubitavit Dareus, quin interfecta esset, quia nequisset contumeliam perpeti, exclamatque alnens dolore: ‘Quod ego tantum nefas commisi, Alexander? quem tuorum propinquorum necavi, ut hanc vicem redderes saevitiae meae? Odisti me non quidem provocatus: sed finge iustum intulisse te bellum, cum feminis ergo agere debueras?’ [30] Tyriotes adfirmare per deos patrios nihil in eam gravius esse consultum: ingemuisse etiam Alexandrum morti et non parcius flevisse, quam ipse lacrimaret. [31] Ob haec ipsa amantis animus in sollicitudinem suspicionemque revolutus est, desiderium captivae profecto a consuetudine stupri ortum esse coniectans. [32] Summotis igitur arbitris, uno dumtaxat Tyriote retento iam non flens, sed suspirans: ‘Videsne,’ inquit, ‘Tyriote, locum mendacio non esse? tormenta iam hic erunt, sed ne expectaveris per deos, si quid tibi tui regis reverentiae est: num, quod et scire expeto et quaerere pudet, ausus est et dominus et iuvenis?’ Ille quaestioni corpus offer re, [33] deos testes [p. 80] [34] invocare, caste sancteque habitam esse reginam. Tandem ut fides facta est vera esse, quae adfirmaret spado, capite velato diu flevit manantibusque adhuc lacrimis, veste ab ore reiecta ad caelum manus tendens: ‘Di patrii,’ inquit, ‘primum mihi stabilite regnum, deinde, si de me iam transactum est, precor, ne quis potius Asiae rex sit quam iste tam iustus hostis, tam misericors victor.’

X. There for two days the king remained in his camp; then he ordered a march to be announced [2] for the following day. But about the first watch the moon, in eclipse, hid at first the brilliance of her heavenly body, then all her light was sullied and suffused with the hue of blood, and those who were already anxious on the very eve of so critical a contest were struck with intense religious awe and from that with a kind of dread. They complained that against the will of the gods they were being dragged to the ends of the earth; no longer could rivers be approached, nor did the heavenly bodies keep their former brilliance, desert lands and solitude everywhere met them; to gratify the vanity of one man the blood of so many soldiers was being spent, their king disdained his native land, disowned his father Philip, and with vainglorious thoughts aspired to heaven. Already the affair was approaching a mutiny, when Alexander, unterrified in the face of everything, ordered the generals and the higher officers of the soldiers to appear in full numbers at the king’s tent, and the Egyptian soothsayers, whom he believed to be most skilled in reading the heavens and the stars, to declare their opinion.

But they, although they knew well enough that the heavenly bodies which determine the seasons have their destined changes, and that the moon suffers eclipse either when it goes behind the earth or is covered by the sun, do not teach the common people the knowledge which they themselves possess; [6] but they declared that the sun represented the Greeks and the moon the Persians, and that whenever the moon suffered eclipse, defeat and slaughter was foretold for those nations, and they enumerated ancient examples of

Persian kings whom an eclipse of the moon showed to have fought without the [7] favour of the gods. Nothing sways the common herd more effectively than superstition; generally uncontrolled, savage, fickle, when they are victims of vain superstition, they obey the soothsayers better than they do their leaders. Therefore the interpretations of the Egyptians, when they were made public, restored the down-hearted to hope and confidence.

[8] The king, thinking that he ought to take advantage of the ardour of their spirits, broke camp in the second watch; he had the Tigris on his right, on the left the mountains which they call the Gordyaeon. When they had begun this march, scouts who had been sent ahead reported to them towards daybreak that Darius was coming. Therefore Alexander went on at the head of his troops with the soldiers drawn up and his line in order. But they were loiterers of the Persians, not more than a thousand in number, who had given the impression of a great army; for when the truth cannot be discovered, the false is exaggerated through fear. When the truth was known, the king with a few of his men followed hard after the band as they fled to their main body, killing some and capturing others; and he sent riders ahead to reconnoitre, and at the same time to put out the fires which the barbarians had set in the villages. For as they fled they had hurriedly thrown fire-brands upon the house-roofs and on piles of grain, which, although they had lodged at the top, had not yet penetrated to the lower parts.

Hence, when the fire was extinguished, the greater part of the grain was saved; the supply of other necessities also began to be abundant. This very fact fired the ardour of the soldiers in their pursuit of the enemy; for since they were burning and devastating the land, there was need of haste lest they should destroy everything by fire before they could be stopped. Therefore necessity was changed to policy; for Mazaeus, who had before burned the villages at his ease, now was content to make his escape and left most things uninjured to the enemy. Alexander had learned that Darius was not more than stadia distant from him; therefore, being furnished even to satiety with a supply of provisions, he remained for four days in the same place.

[16] Then letters of Darius were intercepted, in which the Greek soldiers were tempted either to kill or to betray their king, and Alexander was in doubt whether to read them before an assembly, since he thoroughly trusted the goodwill and loyalty towards him of the Greek troops also. But Parmenion dissuaded him, declaring that the ears of the soldiers ought not to be infected by such promises; the king, he said, was exposed to the treachery of even any one man; nothing was criminal in the eyes of avarice. Yielding to the author of this advice, Alexander broke camp.

[18] As he was on his way, a eunuch among the prisoners who were in attendance on the wife of Darius reported to him that she was failing and could barely draw breath. Worn out by the constant toil of marching and by

grief, she had swooned in the arms of her mother-in-law and her maiden daughters, and then had died. Another messenger came also bringing that same news. And the king, just as if the death of his own mother had been announced, uttered many laments and with rising tears, such as Darius might have shed, came into the tent where the mother of Darius was sitting by the dead body. Here indeed his grief was renewed, when he saw her prostrate on the ground. The mother, reminded also of her former misfortunes by this recent loss, had taken to her bosom her grown-up daughters, a great solace for their common sorrow, but to whom she herself ought to have been a comfort. Before her eyes was her little grandson, to be pitied for the very reason that he did not yet realize the flood of calamity which streamed towards him most of all.

You would have thought that Alexander was weeping among his own kin, and that he was not offering, but looking for, consolation. Certain it is that he abstained from food and that he observed every honour in performing the funeral rites in the native manner of the Persians, worthy, by Heaven! even now of reaping the fruit of such great compassion and continence. He had seen her only once, on the day when she was taken prisoner, but it was when he went to visit, not her, but the mother of Darius, and her remarkable beauty had been an incentive, not to passion, but to glory.

Of the eunuchs who were in attendance upon the queen, Tyriotes amid the confusion caused by the mourners escaped through that gate which, because it did not face the enemy, was only slightly guarded, reached the camp of Darius, and being received by the watchmen, was led into the king's tent, lamenting and with rent garments. On seeing him Darius, deeply disturbed by the expectation of more sorrows than one and uncertain what to fear most, said: "Your expression reveals some great misfortune or other, but do not spare the ears of a wretched man; I have learned to be unhappy, and it is often a consolation for calamity that a man should know his fate. You are not going to tell me, are you, what I most suspect but dread to speak out, the dishonour of my family, which to me, and, as I believe, to them — is more awful than any punishment?" To these words Tyriotes replied: "That suspicion of yours is indeed far from the truth; for the greatest honour that can be shown to queens by their subjects has been observed towards yours by the victor. But your wife a short time ago passed away." [29] Then truly, not only groans but shrieks were heard in the whole camp. And Darius had no doubt but that she had been killed because she had been unable to endure outrage, and beside himself with grief he cried: "What great crime have I committed, Alexander? Whom of your kindred have I murdered, that you should take this revenge for my cruelty? Me you hate, without provocation, indeed; but suppose that you have justly made war upon me, ought you then to have waged it against women?" Tyriotes swore by his country's gods that she had suffered no violation; that Alexander had lamented her death, and had wept as bitterly as

Darius himself was weeping. But by these very words the mind of the loving husband was turned again to anxiety and suspicion, imagining that Alexander's grief for a captive was [32] undoubtedly caused by habitual intimacy. Accordingly, having dismissed all witnesses and retaining only Tyriotes, no longer weeping, but sighing, he said: "Do you not see, Tyriotes, that there is no room for falsehood? Instruments of torture will soon be here; but do not wait for them, I beseech you by the gods, if you have any reverence for your king; he did not dare, did he, being master of events and young, to do that which I both desire to know, and am ashamed to inquire?" [33] The eunuch offered his body for torture, but called upon the gods to witness that the queen had been [34] treated chastely and with respect. Then at last, when Darius was made to believe that what the eunuch declared was true, he covered his head and wept for a long time, then with tears still flowing he threw back the mantle from his face and, lifting his hands to heaven, said: "O Gods of my fathers, above all make firm my rule, but if it be now finished with me, may no one, I pray, be king of Asia, rather than that enemy so just, that victor so merciful."

Itaque quamquam frustra pace bis petita omnia in bellum consilia converterat, victus tamen continentia hostis ad novas pacis condiciones ferendas legatos, cognatorum principes, misit: quos Alexander consilio advocato introduci iussit. [2] E quibus maximus natu: 'Dareum,' inquit, 'ut pacem a te iam hoc tertio peteret, [3] nulla vis subegit, sed iustitia tua et continentia expressit. Matrem, coniugem, liberos eius, nisi quod sine illo sunt, captos esse non sensimus: pudicitiae earum, quae supersunt, curam haud secus quam parens agens reginas appellas, speciem pristinae fortunae retinere pateris. [4] Vultum tuum video, qualis Darei fuit, cum dimitteremur ab eo: et ille tamen uxorem, tu hostem luges. Iam in acie stares, nisi cura te sepulturae eius moraretur. Ecquid mirum est, si tam ab amico animo pacem petit? [5] Quid opus est armis, inter quos odia sublata sunt? Antea imperio tuo finem destinabat Halym amnem, qui Lydiam terminat: nunc, quidquid inter Hellespontum et Euphraten est, in dotem filiae offert, quam tibi tradit. [6] Ochum filium, quem habes, pacis et fidei obsidem retine, matrem et duas virgines filias redde: [7] pro tribus corporibus milia talentum auri precatur accipias. Nisi [p. 81] moderationem animi tui notam haberem, non dicerem hoc esse tempus, quo pacem non dare solum, sed etiam occupare deberes. [8] Respice, quantum post te reliqueris: intueri, quantum petas. Periculosum est praegrave imperium: difficile est enim continere, quod capere non possis. Videsne, ut navigia, quae modum excedunt, regi nequeant? Nescio, an Dareus ideo tam multa amiserit, quia nimiae opes magnae iacturae locum faciunt. [9] Facilius quidem vincere quam tueri: quam, hercule, expeditius manus nostrae rapiunt quam continent! Ipsa mors uxoris Darei admonere te potest, minus iam misericordiae tuae licere, quam licuit.' [10] Alexander legatis excedere tabernaculo iussis, quid placeret, ad consilium refert. Diu nemo, quid sentiret, ausus est dicere incerta regis voluntate: [11] tandem Parmenio antea suasisse ait, ut captivos apud

Damascus redimentibus redderet: ingentem pecuniam potuisse redigi ex his, qui multi vincti virorum fortium occuparent manus. [12] Et nunc magnopere censere, ut unam anum et duas puellas, itinerum agminumque inpedimenta, [13] XXX milibus talentum auri permutaret. Opimum regnum occupare posse condicione, non bello, nec quemquam alium inter Histrum et Euphraten possedisse terras ingentiore spatio intervalloque discretas. Macedoniam quoque potius respiceret, quam Bactra et Indos intueretur. [14] Ingrata oratio regi fuit: itaque ut finem dicendi fecit: ‘Et ego,’ inquit, [p. 82] ‘pecuniam quam gloriam mallet, si Parmenion essem: nunc Alexander de paupertate securus sum et me non mercatorem memini esse, sed regem. [15] Nihil quidem habeo venale, sed fortunam meam utique non vendo. [16] Captivos si placet reddi, honestius dono dabimus, quam pretio remitteremus.’ Introductis deinde legatis ad hunc modum respondit: ‘Nuntiate Dareo me, quae fecerim clementer et liberaliter, non amicitiae eius tribuisse, sed naturae meae. [17] [18] Bellum cum captivis et feminis gerere non soleo: armatus sit oportet, quem oderim. Quodsi saltem pacem bona fide peteret, deliberarem forsitan, an darem. Verum enimvero, cum modo milites meos litteris ad prodicionem, modo amicos ad perniciem meam pecunia sollicitet, ad internecionem mihi persequendus est, non ut iustus hostis, sed ut percussor veneficus. Condiciones vero pacis, quas adfertis, si accepero, victo rem eum faciunt. [19] Quae post Euphraten sunt, liberaliter donat. Ubi igitur me adeatis, nempe obliti estis: nempe ultra Euphraten sum. Liberalissimum ergo dotis, quam promittit, terminum castra mea transeunt. [20] Hinc me depellite, ut sciam vestrum esse, quo ceditis. Eadem liberalitate dat mihi filiam suam: nempe quam scio alicui servorum eius nupturam. [21] Multum vero mihi praestat, si me Mazaeo generum praeponit! Ite, nuntiate regi vestro et, quae amisit, [p. 83] et, quae adhuc habet, praemia esse belli: hoc regente utriusque terminos regni, id quemque habiturum, quod proximae lucis adsigntura fortuna est.’ [22] Legati respondent, cum bellum in animo sit, facere eum simpliciter, quod spe pacis non frustraretur. Ipsos petere, ut quam primum dimittantur ad regem: eum quoque bellum parare debere. Dimissi nuntiant adesse certamen.

XI. Accordingly, although after twice seeking peace in vain he had concentrated all his plans on war, yet overcome by his enemy’s continence, Darius sent ten envoys, the leading men of his court, to present new conditions of peace. Alexander, having called a council, ordered these envoys to be given audience.

The eldest of them said: “That Darius should seek peace now for this third time no force has compelled him, but he is constrained to do so by your justice and continence. We have not felt that his mother, wife and children were prisoners, except in being without him; guarding like a father the chastity of those who still live, you call them queens, and suffer them to retain the semblance of their former fortune.

I see your expression as sorrowful as that of Darius, when he sent us to you; and yet he is mourning for a wife, you for an enemy. Already you would be standing in line-of-battle, had not the concern for her obsequies delayed you. Is it at all strange if he seeks peace from so friendly a spirit? What need is there for arms among those who feel no hatred? Heretofore he set the river Halys, which marks the farther boundary of Lydia, as the limit of your rule; he now offers all the country between the Hellespont and the Euphrates as a dowry for his daughter, whom he gives you in marriage. Keep his son Ochus, who is in your possession, as a hostage of peace and good faith, return his mother and his two maiden daughters; in return for their three persons he begs you to accept 30,000 talents of gold.

“I would not venture to say that this is the time when you ought, not only to grant peace, but even to seize it of your own accord, if I were not aware of yourself-restraint. Consider how great a tract you have left behind you, look and see how much you are seeking to gain. A very dangerous thing is too great an empire; for it is difficult to hold what one cannot grasp. Do you not see how ships that exceed a moderate bulk cannot be managed? I really think that Darius has lost so much for no other reason than because too great possessions offer opportunity for great loss. Truly it is easier to conquer than to protect; how much more readily do our hands seize than hold! Even the death of Darius’ wife may warn you that your compassion already has less scope than it had.”

Alexander bade the envoys withdraw from the tent and referred the question to his council. For a long time no one ventured to say what he thought, — since the king’s inclination was uncertain; at last Parmenion said that he had before recommended the return of the prisoners taken at Damascus to those who wished to ransom them; that a vast sum of money could have been realized from those men who, as bound captives, kept busy the hands of many brave warriors. And that now too he strongly advised exchanging one old woman and two girls, a hindrance to their journeys and their marches, for ^[13] 30,000 talents of gold. Alexander could acquire a rich realm by negotiation, not by war, and no other man had possessed the lands between the Danube and the Euphrates, lands whose limits were separated by an immense space in between. Also he ought rather to look back upon Macedonia than fix his gaze on Bactra and the Indi.

[14] Parmenion’s speech was displeasing to the king; accordingly, when he finished speaking, Alexander replied: “I too should prefer money to glory, if I were Parmenion; as it is, being Alexander, I am secure against poverty, and I remember that I am a king, not a trader. I have nothing at all for sale but above all I do not put my fortune on the market; if it is our desire that the prisoners be returned, we shall more honourably give them as a gift than ransom them for a price.”

Then, having called in the envoys, he answered them after this fashion; “Announce to Darius that my acts of clemency and generosity were due, not to my friendship for him, but to my natural impulses.

To wage war with captives and women is not my habit; he must be armed whom I hate. But if it were at least in good faith that he asks for peace, I might perhaps consider whether I would grant it. But, in solemn truth, since he now with letters tempts my soldiers to betray me, and now with money bribes my friends to kill me, I must pursue him to destruction, not as a legitimate enemy, but as an assassin who resorts to poison.

“Furthermore, as to the conditions of peace which you propose, if I accept them, they make him the victor. He generously offers me what is beyond the Euphrates. You have forgotten then, where it is in fact that you now come to see me. Surely I am across the Euphrates! Therefore my camp is beyond the most liberal boundary of the dowry which he promises. Drive me from here, in order that I may know that what you offer to cede is yours. With like generosity he gives me his daughter, who forsooth is the destined bride of one of his slaves. A high honour truly he confers upon me in preferring me to Mazaeus as a son-in-law!

“Go, report to your king that what he has lost and what he still possesses are prizes of war; since it is war that rules the boundaries of both realms, each will have what the fortune of to-morrow shall allot to him.” The envoys replied that since his intention was war, he was acting without guile in not deceiving them with the hope of peace. For their own part, they asked that they might be sent back as soon as possible to their king; that he also ought to prepare for war. They were dismissed, and reported to Darius that battle was imminent.

Ille quidem confestim Mazaeum cum tribus equitum milibus ad itinera, quae hostis petiturus erat, occupanda praemisit. [2] Alexander corpori uxoris eius iustis persolutis omni que graviore comitatu intra eadem munimenta cum modico praesidio relicto ad hostem contendit. [3] In duo cornua diviserat peditem utrique lateri equite circumdato: iupedimenta sequebantur agmen. [4] Praemisum deinde cum suis equitibus Menidan iubet explorare, ubi Dareus esset. At ille, cum Mazaeus haud procul consedisset, non ausus ultra procedere, nihil aliud quam fremitum hominum hinnitumque equorum exaudisse nuntiat. [5] Mazaeus quoque conspectis procul exploratoribus in castra se recepit, adventus hostium nuntius. Igitur Dareus, qui in patentibus campis decernere optabat, armari militem iubet aciemque disponit. [6] In laevo cornu Bactriani ibant equites, mille admodum, Dahae totidem, et Arachosii Susianique quattuor milia explebant. Hos centum falcati currus sequebantur. Proximus quadrigis erat Bessus cum VIII milibus, equitibus item Bactrianis. [p. 84] [7] Massagetae duobus milibus agmen eius claudebant. Pedites his plurium gentium non inmixtos, sed suae cuiusque nationis iunxerat copias. Persas

deinde cum Mardis Sogdianisque Ariobarzanes et Orontobates ducebant. [8] Illi partibus copiarum, summae Orsines praeerat, a septem Persis oriundus, ad Cyrum quoque, nobilissimum regem, originem sui referens. [9] Hos aliae gentes ne sociis quidem satis notae sequebantur. Post quas L quadrigas Phradates magno Caspiorum agmine antecedebat. [10] Indi ceterique Rubri maris accolae, nomina verius quam auxilia, post currus erant. Claudebatur hoc agmen aliis falcatis curribus, quis peregrinum militem adiunxerat. Hunc Armenii, quos minores appellant, Armenios Babylonii, utrosque Belitae et, qui montes Cossaeorum incolebant, sequebantur. [11] Post hos ibant Gortuae, gentis quidem Euboicae, Medos quondam secuti, sed iam degeneres et patrii moris ignari. Adplicuerat his Phrygas et Cataonas. Parthyaeorum deinde gens incolentium terras, quas nunc Parthi Scythia profecti tenent, claudebant agmen. [12] Haec sinistri cornus facies fuit. Dextrum tenebant natio Maioris Armeniae Cadusiique et Cappadoces et Syri ac Medi. [13] His quoque falcati currus L erant. Summa totius exercitus, equites XLV milia, pedestris acies CC milia expleverat. Hoc modo instructi X stadia procedunt iussique subsistere armati hostem expectabant. [14] Alexandri exercitum pavor, cuius causa non sub- [p. 85] erat, invasit: quippe lymphati trepidare coeperunt omnium pectora occulto metu percurrente. Caeli fulgor tempore aestivo ardenti similis internitens ignis praebuit speciem, flammisque ex Darei castris splendere velut inlati temere praesidiis credebant. [15] Quodsi percussis Mazaeus, qui praesidebat itineri, supervenisset, ingens clades accipi potuit: nunc, dum ille segnis in eo, quem occupaverat, tumulto sedet, contentus non lacessi, [16] Alexander cognito povere exercitus signum, ut consisterent, dari, ante ipsos arma deponere ac levare corpora iubet, admonens nullam subiti causam esse terroris, hostem procul stare. [17] Tandem compotes sui pariter arma et animos recepere. Nec quicquam ex praesentibus tutius visum est quam eodem loco castra munire. [18] Postero die Mazaeus — cum delectis equitum in edito colle, ex quo Macedonum prospiciebantur castra, consederat — sive metu sive, quia speculari modo iussus erat, ad Dareum rediit. [19] Macedones eum ipsum collem, quem deseruerat, occupaverunt: nam et tutior planitie erat, et inde acies hostium, quae in campo explicabatur, conspici poterat. [20] Sed caligo, quam circa humidi effuderant montes, universae quidem rei faciem non abstulit, ceterum agminum discrimina atque ordinem prohibuit perspicere. Multitudo inundaverat campos, fremitusque tot milium etiam procul stantium aures inpleverat. [21] Fluctuari animo rex et modo suum, modo Parmenionis consilium sera aestimatione perpendere: quippe eo ventum erat, unde [p. 86] [22] recipi exercitus nisi victor sine clade non posset. Itaque dissimulato animo mercennarium equitem ex Paeonia praecedere iubet. [23] Ipse phalangem, sicut antea dictum est, in duo cornua extenderat: utrumque cornu equites tegebant. Iamque liquidior lux discussa caligine aciem hostium ostenderat, et Macedones sive alacritate sive taedio expectationis ingentem pugnantium more edidere clamorem. Redditus et a Persis nemora vallesque circumiectas terribili sono inpleverat, [24] nec iam contineri Macedones poterant, quin cursu

quoque ad hostem contenderent. Rex melius adhuc ratus in eodem tumultu castra munire, vallum iaci iussit strenueque opere perfecto in tabernaculum, ex quo tota acies hostium conspiciebatur, secessit.

XII. Darius at once sent on Mazaeus with 3000 horsemen to take possession of the roads which the enemy was likely to make for. Alexander, after having paid the due rites to the body of Darius' wife, left within the same fortifications with a garrison of moderate size the more burdensome part of his army and hastened against the enemy. He had divided the infantry into two wings and encircled each flank with cavalry; the baggage followed the army. Then he sent Menidas in advance with his cavalry with orders to find out where Darius was. But Menidas, when he found that Mazaeus had encamped near by, feared to advance farther and reported that he had heard nothing else save the noise of men and the neighing of horses. Mazaeus too, when he caught sight of the scouts from afar, returned to his camp, announcing the coming of the enemy.

Therefore Darius, who wished to fight in open plains, ordered his soldiers to arm themselves and drew up his line of battle. On his left wing were Bactrian cavalry, about 1000 in number, the Dahae, of just the same number, and the Arachosii and the Susiani, 4000. These a hundred scythed chariots followed. Next to the chariots was Bessus with 8000 horsemen, who likewise were Bactriani. The Massagetae brought up his rear with 2000. To these he had joined the infantry forces of many peoples, not mingled together, but each group arranged with the cavalry of its corresponding nation. Then Ariobarzanes and Orontobates led the Persians with the Mardii and the Sogdiani. These men commanded divisions of the forces, in charge of the whole was Orsines, a descendant of the "seven Persians and tracing his genealogy also to Cyrus, that most renowned king. These were followed by other nations, not very well known even to their allies. Phradates came after these nations, leading fifty four-in-hand chariots, with a large army of Caspii. The Indi and the rest of the dwellers on the Red Sea, mere names rather than auxiliaries, were behind the chariots.

The rear of this part of the army was brought up by other scythe-bearing chariots, to which he had joined the foreign soldiers. These were followed by those who are known as the Lesser Armenians, the Armenians by the Babylonians, and both by the Belitae and those who dwelt in the mountains of the Cossaei. After these marched the Gortuae, really a Euboean race, who formerly followed the Medes, but were now degenerate and ignorant of their native customs. Next to these he put the Phrygians and the Cataonians. Then the Parthylaei, inhabiting the lands now held by the Parthians from Scythia, brought up the rear of the whole force. Such was the form of the left wing. The right was held by the nation of Greater Armenia with the Cadusii, the Cappadocians, the Syrians, and the Medes. These also had fifty scythe-bearing

chariots. The sum of the entire army consisted of 45,000 cavalry, and the infantry numbered 200,000. Drawn up in this manner, they advanced ten stadia, and then, being ordered to halt under arms, awaited the enemy.

Alexander's army was seized by a panic, the reason for which was not apparent; for they became frenzied and proceeded to tremble, as a secret dread ran through the breasts of all. A gleaming of the heavens shining here and there, like that in the burning heat of summer, presented the appearance of fire, and they believed that fires were blazing from the camp of Darius, as if they had incautiously come upon his guarding troops. Now if Mazaeus, who was guarding the road, had fallen upon them in their panic, a great disaster might have been suffered; as it was, while he sat idle on the eminence of which he had taken possession, satisfied not to be attacked, Alexander, becoming aware of the army's terror, ordered the signal for a halt to be given, and bade the soldiers lay down their arms in front of them and rest themselves, advising them that there was no cause for their sudden alarm, that the enemy were at a distance. At length they came to their senses and recovered alike their arms and their courage. And nothing seemed safer under the circumstances than to fortify a camp in that same place.

On the following day Mazaeus — he had taken position with the best of his cavalry on a high hill, from which the camp of the Macedonians was in sight — either through fear or because he had been ordered merely to keep watch, returned to Darius. The Macedonians took possession of the very hill which he had abandoned; for it was safer than the plain, and from it the enemies' line of battle, which was being deployed on the level ground, could be observed.

But a mist, which the moist mountains had poured about, did not indeed cut off a general view, but did prevent the different divisions of the army and their arrangement from being made out. Their great number had flooded the plains, and the noise made by so many thousands had filled the ears even of those who stood afar off. The king began to waver in his determination, and to weigh his plan and that of Parmenion, although it was now too late; for they had come to a point from which the army could not be withdrawn without disaster, unless it were victorious. Accordingly, concealing his feelings, he ordered the mercenary cavalry from Paeonia to advance. He himself, as was said before, had extended the phalanx into two wings, both of which were protected by cavalry. And now the mist had been dispelled, and the clearer light had revealed the army of the enemy, and the Macedonians, either from eagerness or from the tediousness of waiting, raised a mighty shout, after the manner of those engaged in battle. When this was returned by the Persians and had filled the surrounding forests and valleys with a fearsome sound, the Macedonians could no longer be restrained from hastening against the enemy on the run as well. But the king, thinking it still better to fortify a camp on that same hill, ordered a palisade to be set up, and when the work had been

promptly completed, he withdrew to his tent, from which the whole army of the enemy was in sight.

Tum vero universa futuri discriminis facies in oculis erat: armis insignibus equi virique splendebant, et omnia intentiore cura praeparari apud hostem sollicitudo praetorum agmina sua interequitantium ostendebat, [2] ac pleraque inania, sicut fremitus hominum, [3] equorum hinnitus, armorum internitentium fulgor, sollicitam expectatione mentem turbaverant. Igitur sive dubius animi sive, ut suos experiretur, consilium adhibet, quid optimum factu esset, exquirens. [4] Parmenio, peritissimus inter duces artium belli, furto, non proelio opus esse censebat. Intempesta nocte opprimi posse hostes: discordis moribus, linguis, ad hoc somno et [p. 87] improviso periculo territos quando in nocturna trepidatione coituros? [5] At interdiu primum terribiles occurrentes facies Scytharum Bactrianorumque : hirta illis ora et intonsas comas esse, praeterea eximiam vastorum magnitudinem corporum. Vanis et inanibus militem magis quam iustis formidinis causis moveri. [6] Deinde tantam multitudinem circumfundi paucioribus posse, cum non in Ciliciae angustiis et in viis callibus, sed in aperta et lata planitie dimicarent. [7] Omnes ferme Parmenioni adsentiebantur: Polypercon haud dubie in eo consilio positam victoriam arbitrabatur. [8] Quem intuens rex — namque Parmenionem nuper acrius, quam vellet, increpitum rursus castigare non sustinebat — : ‘Latrunculorum,’ inquit, ‘et furum ista sollertia est, quam praecipitis mihi: quippe illorum votum unicum est fallere. [9] Meae vero gloriae semper aut absentiam Darei aut angustias locorum aut furtum noctis obstare non patiar. Palam luce adgredi certum est: malo me meae fortunae paeniteat, quam victoriae pudeat. [10] Ad haec illud quoque accedit: vigilias agere barbaros et in armis stare, ut ne decipi quidem possint, conpertum habeo. Itaque ad proelium vos parate.’ Sic incitatos ad corpora curanda dimisit. [11] Dareus id, quod Parmenio suaserat, hostem facturum esse coniectans frenatos equos stare magnamque exercitus partem in armis esse ac vigilias intentiore cura servari iusserat: ergo ignibus tota eius castra fulgebant. [12] Ipse cum ducibus propinquisque agmina in armis stantium circumibat, Solem et Mithrem sacrumque et aeternum invocans ignem, ut illis dignam [p. 88] veteri gloria maiorumque monumentis fortitudinem inspirarent. [13] Et profecto, si qua divinae opis auguria humana mente concipi possent, deos stare secum. Illos nuper Macedonum animis subitam incussisse formidinem, adhuc lymphatos ferri agique arma iacentes, expetere praesides Persarum imperii debitas e vaecordibus poenas. [14] Nec ipsum ducem saniozem esse: quippe ritu ferarum praedam modo, quam expeteret, intuentem in perniciem, quae ante praedam posita esset, incurrere. Similis apud Macedones quoque sollicitudo erat, noctemque velut in eam certamine edicto metu egerunt. [15] Alexander non alias magis territus ad vota et preces Aristandrum vocari iubet. Ille in candida veste verbenas manu praeferens capite velato praeibat preces regi Iovem Minervamque Victoriā propitiantī. [16] Tunc quidem sacrificio rite perpetrato reliquum noctis adquieturus in tabernaculum rediit. Sed nec somnum capere

nec quietem pati poterat: modo e iugo montis aciem in dextrum Persarum cornu demittere agitabat, modo recta fronte concurrere hosti, interdum haesitare, [17] an potius in laevum detorqueret agmen. Tandem gravatum animi anxietate corpus altior somnus oppressit. Iamque luce orta duces ad accipienda imperia convenerant insolito circa praetorium silentio attoniti: [18] quippe alias accersere ipsos et interdum morantes castigare adsueverat, tunc ne ultimo quidem rerum discrimine excitatum esse mirabantur et non somno quiescere, [19] sed pavore marcere credebant. Non tamen quisquam [p. 89] ex custodibus corporis intrare tabernaculum audebat. Et iam tempus instabat, nec miles iniussu ducis aut arma capere poterat aut in ordines ire. [20] Diu Parmenio cunctatus, cibum ut caperent, ipse pronuntiat. Iamque exire necesse erat: tunc demum intrat tabernaculum saepiusque nomine conpellatum, cum voce non posset, tactu excitavit. [21] ‘Multa lux,’ inquit, ‘est: instructam aciem hostis admovit, tuus miles adhuc inermis expectat imperium. Ubi est vigor ille animi tui? nempe excitare vigiles soles.’ [22] Ad haec Alexander: ‘Credisne me prius somnum capere potuisse, quam exonerarem animum sollicitudine, quae quietem morabatur?’ signumque pugnae tuba dari iussit. Et cum in eadem admiratione Parmenio perseveraret, [23] quod solutum se curis somnum cepisse dixisset: ‘Minime,’ inquit, ‘mirum est: ego enim, cum Dareus terram ureret, vicos excinderet, alimenta corrumperet, potens mei non eram: [24] nunc vero quid metuum, cum acie decernere paret? Hercule, votum meum inplevit. Sed huius consilii postea quoque ratio reddetur: vos ite ad copias, quibus quisque praeest, ego iam adero et, quid fieri velim, exponam.’ [25] Raro admodum, admonitu magis amicorum quam metu discriminis adeundi, thorace uti solebat: tunc utique nranimento corporis sumpto processit ad milites. Haud alias tam alacrem viderant regem et ex vultu eius interrito certam spem victoriae augurabantur. [26] Atque ille proruto vallo exire copias iubet aciemque disponit. In dextro cornu locati sunt equites, quos agema appellabant: praeerat his Clitus, cui [p. 90] iunxit Philota(??) turmas, ceterosque praefectos equitum lateri eius adplicuit. [27] Ultima Meleagri ala stabat, quam phalanx sequebatur. Post phalangem Argyraspides erant: [28] his Nicanor, Parmenionis films, praeerat. In subsidiis cum manu sua Coenos, post eum Orestae Lyncestaeque sunt positi, post illos Polypercon, mox peregrini milites. Huius agminis princeps Amyntas aberat: Philippus Balacri eos regebat in societatem nuper adscitus. [29] Haec dextri cornus facies erat. In laevo Craterus Peloponnesium equites habebat Achaeorum et Locrensium et Malieon turmis sibi adiunctis. Hos Thessali equites claudebant Philippo duce. Peditum acies equitatu tegebatur. Frons laevi cornus haec erat. [30] Sed ne circumiri posset a multitudine, ultimum agmen valida manu cinxerat. Cornua quoque subsidiis firmavit non recta fronte, sed a latere positis, ut, si hostis circumvenire aciem temptasset, parata pugnae forent. [31] Hic Agriani erant, quibus Attalus praeerat, adiunctis sagittariis Cretensibus. Ultimos ordines avertit a fronte, ut totam aciem orbe muniret. Illyrii hic erant adiuncto milite mercede conducto, Thracas quoque simul obiecerat leviter armatos. [32]

Adeoque aciem [p. 91] versabilem posuit, ut, qui ultimi stabant, ne circumirentur, verti tamen et in frontem circumagi possent. Itaque non prima quam latera, non latera munitiora fuere quam terga. [33] His ita ordinatis praecipit, ut, si falcatos currus cum fremitu barbari emitterent, ipsi laxatis ordinibus impetum incurrentium silentio exciperent, haud dubius sine noxa transcurso, si nemo se opponeret: sin autem sine fremitu inmisissent, eos ipsi clamore terrerent pavidosque equos telis utrimque suffoderent. [34] Qui cornibus praeerant, extendere ea iussi ita, ut nec circumvenirentur, si artius starent, nee tamen ultimam aciem exinanirent. [35] Inpedimenta cum captivis, inter quos mater liberique Darei custodiebantur, haud procul acie in edito colle constituit modico praesidio relicto. Laevum cornu, sicut alias, Parmenioni tuendum datum, ipse in dextro stabat. [36] Nondum ad iactum teli perventum erat, cum Bion quidam transfuga, quanto maximo cursu poterat, ad regem pervenit nuntians, murices ferreos in terram diffudisse Dareum, qua hostem equites emissurum esse credebat, notatumque certo signo locum, ut fraus evitari a suis posset. [37] Adservari transfuga iusso duces convocat expositoque, quod nuntiatum erat, monet, ut regionem monstratam declinent equitemque periculum edoceant. [38] Ceterum hortantem exercitus exaudire non poterat usum aurium intercipientem fremitu duorum agminum, sed in conspectu omnium duces et proximum quemque [p. 92]

XIII. Then verily the entire vision of the coming peril was before his eyes; horses and men shone with splendid arms, and the concern of the generals, as they rode up and down among their lines, showed that on the side of the enemy everything was being made ready with special care, and many trifling things, such as the noise of the men, the neighing of horses, the brilliance of arms shining here and there, had disturbed a mind already on edge with expectation. Therefore, either because he was really in doubt, or to try his officers, he called a council, inquiring what was best to be done. Parmenion, the most skilled among his generals in the art of war, gave it as his opinion that a surprise was better than an open battle. In the dead of night the foe could be overwhelmed; being of discordant customs and languages, as well as terrified in their sleep by an unforeseen danger, when would they unite in the confusion of an attack by night? But in the daytime the terrible aspect of the Scythians and the Bactriani would for the first time confront the Macedonians; their faces are shaggy and their hair unshorn, to say nothing of the enormous bulk of their huge bodies. Soldiers are affected more by vain and trivial things than by reasonable causes of fear. Then too so great a multitude could surround their smaller numbers, since they were fighting, not in the narrow and inaccessible by-ways of Cilicia, but in an open and broad plain.

Almost all agreed with Parmenion; Polypercon thought that victory undoubtedly depended upon that plan. Alexander, looking solemnly at the latter — for he had lately chided Parmenion more severely than he wished and did not have the heart to upbraid him again — said: “The craft which you

recommend to me is that of petty robbers and thieves; for their 9 sole desire is to deceive. I will not suffer my glory always to be impaired by the absence of Darius, or by confined places, or by deceit by night. I am determined to attack openly by daylight; I prefer to regret my fortune rather than be ashamed of my victory. Besides, this consideration too is added; I am well aware that the barbarians keep watch by night and stand under arms, so that it is not really possible to deceive them. Therefore do you prepare for battle.” When they had been thus aroused, he bade them take food and rest.

Darius, inferring that the enemy would do what Parmenion had advised, had ordered that the horses should stand bridled, that a great part of the army should be armed, and that night watch should be kept with unusually vigilant care; therefore his entire camp was aglow with fires. He himself with his generals and his relatives rode about among the divisions as they stood under arms, calling upon the Sun and Mithras, and the sacred and eternal fire, to inspire them with a courage worthy of their ancient glory and the records of their forefathers. And surely, he said, if any tokens of divine aid could be read by mortal minds, the gods were on their side. It was they who had lately struck sudden panic into the minds of the Macedonians, who were still harried and hunted by frenzy and throwing away their arms, and the gods who watch over the Persian empire were about to inflict upon madmen the punishment which they deserved. Nor was their leader himself saner than his men; for after the manner of wild beasts, fixing his gaze only on the booty at which he was aiming, he was rushing upon the destruction behind which the booty lay.

There was like concern among the Macedonians also, and they passed the night in fear, as if that were the time set for the battle. Alexander, never more alarmed, ordered that Aristander should be summoned for vows and prayers. The seer, in white robe, bearing in his hand the sacred branches, with veiled head led the king in prayers as he propitiated Jupiter and Minerva Victoria. Then at last, after a sacrifice had been duly performed, the king returned to his tent, to rest for the remainder of the night. But he could neither go to sleep nor endure repose; now he thought of sending his army from the crest of the mountain against the right wing of the Persians, now of meeting the enemy front to front, sometimes he hesitated whether he should not rather direct his army against the left wing. At last a deeper sleep than usual overcame his body, worn out as it was by anxiety of mind.

And now, at daybreak, the generals had assembled to receive their orders, amazed at the unwonted silence around the king’s tent; for at other times he had been wont to summon them, and sometimes to chide the tardy, now they marvelled that he was not aroused even at the final crisis of affairs, and believed that he was not resting in sleep, but willing away — through fear. Yet none of the body-guard ventured to enter the tent; and already the time was at hand, and the soldiers without the order of the commander could

neither arm themselves nor take their places in the ranks. Parmenion, after hesitating for a long time, himself gave the order to take food. And already it was necessary to go forth; then at last Parmenion entered the tent, and after often calling the king often by name, when he could not waken him with his voice, he did so by touching him. "It is broad daylight," said he, "the enemy is advancing in battle-array, your soldiers, still unarmed, await your command. Where is that vigour of mind of yours? Truly you are wont to wake the very watchmen." To this Alexander replied: "Do you think that I could have gone to sleep before I had unburdened my mind of the care which was delaying my rest?" And he ordered the signal for battle to be given with the trumpet. And when Parmenion continued to express no less surprise at his having said that he had slept free from care: "It is not at all strange," said he, "for when Darius was setting fire to the land, destroying villages, and ruining food-supplies, I was beside myself; but now what have I to fear, when he is preparing to contend in battle? By Heaven, he has satisfied my heart's desire. But the reason for this feeling also shall be given later. Do you go to the forces which each of you commands. I will soon be present and will explain what I wish to be done." Very rarely, rather at the advice of his friends than through fear of encountering danger, was Alexander in the habit of using a cuirass; or that occasion at any rate he put on a protection for his body, and went to his soldiers. Never before had they seen the king so joyful, and from his undaunted aspect they inferred a sure hope of victory.

And the king, after razing the palisade, ordered his forces to go forth, and arranged his line of battle. On the right wing were placed the horsemen whom they call the body-guard; Clitus commanded these, and with them he joined the squadrons of Philotas, and on its flank put the rest of the commanders of cavalry.

Last stood the troop of Meleager, followed by the phalanx. Behind the phalanx were the Silver-shields, under command of Nicanor, son of Parmenion. In reserve were Coenus with his troops, and behind him the Orestae and Lyncestae, after them Polypercon, and next the foreign forces. Of this body the leader Amyntas was not present; Philippus (son of Balacrus) who had lately been received as an ally, commanded them.

Such was the form of the right wing. On the left Craterus led the cavalry of the Peloponnesians, and to these were joined the horsemen of the Achaeans, the Locrians, and the Malieis. The rear of these was brought up by the Thessalian cavalry, led by Philippus. The infantry force was protected by the cavalry. This was the front of the left wing. But in order that it might not be surrounded by superior numbers, he had girt it in the rear by a powerful force. He had strengthened the wings also by reserves, placed not straight in front but on the flanks, in order that, if the enemy should try to surround the — line of battle, they should be ready to fight. Here were the Agriani, whom Attalus

commanded, and joined with them the Cretan archers. The hindermost ranks he faced towards the rear, so as to fortify the whole battle-line by a circular formation.

Here were the Illyrians, joined with the mercenary soldiers, and there he had also posted the light-armed Thracians. And by his dispositions he made his army so mobile that those who stood in the rear to prevent encirclement could nevertheless, by a turning movement, be brought round to the front. Therefore the front was not better protected than the flanks, nor the flanks than the rear.

When the army was thus arranged, he warned them, in case the enemy should make a great uproar as they sent forth their scythe-bearing chariots, to receive them in silence as they rushed upon them, and open their ranks (he had no doubt that they would pass through without doing harm, if no one opposed them) but if they sent them forth without noise, they themselves were to terrify them by shouting and with their javelins stab the frightened horses from both sides at once. Those who commanded the wings were ordered to extend them in such a way that they might neither be surrounded by standing too close together, nor yet make the rear ranks so thin as to be ineffective. The baggage with the prisoners, among whom the mother and children of Darius were guarded, he placed not far from the field of battle upon a high hill, leaving a guard of moderate size. The left wing, as at other times, was given in charge to Parmenion, the king himself took his place on the right.

Not yet had they come within spear-range, when one Bion, a deserter, with all possible speed came to Alexander, reporting that Darius had spread iron caltrops planted in the ground over which he believed that his enemy would send forth his cavalry, and that the place had been marked by a clear sign, in order that the device might be avoided by his own men. Alexander, after giving orders that the deserter should be guarded, called together his generals, and explaining what had been told, warned them to avoid the part which had been designated, and to inform the horsemen of the danger.

But when he began to encourage the army, they could not hear him, since the noise made by the two forces deafened them, but in the sight of all riding about among his generals and those who were nearest to him, he addressed them as follows:

interequitans adloquebatur: Emensis tot terras in spem victoriae, de qua dimicandum foret, hoc unum superesse discrimen. Granicum hic amnem Ciliciaeque montes et Syriam Aegyptumque praefereuntibus raptas, [2] ingentia spei gloriaeque incitamenta, referebat. Reprehensos ex fuga Persas pugnatuos, quia fugere non possent. Tertium iam diem metu exangues, armis suis oneratos in eodem vestigio haerere. Nullum desperationis illorum maius indicium esse, quam quod urbes, [3] quod agros suos urerent, quidquid non corrupissent, hostium esse confessi. Nomina modo vana gentium ignotarum

ne extimescerent: neque enim ad belli discrimen pertinere, qui ab iis Scythae quive Cadusii appellarentur. Ob id ipsum, quod ignoti essent, ignobiles esse: [4] numquam ignorari viros fortes, at inbelles ex latebris suis erutos nihil praeter nomina adferre. Macedonas virtute adsecutos, ne quis toto orbe locus esset, qui tales viros ignoraret. [5] Intuerentur barbarorum inconditum agmen: alium nihil praeter iaculum habere, alium funda saxa librare, paucis iusta arma esse. Itaque illinc plures stare, hinc plures dimicatuos. [6] Nec postulare se, ut fortiter capesserent proelium, ni ipse ceteris fortitudinis fuisset exemplum: se ante prima signa dimicaturum. Spondere pro se tot cicatrices, totidem corporis decora: [7] scire ipsos unum paene se praedae communis exortem in illis colendis ornandisque usurpare victoriae praemia Haec se fortibus viris dicere. Si qui dissimiles eorum [p. 93] essent, illa fuisse dicturum: pervenisse eos, unde fugere non possent. Tot terrarum spatia emensis, tot amnibus montibusque post tergum obiectis iter in patriam ad penates manu esse faciendum. Sic duces, sic proximi militum instincti sunt. [8] Dareus in laevo cornu erat magno suorum agmine, delectis equitum peditumque, stipatus contempseratque paucitatem hostis vanam aciem esse extentis cornibus ratus. [9] Ceterum, sicut curru eminebat, dextra laevaue ad circumstantia agmina oculos manusque circumferens : ‘Terrarum,’ inquit, ‘quas Oceanus hinc adluit, illinc claudit Hellespontus, paulo ante dominis iam non de gloria, sed de salute et, quod saluti praeponitis, libertate pugnandum est: [10] hic dies imperium, quo nulla amplius vidit aetas, aut constituet aut finiet. Apud Granicum minima virium parte cum hoste certavimus, in Cilicia victos Syria poterat excipere, magna munimenta regni Tigris atque Euphrates erant. [11] Ventum est eo, unde pulsus ne fugae quidem locus est. Omnia tam diutino bello exhausta post tergum sunt: non incolas suos urbes, non cultores habent terrae. Coniuges quoque et liberi sequuntur hanc aciem, parata hostibus praeda, nisi pro carissimis pignoribus corpora opponimus. [12] Quod mearum fuit partium, exercitum, quem paene immensa planities vix caperet, conparavi: equos, arma distribui, commeatus ne tantae multitudini [p. 94] deessent, providi, locum, in quo acies explicari posset, [13] elegi. Cetera in vestra potestate sunt: audete modo vincere famamque, infirmissimum adversus fortes viros telum, contemnite. Temeritas est, quam adhuc pro virtute timuistis: [14] quae ubi primum impetum effudit, velut quaedam animalia emisso aculeo, torpet. Hi vero campi deprehendere paucitatem, quam Ciliciae montes absconderant. Videtis ordines raros, cornua extenta, mediam aciem vanam exhaustam: nam Ultimi, quos locavit aversos, terga iam praebent. Obteri, mehercule, equorum ungulis possunt, etiam si nihil praeter falcatos currus emisero. [15] Et bello vicerimus, si vicimus proelio. Nam ne illis quidem ad fugam locus est: [16] hinc Euphrates, illinc Tigris prohibet inclusos. Et, quae antea pro illis erant, in contrarium versa sunt. Nostrum mobile et expeditum agmen est, illud praeda grave. Inplicatos ergo spoliis nostris trucidabimus, eademque res et causa erit victoriae et fructus. [17] Quodsi quem e vobis nomen gentis movet, cogitet Macedonum illic arma esse, non corpora. Multum enim sanguinem invicem hausimus, et semper

gravior in paucitate iactura est. [18] Nam Alexander, quantuscumque ignavis et timidis videri potest, unum animal est et, si quid mihi creditis, temerarium et vaecors, adhuc nostro pavore quam sua virtute felicius. [19] Nihil autem potest esse diuturnum, cui non subest ratio. Licet felicitas adspirare videatur, tamen ad ultimum temeritati non sufficit. Praeterea breves et mutabiles vices rerum sunt, et fortuna numquam simpliciter indulget. [20] Forsitan ita dii fata ordinaverint, ut Persarum impe- [p. 95] rium, quod secundo cursu per CCXXX annos ad summum fastigium evexerant, magno motu concuterent magis quam affligerent admonerentque nos fragilitatis humanae, cuius nimia in prosperis rebus oblivio est. [21] Modo Graecis ultro bellum inferebamus: nunc in sedibus nostris propulsamus inlatum. Iactamur invicem varietate fortunae. Videlicet imperium, quia mutuo adfectamus, una gens non capit. [22] Ceterum, etiam si spes non subesset, necessitas tamen stimulare deberet. Ad extrema perventum est. Matrem meam, duas filias, Ochum in spem huius imperii genitum, principes, illam subolem regiae stirpis, duces vestros reorum instar vinctos habet: nisi quid in vobis spei est, ego maiore mei parte captivus sum. Eripite viscera mea ex vinculis, restituite mihi pignora, pro quibus ipsi mori non recusatis, parentem, liberos: nam coniugem in illo carcere amisi. [23] Credite nunc omnes hos tendere ad vos manus, inplorare patrios deos, opem vestram, misericordiam, fidem exposcere, ut compedibus, ut Servitute, ut precario victu ipsos liberetis. An creditis aequo animo iis servire, quorum reges esse fastidiunt? [24] Video admoveri hostium aciem: sed, quo propius discrimen accedo, hoc minus iis, quae dixi, possum esse contentus. Per ego vos deos patrios aeternumque ignem, qui praefertur altaribus, fulgor em que solis intra fines regni mei orientis, per aeternam memoriam Cyri, qui ademptum Medis Lydisque imperium primus in Persidem intulit, vindicate ab ultimo dedecore nomen gentemque Persarum. [25] Ite alacres et spiritus pleni, ut, quam gloriam accepistis a maioribus vestris, posteris [p. 96] relinquatis. In dextris vestris iam libertatem, opem, spem futuri temporis geritis. Effugit mortem, quisquis contempserit: [26] timidissimum quemque consequitur. Ipse non patrio more solum, sed etiam, ut conspici possim, curru vehor nec recuso, quo minus imitemini me, sive fortitudinis exemplum sive ignaviae fuero.'

XIV. that after having traversed so many lands in the hope of the victory for which they must fight this one contest was left them. He recalled the Granicus River, the mountains of Cilicia, and Syria and Egypt, seized as they passed through, as great incentives to hope and glory. The Persians, recalled from flight, would fight only because they could not run away. It was now the third day that pallid with fear and burdened by their arms they had remained fixed in the same spot. There was no surer sign of their desperation than that they were burning their cities and their fields, thereby having admitted that whatever they had not ruined belonged to the enemy. They must not fear the merely meaningless names of unknown nations; for it had nothing to do with the result of the war who of their number were called Scythians or who Cadusians. For the very reason that they were unknown they were

unrenowned; brave men were never unknown, but cowards dug out from their lurking places brought with them nothing but mere names. The Macedonians owed it to their valour that there was no place in the whole world that was unacquainted with such men.

Let them but look at the heterogeneous army of the barbarians; one had nothing but a javelin, another hurled stones from a sling, few had regular arms. Hence on their side more men stand, on our side more will fight. Nor did he demand that they should enter battle bravely unless he himself should set an example to the rest in valour; that he would fight before the foremost standards. Many scars — as so many ornaments to his body — were a warrant on his behalf; they themselves knew that he, almost alone, had no share in the common booty, but used the rewards of victory in honouring and enriching them. That these words he addressed to brave men; if there were any who were not of that kind, to them he would have said this: that they had come to a place from which they could not flee. That after traversing so many spacious lands, after so many rivers and mountains had been left in their way behind, they must make the journey to their native land and their homes by main force.

Thus the leaders, thus the nearest of the soldiers were inspired.

Darius was on his left wing, closely surrounded by a great throng of his men, the elite of his infantry and cavalry, and he had scorned the enemy's small numbers, thinking that the extension of their wings made their battle-line weak. Then, standing aloft, as he did, in his chariot, and turning his eyes and stretching out his hands right and left to the troops who stood about him, he said: "We, a short time since lords of the lands which on one side the Ocean laves, on the other the Hellespont embraces, must now fight, not for glory, but for life, and for what you ^[10] value higher than life, for freedom; this day will establish or end the greatest empire any age has seen. At the Granicus, we fought against the enemy with a very small part of our strength; in Cilicia, Syria could receive us in case we were defeated, and the Tigris and the Euphrates were mighty bulwarks of ^[11] our realm. We have come to the place where, if we are worsted, there is no room even for flight. Everything behind us has been consumed by so long a war; the cities do not have their inhabitants, the fields have no labourers. Our wives also and our children follow this army, an easy prey for the enemy unless we oppose our bodies in defence of our dearest pledges.

"So far as my duty is concerned, I have assembled an army which this almost boundless plain can hardly contain, I have distributed men and horses, I have seen to it that so vast a multitude may not lack supplies, I have chosen a place in which our army ^[13] can deploy. The rest is in your power; only have courage to conquer, and scorn mere reputation, the weakest of weapons against brave men. What you have heretofore feared as valour is rashness; and

when this has spent its first attack, it becomes weak, like some insects when they have ejected their sting.

Moreover these plains have betrayed their small numbers, which the mountains of Cilicia had hidden. You see their thin ranks, their extended wings, their drained centre; for those in the rear, whom he has faced outwards, are already turning their backs. They can be trampled down, by Heaven!, by the hooves of our horses, even if I send forth nothing but ^[15] scythe-bearing chariots. And we shall have won the war, if we win the battle. For they too have no opportunity for flight; on the one side the Euphrates, on the other the Tigris hems them in and checks them.

“Furthermore, what was before in their favour, is now changed to the opposite. Our army is easily moved and unencumbered, theirs is laden with plunder. Therefore, hampered as they are by spoils taken from us, we shall cut them to pieces, and the same thing will be the cause and the fruit of our victory. But if the name of their nation affects any one of you, let him bear in mind that the arms of the Macedonians are there, but not their bodies. For we in our turn have drained plenteous blood, and loss is always more serious in small numbers. As to Alexander, however great he may seem to the wavering and timid, he is but a single mortal, and if you have any belief in me, a rash and mad one, as yet more fortunate because of our fear of him than because of his own valour. But nothing can be lasting which is not supported by reason. Although the breeze of good luck may seem to blow, yet in the long run it is not sufficient support for rashness. Moreover, the vicissitudes of life are short and inconstant, and Fortune never shows indulgence without reserve.

Perhaps the gods have so directed the course of the fates, that the empire of the Persians, which in a successful career of 230 years they had raised to the highest pinnacle, they might smite with a mighty shock merely and not lay it low, and that they might thus remind us of human frailty which is too often forgotten amid prosperity. Not long ago we were waging an offensive war against the Greeks, now in our own lands we are resisting a war brought upon us. We in our turn are victims of Fortune’s changes; of course this empire, since we both aspire to it, is too large for one nation to occupy!

“But even if hope were lost, yet necessity ought to spur us on. We have come to our extremest danger. My mother, two daughters, Ochus, born to the hope of this empire, our nobles, that offspring of royal stock, your leaders, he holds prisoners, like so many criminals. Unless there is some help in you, I am captive in my greater part. Rescue my flesh and blood from bonds; restore to me my dear ones, mother and children, for whom you yourselves do not refuse to die; as for my wife, I have lost her in that prison house. Believe that all these are now stretching out their arms to you, are imploring the gods of our fatherland, are demanding your aid, your pity, your loyalty, to free them from fetters, from slavery, from the dole of beggary. Or do you believe that

they serve with calmness those whose rulers they disdain to be?

“I see the enemies’ line advancing; but the nearer I come to the crisis, the less content can I be with the words which I have spoken. I conjure you by the gods of our fatherland, by the eternal fire which is carried before me on altars, by the radiance of the sun whose rising is within the confines of my realm, by the immortal memory of Cyrus, who was the first to take this empire from the Medes and Lydians and brought it to Persia, save the name and nation of the Persians from utter disgrace. Onward! full of vigour and confidence, to leave to posterity the glory which you received from your ancestors. In your right hands you now carry freedom, power, hope for the future. Whoso has scorned death has escaped it; every coward it overtakes. I myself, not only because it is my country’s custom, but also that I may be seen of all, ride in a chariot, and you have my permission to imitate me whether I prove to set an example of courage or of cowardice.”

Interim Alexander, ut et demonstratum a transfuga insidiarum locum circumiret et Dareo, qui cornu tuebatur, occurreret, agmen obliquum incedere iubet. [2] Dareus quoque eodem suum obvertit Besso admonito, ut Massagetarum equites in laevum Alexandri cornu a latere invehi iuberet. [3] Ipse ante se falcatos currus habebat: quos signo dato universos in hostem effudit. Ruebant laxatis habenis aurigae, quo plures nondum satis proviso impetu obtererent. [4] Alios ergo hastae multum ultra temonem eminentes, alios ab utroque latere demissae falces laceravere. Nec sensim Macedones cedebant, sed effusa fuga turbaverant ordines. [5] Mazaeus quoque percussis metum incussit mille equitibus ad diripienda hostis impedimenta circumvehi iussis, ratus captivos quoque, qui simul adservabantur, rupturos vincula, cum suos adpropinquantes vidissent. [6] Non fefellerat Parmenionem, qui in laevo erat: prope igitur Polydamanta mittit qui regi et periculum ostenderet et, quid fieri iuberet, consuleret. [7] Ille audito Polydamante: ‘Abi, nuntia,’ inquit, ‘Parmenioni, si acie vicerimus, non nostra solum nos recuperaturos, [p. 97] sed etiam, quae hostium sunt, occupaturos. [8] Proinde non est, quod virium quicquam subducat ex acie, sed, ut me, ut Philippo patri dignum est, contempto sarcinarum damno fortiter dimicet.’ [9] Interim barbari impedimenta turbaverant caesisque plerisque custodum captivi vinculis ruptis, quidquid obvium erat, quo armari possent, arripiunt et adgregati suorum equitibus Macedonas ancipiti circumventos malo invadunt. [10] Laeti, qui circa Sisigambim erant, vicisse Dareum, ingenti caede prostratos hostis, ad ultimum etiam impedimentis exutos esse nuntiant: quippe eandem fortunam ubique esse credebant et victores Persas ad praedam discurrense. [11] Sisigambis hortantibus captivis, ut animum a maerore adlevaret, in eodem, quo antea fuit, perseveravit. Non vox ulla excidit ei, non oris color vultusve mutatus est: sedit immobilis — credo, praecoqui gaudio verita irritare fortunam — , adeo ut, quid mallet, intuentibus eam fuerit incertum. [12] Inter haec Menidas, praefectus equitum Alexandri, cum paucis turmis opem impedimentis laturus

advenerat — est incertum, suone consilio an regis imperio — , sed non sustinuit Cadusiorum Scytharumque impetum: quippe vix temptato certamine refugit ad regem, amissorum impedimentorum testis magis quam vindex. [13] Iam consilium Alexandri dolor vicerat, et, ne cura recuperandi sua militem a proelio averteret, non inmerito verebatur: itaque Areten, ducem hastatorum — sarisophoros vocabant — [14] adversus Scythas mittit. Inter haec currus, qui circa prima signa turbaverant aciem, in phalangem invecti erant : Macedones confirmatis [p. 98] animis in medium agmen accipiunt. [15] Vallo similis acies erat: iunxerant hastas et ab utroque latere temere incurrentium ilia suffodiebant. Circumire deinde et currus et propugnatores praecipitare coeperunt. Ingens ruina equorum aurigarumque aciem compleverat: [16] hi territos regere non poterant, qui crebra iactatione cervicum non iugum modo excusserant, sed etiam currus everterant, vulnerati interfectos trahebant, nec consistere terrii nec progredi debiles poterant. [17] Paucae tamen evasere quadrigae in ultimam aciem iis, quibus inciderunt, miserabili morte consumptis: quippe amputata virorum membra humi iacebant, et, quia calidis adhuc vulneribus aberat dolor, trunci quoque et debiles quidam arma non omittebant, donec multo sanguine effuso exanimati procumberent. [18] Interim Aretes Scytharum qui impedimenta diripiebant, duce occiso gravius territis instabat. Supervenire deinde a Dareo Bactriani pugnaeque vertere fortunam. Multi ergo Macedonum primo impetu obtriti sunt, plures ad Alexandrum refugerunt. [19] Tum Persae clam ore sublato, qualem victores solent edere, ferociter in hostem quasi ubique profligatum incurrerunt. Alexander territos castigare, adhortari, proelium, quod iam elanguerat, solus accendere: confirmatisque tandem animis ire in hostem iubet. [20] Rarior acies erat in dextro cornu Persarum: namque inde Bactriani discesserant ad opprimenda impedimenta. Itaque Alexander laxatos ordines invadit et multa caede hostium invehitur. [21] At qui in laevo cornu erant Persae, spe posse eum includi agmen suum a tergo dimicantis opponunt: ingensque pericu- [p. 99] lum in medio haerens adisset, ni equites Agriani calcaribus subditis circumfusi regi barbaros adorti essent aversosque caedendo in se obverti coegissent. Turbata erat utraque acies. Alexander et a fronte et a tergo hostem habebat ... [22] Qui averso ei instabant, et ipsi ab Agrianis equitibus premebantur. Bactriani impedimentis hostium direptis reversi ordines suos recuperare non poterant, plura simul abrupta a ceteris agmina, ubicumque alium alii fors miscuerat, dimicabant. [23] Duo reges iunctis prope agminibus proelium accenderant. Plures Persae cadebant, par ferme utrimque numerus vulnerabatur. Currus Dareus, Alexander equo vehebatur. [24] Utrumque delecti tuebantur sui immemores: quippe amisso rege nec volebant salvi esse nec poterant. Ante oculos sui quisque regis mortem occumbere ducebat egregium. [25] Maximum tamen periculum adibant, quos maxime tuebantur: quippe sibi quisque caesi regis expetebat decus. [26] Ceterum, sive ludibrium oculorum sive vera species fuit, qui circa Alexandrum erant, vidisse se crediderunt paulum super caput regis placide volantem aquilam, non sono armorum, non gemitu morientium

territam, diu que circa equum Alexandri pendenti magis quam volanti similis adparuit. [27] Certe vates Aristander alba veste indutus et dextra praeferens lauream militibus in pugnam intentis avem monstrabat haud dubium victoriae auspiciū. [28] Ingens ergo alacritas et fiducia paulo ante territō accendit ad pugnam, utique postquam auriga Darei, qui ante [p. 100] ipsum sedens equos regebat, hasta transfixus est. Nec aut Persae aut Macedones dubitare, quin ipse rex esset occisus. [29] Ergo lugubri ululatu et incondito clamore gemituque totam fere aciem adhuc aequo Marte pugnantium turbavere cognati Darei et armigeri. Laevumque cornu in fugam effusum destituerat currum, quem a dextra parte stipati in medium agmen receperunt. [30] Dicitur acinace stricto Dareus dubitasse, an fugae dedecus honesta morte vitaret: sed eminens curru nondum omnem suorum aciem proelio excedentem destituere erubescēbat, [31] dumque inter spem et desperationem haesitat, sensim Persae cedebant et laxaverant ordines. Alexander mutato equo — quippe plures fatigaverat — resistentium adversa ora fodiebat, fugientium terga. [32] Iamque non pugna, sed caedes erat, cum is Dareus quoque currum suum in fugam vertit. Haerebat in tergis fugientium victor, sed prospectum oculorum nubes pulveris, quae ad caelum efferebatur, abstulerat: [33] ergo haud secus quam in tenebris errabant ad sonum notae vocis aut signum subinde coeuntes. Exaudiebant tamen strepitus habenarum, quibus equi currum vehentes identidem verberabantur: haec sola fugientis vestigia excepta sunt.

XV. Meanwhile Alexander, both in order to pass around the place of the snares pointed out by the deserter, and also to encounter Darius, who was guarding one wing, ordered his army to charge on a slant. Darius also turned his army in the same direction, having ordered Bessus to command the horsemen of the Massagetae to charge Alexander's left wing on its flank. Darius himself had before him the scythe-bearing chariots, all of which on a given signal he poured upon the enemy. The charioteers drove on at full speed, in order to trample down greater numbers by a surprise attack. Therefore some were cut to pieces by the spears that projected far in advance of the pole, others by the scythes that pointed downward on both sides. And the Macedonians did not give ground gradually, but in scattered flight had thrown their ranks into disorder.

Mazaeus also struck them with fear in their panic by ordering his 1000 cavalry to wheel about, in order to plunder the enemy's baggage, thinking that the prisoners also who were being guarded would break their bonds, when they saw their countrymen approaching.

This move had not escaped the notice of Parmenion, who was on the left wing; therefore he hastily sent Polydamas to the king, both to notify him of the danger and to ask what he ordered to be done.

Alexander on hearing Polydamas said: "Go, report to Parmenion, that if we win the battle, we shall not only recover our own property, but shall seize

what belongs to the enemy. Therefore there is no need for him to lead off any of his forces from the battleline, but, as is worthy of me and of my father Philip, let him scorn the loss of our packs and fight valiantly.”

Meanwhile the barbarians had ransacked the baggage, and when many of the guards had been killed, the prisoners, freed from their bonds, seized whatever was at hand with which they could arm themselves, and having joined forces with the horsemen of their countrymen, fell upon the Macedonians, who were thus surrounded by a double danger.

Filled with joy, the attendants upon Sisigambis reported that Darius had won, that the enemy had been overthrown with great bloodshed, and finally had even been stripped of their baggage; for they believed that the fortune of the battle was the same everywhere, and that the victorious Persians had dispersed to pillage. Sisigambis, when the prisoners urged her to free her mind from sorrow, remained in the same attitude as before. Not a word escaped her, neither her colour nor her expression changed; she sat unmoved — fearing, I suppose, by premature rejoicing to offend Fortune — , so much so that those who looked upon her were uncertain what her inclination was.

Meanwhile Menidas, Alexander’s commander of cavalry, had come with a few squadrons to defend the baggage — whether on his own initiative or by the king’s order is uncertain — , but he could not sustain the attack of the Cadusians and Scythians; for with hardly any attempt at battle he fled back to the king, a witness to the loss of the baggage and not ^[13] its rescuer. Already Alexander’s resentment had changed his plan of action, and he feared with some reason that anxiety to recover their property might turn his soldiers from fighting; therefore he sent Aretes, leader of the lancers — they call them *sarisophori* — against the Scythians. Meanwhile the chariots, which in the neighbourhood of the leading standards had thrown the army into confusion, had charged upon the phalanx; the Macedonians with steady courage received them into the midst of their column. Their line was like a rampart; they had made a continuous row of spears together, and on both sides stabbed the flanks of the horses, as these rushed recklessly upon them. Then they began to encircle the chariots also and to hurl those who fought in them to the ground. The great overthrow of horses and charioteers had filled the field of battle; the charioteers could not control their frightened horses, which by repeated tossing of their necks had not only thrown off their yokes, but had even overturned the chariots; when wounded, they dragged along the dead, and were unable to stop through terror or to advance through weakness. Yet a few chariots-and-four made their way through to the rear, destroying those whom they met by a wretched death; for the severed limbs of men lay upon the ground, and since there was no pain while their wounds were still warm, maimed and weak though they were, some did not drop their weapons until they fell on their faces, dead from great loss of blood.

Meanwhile Aretes, having slain the leader of the Scythians who were plundering the baggage, was attacking them the more violently in their terror. Then the Bactriani came up, sent by Darius, and changed the fortune of the battle. Accordingly, many of the Macedonians were overwhelmed at the first shock, still more fled back to Alexander. Then the Persians, raising a shout such as victors are wont to utter, charged proudly upon the enemy, thinking that they had everywhere been put to flight. Alexander rebuked his frightened men, encouraged them, and single-handed gave fire to the battle, which had already slackened; and having at last restored their — courage, he bade them charge the enemy. The Persian force was weaker on the right wing; for the Bactriani had withdrawn from there to attack the baggage. Alexander therefore attacked their thinned ranks and penetrated them with great slaughter of the enemy.

But the Persians who were on the left of the wing, hoping that he could be surrounded, opposed their force to the rear of the embattled king; and caught between the two bands, he would have incurred extreme peril, had not the cavalry of the Agriani put spurs to their horses and attacked the barbarians thronging about him, and by slashing at their backs compelled them to turn and face them. Both armies were confused. Alexander had the enemy both in front and behind him. Those who were assailing him from behind were themselves hard pressed by the cavalry of the Agriani. The Bactriani, returning after plundering the enemies' baggage, could not reform their ranks; many bands of troops at the same time, detached from the rest, were fighting wherever chance had brought them together. The two kings, whose forces were almost joined as one, had given impetus to the contest. More of the Persians were falling; the number of wounded was about equal on both sides.

Darius rode in his chariot, Alexander on horseback. Both were defended by elite troops, regardless of their lives; for if their king were lost they did not wish to be saved, nor could they be. Each man thought it glorious to meet death before the eyes of his king. Yet those experienced the greatest danger whom their men were most resolutely defending; for every man was seeking for himself the glory of slaying a king.

Now, whether it was an optical illusion or a reality, those who were around Alexander believed that they saw a little above the king's head an eagle quietly flying, not terrified by the clash of arms, not by the groans of the dying, and for a long time it appeared around Alexander's horse, seeming rather to float in the air than to fly. Certain it is that the seer Aristander, clad in a white robe and displaying a laurel wreath in his right hand, kept pointing out a bird to the soldiers, who were intent upon fighting, as a sure omen of victory. As a result, immense eagerness and confidence roused to battle those who shortly before were in terror, and especially so after Darius' charioteer, who sat in front of the king himself and guided his horses, was run through by

a spear. And neither the Persians nor the Macedonians had any ^[29] doubt that the king himself had been slain. Therefore the courtiers and guards of Darius with mournful wailing and a medley of shouts and groans threw into confusion almost the entire line of those who were still fighting on equal terms. And the left wing had abandoned the chariot for headlong flight, and the close ranks on the right received it into the midst of their array.

^[30] It is said that Darius, drawn scimitar in hand, hesitated whether to avoid the disgrace of flight by an honourable death; but standing as he was high in his chariot, he blushed to abandon the battle-line of his subjects, who were not yet all leaving the field, and while he wavered between hope and despair, the Persians gradually gave ground and opened their ranks. Alexander, having changed his horse — for he had tired out several — was stabbing at the faces of those who stood their ground, the backs of those who fled. And already it had ceased to be a battle and become a massacre, when Darius also turned his chariot to flee. The victor was close upon the backs of the fugitives, but the cloud of dust which rose to the sky had made it impossible to see; therefore they wandered as if in the darkness of night, ever and anon coming together at the sound of a familiar voice or in response to a signal. Yet they made out the noise of the reins by which the horses which drew the chariot were constantly lashed; these were the only traces of the fleeing king that they had.

At in laevo Macedonum cornu — Parmenio, sicut ante est dictum, tuebatur — longe alia fortuna utriusque partis res gerebatur. Mazaeus cum omni suorum equitatu vehementer invectus urgebat Macedonum ^[p. 101] alas. ^[2] Iamque abundans multitudo aciem circumvehi coeperat, cum Parmenio equites nuntiare iubet Alexandro, in quo discrimine ipsi essent: ni mature subveniretur, non posse sisti fugam. ^[3] Iam multum viae praeceperat rex imminens fugientium tergis, cum a Parmenione tristis nuntius venit. Refrenare equos iussi, qui vehebantur, agmenque constitit frendente Alexandro, eripi sibi victoriam e manibus et Dareum felicius fugere quam se sequi. ^[4] Interim ad Mazaeum superati regis fama pervenerat: itaque, quamquam validior erat, tamen fortuna partium territus percussis languidius instabat. Parmenio ignorabat quidem causam sua sponte pugnae remissae, sed occasione vincendi strenue est usus. Thessalos equites ad se vocari iubet: ^[5] ‘Ecquid videtis,’ inquit, ‘istos, qui ferociter modo instabant, pedem referre subito pavore perterritos? Nimirum nobis quoque regis nostri fortuna vicit. ^[6] Omnia Persarum caede strata sunt. Quid cessatis? an ne fugientibus quidem pares estis?’ Vera dicere videbatur, et spes languentis quoque erexerat: subditis calcaribus prorupere in hostem. Et illi iam non sensim, sed citato gradu recedebant, nec quicquam fugae, nisi quod nondum terga verterant, deerat. Parmenio tamen ignarus, quatenus in dextro cornu fortuna regis esset, repressit suos. ^[7] Mazaeus dato pugnae spatio non recto itinere, sed maiore et ob id tutiore circuitu ^[p. 102] Tigrin superat et Babylona cum reliquiis devicti exercitus intrat. ^[8] Dareus paucis fugae comitibus ad Lycum amnem

contenderat : quo traiecto dubitavit, an solveret pontem. Quippe hostem iam adfore nuntiabatur. Sed tot milia suorum, quae nondum ad amnem pervenerant, ponte rescisso videbat hostis praedam fore. [9] Abeuntem, cum intactum sineret pontem, dixisse constat malle se sequentibus iter dare quam auferre fugientibus. Ipse ingens spatium fuga emensus media fere nocte Arbela pervenit. [10] Quis tot ludibria fortunae, ducum, agminum caedem multiplicem, devictorum fugam, clades nunc singulorum, nunc universorum, aut animo adsequi queat aut oratione conplecti? [11] Propemodum saeculi res in unum illum diem, pro! fortuna cumulavit. Alii, qua brevissimum patebat iter, alii devios saltus et ignotas sequentibus calles petebant. Eques pedesque confusi sine duce, armatis inermes, integris debiles implicabantur. [12] Deinde misericordia in metum versa, qui sequi non poterant, inter mutuos gemitus deserebantur. Sitis praecipue fatigatos et saucios perurebat, passimque omnibus rivis prostraverant corpora praeterfluentem aquam hianti ore captantes. [13] Quam cum avidae turbidam hausissent, tendebantur extemplo praecordia premente limo resolutisque et torpentibus membris, cum supervenisset hostis, non vis vulneribus excitabantur. [14] Quidam occupatis proximis rivis deverterant longius, [p. 103] ut, quidquid occulti humoris usquam manaret, exciperent, nec ulla adeo avia et sicca lacuna erat, ut vestigantium sitim falleret. [15] E proximis vero itineri vicis ululatus senum feminarumque exaudiebantur barbaro ritu Dareum adhuc regem clamantium. [16] Alexander, ut supra dictum est, inhibito suorum impetu ad Lycum amnem pervenerat, ubi ingens multitudo fugientium oneraverat pontem, et plerique, cum hostis urgeret, in flumen se praecipitaverant gravesque armis et proelio ac fuga defetigati gurgitibus hauriebantur. [17] Iamque non pons modo fugientes, sed ne amnis quidem capiebat agmina sua inprovidae subinde cumulantis: quippe ubi intravit animos pavor, id solum metuunt, quod primum formidare coeperunt. [18] Alexander instantibus suis, ne inpune abeuntem hostem intermitteret sequi, hebetia esse tela et manus fatigatas tantoque cursu corpora exhausta et praeceps in noctem diei tempus causatus est, [19] re vera de laevo cornu, quod adhuc in acie stare credebat, sollicitus reverti ad ferendam opem suis statuit. Iamque signa converterat, cum equites a Parmenione missi illius quoque partis victoriam nuntiant. [20] Sed nullum hoc die maius periculum adiit quam, dum copias reducit in castra. Pauci eum et inconpositi sequebantur ovantes victoria — quippe omnes hostes aut in fugam effusos [p. 104] aut in acie cecidisse credebant — [21] : cum repente ex adverso apparuit agmen equitum, qui primo inhibuere cursum, deinde Macedonum paucitate conspecta turmas in obvios concitaverunt. [22] Ante signa rex ibat dissimulato magis periculo quam spreto. [23] Nec demit ei perpetua in dubiis rebus felicitas. Namque praefectum equitatus avidum certaminis et ob id ipsum incautius in se ruentem hasta transfixit: quo ex equo lapso proximum ac dein plures eodem telo confodit. [24] Invasere turbatos amici quoque. Nec Persae inulti cadebant: quippe non universae acies quam hae tumultuariae manus vehementius iniere certamen. [25] Tandem barbari, cum obscura luce tutior fuga videretur esse quam pugna,

dispersis agminibus abiere. Rex extraordinario periculo defunctus incolumis suos reduxit in castra. [26] Cecidere Persarum, quorum numerum victores finire potuerunt, milia XL, Macedonum minus quam CCC desiderati sunt. [27] Ceterum hanc victoriam rex maiore ex parte virtuti quam fortunae suae debuit: [28] animo, non, ut antea, loco vicit. Nam et aciem peritissime instruxit et promptissime ipse pugnavit et magno consilio iacturam sarcinarum impedimentorumque contempsit, cum in ipsa acie summae rei videret esse discrimen, [29] dubioque adhuc pugnae eventu pro victore se gessit. Perculsos deinde hostis ut fudit, fugientes, quod in illo ardore animi vix credi potest, prudentius quam avidius persecutus est. [30] Nam si parte exercitus adhuc in acie stante instare cedentibus perseverasset, [p. 105] aut culpa sua victus esset aut aliena virtute vicisset. Iam si multitudinem equitum occurrentium extimuisset, victori aut foede fugiendum aut miserabiliter cadendum fuit. [31] Ne duces quidem copiarum sua laude fraudandi sunt. Quippe vulnera, quae quisque excepit, indicia virtutis sunt: [32] Hephaestionis brachium hasta ictum est, Perdicca et Coenos et Menidas sagittis prope occisi. [33] Et, si vere aestimare Macedonas, qui tunc erant, volumus, fatebimur et regem talibus ministris et illos tanto rege fuisse dignissimos.

XVI. But on the left wing of the Macedonians — Parmenion as was said before, was in charge of it — the fortune of the battle was far different on both sides. Mazaeus, who had furiously charged it with the entire cavalry force of his countrymen, was pressing hard upon the flanks of the Macedonians. And already with his superior numbers he had begun to encircle their line, when Parmenion sent horsemen with orders to report to Alexander in what danger they themselves were; unless he was speedily aided, he could no longer hold his men from flight. The king, following hard upon the backs of the fugitives, had already advanced a long way, when the dismal news came from Parmenion. The riders were ordered to rein in their horses, and the army came to a stop, while Alexander gnashed his teeth with rage that the victory was being snatched from his hands and that Darius was more fortunate in his flight than he in his pursuit. Meanwhile the report of his king's defeat had come to Mazaeus; therefore, although he was the stronger, yet alarmed by the ill-fortune of his side, he began to press less vigorously upon the terror-stricken Macedonians.

Parmenion naturally did not understand the reason for the voluntary slacking of the attack, but he promptly took advantage of the chance for victory. He ordered the Thessalian cavalry to be summoned to him and said: "Do you see that those who just now were fiercely pressing on are giving ground, badly frightened by some sudden cause of fear? No doubt the fortune of our king has won victory also for us. The Persians have all met defeat and carnage. Why do you hold back? are you not a match even for runaways?" He seemed to speak truly, and hope had aroused even the laggards; applying the spurs, they rushed upon the foe. And they gave way, no longer gradually, but at

heightened speed, and were to all intent on flight, save that they had not yet turned their backs. Yet Parmenion, being as yet unaware what the king's fortune had been on the right wing, held back his men. Mazaeus, although given opportunity for battle, crossed the Tigris, not in a direct course but in a longer and hence safer detour, and entered Babylon with the survivors of the defeated army.

Darius with a few companions of his flight had hastened to the river Lycus; after crossing it he hesitated whether to break down the bridge. For it was announced that the enemy would soon be there. But he saw that so many thousands of his men, who had not yet reached the river, would fall prey to the enemy if the bridge were destroyed. As he went away, leaving the bridge intact, he is reliably reported to have said that he preferred to give a passage to his pursuers rather than take one away from those who were in flight. He himself, having covered a great distance in his flight, arrived in Arbela at about midnight.

Who would be able to comprehend in thought, or express in words, so many of fortune's mockeries — the great slaughter of leaders and their forces, the flight of the vanquished, the disasters, now to individuals and now to all in general? Alas! Fortune piled up the events of almost a generation in that one day.

Some took the shortest way that offered, others sought remote woods and paths unknown to their pursuers. Horse and foot in confusion were intermingled, without a leader, the unarmed with the armed, the unhurt with the weak. Then pity gave place to fear, and those who could not follow were abandoned to their fate amid mutual laments. Burning thirst tormented especially the wearied and the wounded, and they threw themselves down everywhere at all the brooks, and open-mouthed caught the water that flowed by. Since they had eagerly drunk of it when it was turbid, at once their bellies were so painfully distended by the weight of the mud, that their limbs were weakened and numbed, and when the enemy came up they were aroused by fresh wounds. Some, finding the nearest streams occupied, had turned farther aside, to get whatever hidden water trickled anywhere, and there was no pool so remote or so dry as to elude the thirst of the searchers. And from the villages nearest to the road the shrieks of old men and women could be heard, who in the barbarian manner were still calling on Darius as their king.

Alexander, having checked the onset of his men, as was said before, had come to the river Lycus, where the vast number of fugitives had loaded the bridge, and many, when hard pressed by the enemy, had thrown themselves into the river and, weighed down by their arms and exhausted by fighting and by flight, had been swallowed up in the flood. And finally, to say nothing of the bridge, not even the river could contain the fugitives, who blindly continued to pile troop upon troop; for when panic has entered men's minds, they fear

only what they first began to dread. Alexander, urged by his men not to cease pursuing those who were making good their escape, pleaded in excuse that their weapons were blunted, their arms wearied, and their bodies exhausted by so much running, and that the time of day was close upon nightfall; but actually being anxious about the left wing, which he believed to be still standing in line of battle, he resolved to turn back and give aid to his men.

And he had already turned about, when horsemen sent by Parmenion reported the victory of that part of the army also. But no greater peril did the king encounter on that day than while he was leading his forces back to the camp. He was followed only by a disorderly handful, exulting in their victory — for they believed that all the enemy had been completely put to flight or had fallen in battle — when on a sudden a troop of cavalry appeared before them, who at first checked their course, then, seeing the small number of the Macedonians, drove their squadrons against them. The king was marching at the head of his men, making light of the danger rather than scorning it. And in fact his constant good fortune in times of danger did not fail him. For when the leader of the horsemen rushed upon him, eager for battle and for that reason incautious, the king ran him through with his spear; and when he fell from his horse, Alexander killed the next man and then several others with the same weapon. His friends also attacked the disorganized enemy. But the Persians did not fall unavenged, for the entire armies did not enter battle more furiously than these irregular troops. At length the barbarians, when the dim light made flight seem safer than fighting, withdrew in scattered groups. The king, safe and sound after being quit of extraordinary danger, led his men back to camp.

There fell of the Persians, so far as the victors could determine the number, 40,000"; of the Macedonians less than 300 were lost. Moreover, the king owed this victory in greater part to his merit than to his fortune; he won it by his genius, not, as before, by the advantage of the ground. For he drew up his line of battle with the utmost skill, he personally fought most valiantly, and with great good judgement he scorned the loss of packs and baggage, since he saw that the issue of ultimate success depended upon his line of battle, and while the result of the fight was still in doubt, he conducted himself as a victor.

Then, when he had routed the panic-stricken foe he pursued them in their flight with greater prudence than over-eagerness, a thing which can hardly be believed in a man of such fiery spirit. For if, while a part of his army was still engaged in battle, he had persisted in pressing after them as they gave way, he would either have been defeated through his own fault, or he would have owed his victory to another's valour. Finally, if he had yielded to fear of the large force of cavalry which fell upon him he would have been forced, in the hour of victory, either to flee in disgrace or to perish miserably.

The leaders of his forces too must not be cheated of their meed of glory; in fact the wounds which each man suffered are proofs of their valour; Hephaestion was struck in the arm by a spear, Perdiccas and Coenus and Menidas were all but slain with arrows.

And if we wish justly to estimate the Macedonians of that day, we shall admit that their king was fully worthy of such subordinates, and they of so great a king.

BOOK V.

Quae interim ductu imperioque Alexandri vel in Graecis vel Illyriis ac Thraecia gesta sunt, si suis quaeque temporibus reddere voluero, interrompendae sunt res Asiae, [2] quas utique ad fugam mortemque Darei universas in conspectum dari et, sicut inter se cohaerent, ita opere ipso coniungi haud paulo aptius videri potest. Igitur, quae proelio apud Arbela coniuncta sunt, ordiar dicere. [3] Dareus media fere nocte Arbela pervenerat, [4] eodemque magnae partis amicorum eius ac militum fugam fortuna compulerat. Quibus convocatis exponit haud dubitare se, quin Alexander celeberrimas urbes agrosque omni copia rerum abundantes petiturus esset: [p. 107] praedam opimam paratamque ipsum et milites eius spectare. [5] Id suis rebus tali in statu saluti fore: quippe se deserta cum expedita manu petiturum. Ultima regni sui adhuc intacta esse: inde bello vires haud aegre reparaturum. [6] Occuparet sane gazam avidissima gens et ex longa fame satiaret se auro, mox futura praedae sibi: usu didicisse pretiosam supellectilem pelicesque et spadonum agmina nihil aliud fuisse quam onera et impedimenta. Eadem trahentem Alexandrum, quibus rebus antea vicisset, inferiorem fore. [7] Plena omnibus desperationis videbatur oratio: quippe Babylona, urbem opulentissimam, dedi cernentibus: iam Susa, iam cetera ornamenta regni, causam belli, victorem occupaturum. [8] At ille docere pergit non speciosa dictu, sed usu necessaria in rebus adversis sequenda esse: ferro geri bella, non auro, viris, non urbium tectis. Omnia sequi armatos: sic maiores suos percultos in principio rerum celeriter pristinam reparasse fortunam. [9] Igitur sive confirmatis eorum animis sive imperium magis quam consilium sequentibus Mediae fines ingressus est. [10] Paulo post Alexandro Arbela traduntur regia supellectile ditique gaza repleta: mi milia talentum fuere, praeterea pretiosae vestes, totius, ut supra dictum est, exercitus opibus in illam sedem congestis. [11] Ingruentibus deinde morbis, quos odor cadaverum totis iacentium campis vulgaverat, maturius castra movit. [p. 108] Euntibus a parte laeva Arabia, odorum fertilitate nobilis regio: [12] campestre iter est in terra inter Tigrin et Euphraten iacenti tam uberi et pingui, ut a pastu repelli pecora dicantur, ne satietas perimat. Causa fertilitatis est humor, [13] qui ex utroque amne manat, toto fere solo propter venas aquarum resudante. Ipsi amnes ex Armeniae montibus profluunt ac magno deinde aquarum divortio iter, quod coeperunt, percurrunt: 11 milia et quingenta stadia emensi sunt, qui amplissimum intervallum circa Armeniae montes notaverunt. [14] Idem cum Mediam et Gordyaeorum terram secare coeperunt, paulatim in artius coeunt et, quo longius manant, hoc angustius inter se spatium terrae relinquunt. [15] Vicini maxime sunt in campis, quos incolae Mesopotamiam appellant: mediam nam que ab utroque latere cludunt. Tandem per Babyloniorum fines in Rubrum mare inrumpunt. [16] Alexander quartis castris ad Mennim urbem pervenit. Caverna ibi est, ex qua fons ingentem bituminis vim effundit, adeo ut satis constet Babylonios muros ingentis operis huius fontis bitumine interlitos esse. [17] Ceterum Babylona procedenti Alexandro

Mazaesus, qui ex acie in eam urbem confugerat, cum adultis [p. 109] liberis supplex occurrit urbem seque dedens. Gratus adventus eras regi fuit: quippe magni operis obsidio futura erat tam munitae urbis. [18] Ad hoc vir inlustris et manu promptus fama quoque etiam proximo proelio Celebris et ceteros ad deditionem suo incitaturus exemplo videbatur. Igitur hunc quidem benigne cum liberis excipit: [19] ceterum quadrato agmine, quod ipse ducebat, velut in aciem irent, ingredi suos iubet. Magna pars Babyloniorum constiterat in muris avida cognoscendi novum regem, plures obviam egressi sunt. [20] Inter quos Bagophanes, arcis et regiae pecuniae custos, ne studio a Mazaeso vinceretur, totum iter floribus coronisque constraverat argenteis altaribus utroque latere disposais, quae non tunc modo, sed omnibus odoribus cumulaverat. [21] Dona eum sequebantur greges pecorum equorumque, leones quoque et pardales caveis praeferabantur. [22] Magi deinde suo more carmen canentes, post hos Chaldaei Babyloniorumque non vates modo, sed etiam artifices cum fidibus sui generis ibant: laudes hi regum canere soliti, Chaldaei siderum motus et stas vices temporum ostendere. [23] Equites deinde Babylonii suo equorumque cultu ad luxuriam magis quam ad magnificentiam exacto ultimi ibant. Rex armatis stipatus oppidanorum turbam post ultimos [p. 110] pedites ire iussit: ipse cum curru urbem ac deinde regiam intravit. Postero die suppellectilem Darei et omnem pecuniam recognovit. [24] Ceterum ipsius urbis pulchritudo ac vetustas non regis modo, sed etiam omnium oculos in semet haud inmerito convertit. Samiramis eam condiderat, non, ut plerique credere, Belus, cuius regia ostenditur. [25] Murus instructus laterculo coctili bitumine interlito spatium XXX et duorum pedum in latitudinem amplectitur: [26] quadrigae inter se occurrentes sine periculo commeare dicuntur. Altitudo muri L cubitorum eminet spatio: turres denis pedibus quam murus altiores sunt. Totius operis ambitus CCCLXV stadia conplectitur: singulorum stadiorum structuram singulis diebus perfectam esse memoriae proditum est. [27] Aedificia non sunt admota muris, sed fere spatium iugeri unius absunt. Ac ne totam quidem urbem tectis occupaverunt — per LXXX stadia habitabatur —, nec omnia continua sunt, credo, quia tutius visum est pluribus locis spargi. [28] Cetera serunt coluntque, ut, si externa vis ingruat, obsessis alimenta ex ipsius urbis solo subministrentur. Euphrates interfluit magnaeque molis crepidinibus coercetur. Sed omnium operum magnitudinem circumveniunt cavernae ingentem in altitudinem pressae ad accipiendum impetum fluminis: quod ubi adpositae crepidinis fastigium excessit, urbis tecta corripere, nisi essent specus lacusque, qui exciperent. [29] Coctili laterculo structi sunt, totum opus bitumine adstringitur. Pons lapideus flumini inpositus iungit [p. 111] urbem. Hic quoque inter mirabilia Orientis opera numeratus est. Quippe Euphrates altum limum vehit, quo penitus ad fundamenta iacienda egesto vix suffulciendo operi firmum reperiunt solum: [30] harenae autem subinde cumulatae et saxis, quis pons sustinetur, adnexae morantur amnem, qui retentus acrius, quam si libero cursu mearet, inliditur. [31] Arcem quoque ambitu XX stadia complexam habent. XXX pedes in terram turrium

fundamenta demissa sunt, ad LXXX summu munimenti fastigium pervenit. [32] Super arcem, vulgatum Graecorum fabulis miraculum, pensiles horti sunt, summam murorum altitudinem aequantes multarumque arborum umbra et proceritate amoeni. [33] Saxo pilae, quae totum onus sustinent, instructae sunt: super pilas lapide quadrato solum stratum est patiens terrae, quam altam iniciunt, et humoris, quo rigant terras: adeoque validas arbores sustinet moles, ut stipites earum VIII cubitorum spatium crassitudine aequent, in L pedum altitudinem emineant frugiferaeque sint, ut si terra sua alerentur. [34] Et, cum vetustas non opera solum manu facta, sed etiam ipsam naturam paulatim exedendo perimat, haec moles, quae tot arborum radicibus premitur tantique nemoris pondere onerata est, [p. 112] inviolata durat: quippe XX pedes lati parietes sustinent XI pedum intervallo distantes, ut procul visentibus silvae montibus suis imminere videantur. [35] Syriae regem Babylone regnantem hoc opus esse molitum memoriae proditum est, amore coniugis victum, quae desiderio nemorum silvarumque in campestribus locis virum compulit amoenitatem naturae genere huius operis imitari. [36] Diutius in hac urbe quam usquam constitit rex, nec alio loco disciplinae militari magis nocuit. Nihil urbis eius corruptius moribus, nihil ad inritandas inciliendasque inmodicas cupiditates instructius. [37] Liberos coniugesque cum hospitibus stupro coire, modo pretium flagitii detur, parentes maritique patiuntur. Convivales ludi tota Perside regibus purpuratisque cordi sunt, Babylonii maxime in vinum et, quae ebrietatem sequuntur, [38] effusi sunt. Feminarum convivia ineuntium in principio modestus est habitus, dein summa quaeque amacula exuunt paulatimque pudorem profanant, ad ultimum — honos auribus habitus sit — ima corporum velamenta proiciunt. Nec meretricum hoc dedecus est, sed matronarum virginumque, apud quas comitas habetur vulgati corporis vilitas. [39] Inter haec flagitia exercitus ille domitor Asiae per XXIII dies saginatus ad ea, quae sequebantur, discrimina haud dubie debilior futurus fuit, si hostem habuisset. [p. 113] Ceterum, quo minus damnum sentiret, identidem incremento renovabatur. [40] Namque Amyntas Andromeni ab Antipatro Macedonum peditum VI milia adduxit, [41] D praeterea eiusdem generis equites, cum his DC Thracas adiunctis peditibus suae gentis in milibus D, et ex Peloponneso mercennarius miles ad III milia advenerat cum trecentis octoginta equitibus. [42] Idem Amyntas adduxerat L principum Macedoniae liberos adultos ad custodiam corporis. Quippe inter epulas hi sunt regibus ministri idemque equos ineuntibus proelium admovent venantesque comitantur et vigiliarum vices ante cubiculi fores servant: magnorumque praefectorum et ducum haec incrementa sunt et rudimenta. [43] Igitur rex arcis Babylone Agathone praesidere iusso cum septingentis Macedonum trecentisque mercede conductis praetores, qui regioni Babyloniae ac Ciliciae praessent, Meneta et Apollodorum relinquit. n milia his militum cum mille talentis data: utrique praeceptum, ut in supplementum milites legerent. [44] Mazaeum transfugam satrapea Babylone donat, Bagophanem, qui arcem tradiderat, se sequi iussit, Armenia Mithreni, Sardium proditori, data est. [45] Ex pecunia deinde Ba- [p. 114] bylone tradita

Macedonum equitibus sesceni denarii tributī: peregrinus eques quingenos accepit, ducenos pedes domesticus, mercennarius duorum Stipendium mensum.

IF I should wish to describe, each in its own time, all that was done meanwhile under the lead and by the command of Alexander either among the Greeks or among the Illyrians and in Thrace, I should have ^[2] to interrupt the course of events in Asia, which, especially up to the flight and death of Darius, might seem far more fittingly to be presented as a whole, and just as they form a continuous series, so they should be joined together in my own work. Accordingly, I shall begin by telling of the events connected with the battle at Arbela.

^[3] Darius had reached Arbela at about midnight, and Fortune had driven to the same spot the flight of ^[4] a great part of his friends and of his soldiers. Having called these together, he explained to them that he had no doubt that Alexander would make for the most populous cities and the lands abounding in supplies of every kind; that the Macedonian king and his soldiers had an eye to a rich and easily ^[6] acquired booty. This under present conditions would prove to be the salvation of his own fortunes; for he himself intended to go to the deserts with a lightly equipped band. The remote parts of his realm were still untouched, and from them he would ^[6] without difficulty get together forces for war; by all means let that most insatiable race seize his treasure and glut itself with gold, for which it had long hungered — a race soon to fall a prey to itself! he himself had learned from experience that costly equipment and concubines and trains of eunuchs were nothing else than burdens and hindrances. Alexander, dragging these same clogs after him, would be inferior in the resources by which he had formerly conquered.

This speech seemed to all to be full of desperation; for they saw that Babylon, that richest of cities, was being abandoned; presently Susa, presently the other ornaments of the realm, the cause for the war, would be seized by the victor. But Darius went on to show them that in times of adversity it was not at what was splendid to tell of but at what was of actual service, that one must aim; that wars were waged with steel, not with gold, with men, not with the buildings of cities. Everything fell to those who were armed; thus their forefathers, though in the beginning defeated, had speedily recovered their former fortune. And so, whether he had strengthened their courage, or they yielded to his command rather than to his judgement, he entered the territories of Media.

A little later Arbela was surrendered to Alexander, filled with the king's equipment and with rich treasure; there were 4000 talents in money, besides costly raiment, since, as was said before, the wealth of the entire army was concentrated in that spot.

Then, because of the increasing diseases, which the stench of the dead bodies lying over all the plains had spread abroad, he speedily moved his camp. As they went on, Arabia was on their left hand, a region sources probably caused him to add something (about perfumes) which is really applicable to Arabia proper only. famous for its abundance of perfumes; the route is through plains in the land lying between the Tigris and the Euphrates, which is so fertile and rich, that the flocks are said to be kept from feeding there, for fear that they may die of satiety. The reason for its fertility is the moisture which oozes from both rivers, and almost the whole soil sweats because of the veins of water.

The rivers themselves flow forth from the mountains of Armenia, and then with a wide separation of their waters continue the course which they have begun. Those who have noted the greatest extent of the space between them in the neighbourhood of the mountains of Armenia have made its measure 2500 stadia. When these same rivers have begun to cut through Media and the land of the Gordyaei, they little by little come closer together, and the farther they flow, the narrower is the breadth of land that they leave between them. They are closest together in the plains which their inhabitants call Mesopotamia; for they shut this in between them on both sides. Finally, passing through the territories of the Babylonii, they burst into the Red Sea. Alexander arrived on his fourth day's march at the city of Mennis. In that place there is a cavern from which a spring pours out so vast an amount of bitumen that it is a well-known fact that the walls of Babylon, a prodigious work, are cemented with bitumen from that spring.

Now, as Alexander kept on his way to Babylon, Mazaeus, who had fled to that city from the battlefield, met him as a suppliant with his mature children, and surrendered the city and himself. His coming was welcome to the king; for the siege of so strongly fortified a city would have been a great task. Moreover, it was evident that a man of distinction and ready action, who had also gained widespread reputation in the recent battle, would by his example induce the rest to surrender. Therefore the king received him courteously with his children; but he ordered his men to enter the city in square formation, with himself at their head, as if they were going into battle.

A great part of the Babylonians had taken their places on the walls in their eagerness to become acquainted with their new king, still more had gone out to meet him. Among the latter Bagophanes, guardian of the citadel and of the royal funds, in order not to be outdone in alacrity by Mazaeus, had strewn the whole road with flowers and garlands, and had placed here and there on both sides silver altars, which he had piled high, not only with frankincense, but with perfumes of all kinds. As gifts there followed him herds of horses and cattle; lions and leopards too were carried before them in cages.

Then came the magi, chanting a hymn after their manner, after them the

Chaldeans, and of the Babylonians not only their prophets, but also musicians with their own kind of instruments; the latter were accustomed to sing the praises of the kings, the Chaldeans, to explain the movements of the heavenly bodies and the appointed changes of the seasons.

Lastly followed the Babylonian cavalry, whose apparel and that of their horses met the demands of luxury rather than of magnificence.

Alexander, surrounded by armed men, had ordered the throng of townspeople to march after the hinder-most of the infantry; he himself entered the city in a chariot, and then entered the palace. On the following day he inspected Darius' furniture and all his wealth.

But the beauty and antiquity of the city itself drew to it the eyes, not only of the king, but also of all, and deservedly. Semiramis had founded it, not, as many have believed, Belus, whose palace is still pointed out. Its wall, built of small baked brick, cemented with bitumen covers a space of thirty-two feet in width; it is said that two four-horse chariots can meet and pass each other without risk. The wall rises to a height of fifty cubits; the towers are ten feet higher than the walls. The circuit of the entire work embraces 365 stadia; there is a tradition that the building of each stade was finished in a single day. The edifices of the city are not brought close to the walls, but are distant from them about the space of one iuger. And they have not occupied the whole city either with houses — eighty stadia are occupied by these — and they are not all continuous, I suppose because it seemed safer for them to be scattered over numerous places. The spaces which remain they sow and cultivate, in order that, if a force from without should assail them, supplies may be furnished to the besieged from the soil of the city itself.

The Euphrates flows through Babylon and is held in check by embankments, massive works of great labour. Moreover, all these great works are surrounded by artificial hollows, sunk to a vast depth to meet the rush of the river; for when it has risen above the top of the embankment built against it, it would damage the buildings of the city, if there were no hollows and pools to receive it. These are built of baked brick and the entire work is cemented with bitumen. A bridge of stone built over the river connects the two parts of the city. This also is counted among the marvels of the Orient. For the Euphrates carries a depth of mud, and even when this was dug out far into the river for laying the foundations, they could with difficulty find firm ground for supporting the work; moreover, sand, which is piled up from time to time and adheres to the piers by which the bridge is supported, slows down the course of the river, which, being thus held back, is dashed against the bridge with greater violence than if it flowed in an unimpeded course.

They have a citadel also, surrounded by a circuit of twenty stadia. The foundations of its towers are sunk thirty feet in the earth, and the top of its [32]

fortification rises to a height of eighty feet. On the top of the citadel are the hanging gardens, a wonder celebrated in the tales of the Greeks, equalling the extreme height of the walls and made charming by the shade of many lofty trees. Columns of stone were set up to sustain the whole work, and on these was laid a floor of squared blocks, strong enough to hold the earth which is thrown upon it to a great depth, as well as the water with which they irrigate the soil; and the structure supports trees of such great size that the thickness of their trunks equals a measure of eight cubits. They tower to a height of fifty feet, and they yield as much fruit as if they were growing in their native soil. And although lapse of time gradually undermines and destroys, not only works made by the hand of man, but also those of Nature herself, this huge structure, although worked upon by the roots of so many trees and loaded with the weight of so great a forest, endures unchanged; for it is upheld by cross walls twenty feet wide at intervals of eleven feet, so that to those who look upon them from a distance real woods seem to be overhanging their native mountains. There is a tradition that a king of Syria, who ruled in Babylon, undertook this mighty task, induced by love for his wife, who from longing for the woods and groves prevailed upon her husband to imitate in the level country the charm of Nature by a work of this kind.

King Alexander stayed in this city longer than anywhere else, and nowhere did he do more harm to the discipline of his soldiers. Nothing is more corrupt than the habits of that city, nothing more inclined to arouse and attract dissolute desires.

Fathers and husbands allow their children and wives to prostitute themselves to their guests, provided a price is paid for their shame. Convivial festivals throughout all Persia are dear to the kings and their courtiers; but the Babylonians in particular are lavishly devoted to wine and the concomitants of drunkenness. The women who take part in these feasts are in the beginning modestly attired, then they take off their outer garments one by one and gradually disgrace their modesty, at last — with due respect to your ears — they throw aside the inmost coverings of their bodies. This shameful conduct is not confined to courtesans, but is practised by matrons and maidens, with whom the baseness of prostitution is regarded as courtesy. After being pampered for the thirty-four days amid such debaucheries, that army which had conquered Asia would undoubtedly have been weaker to face the dangers which followed, if it had had an enemy.

But so as to make the damage less noticeable, it was recruited from time to time by a reinforcement.

For Amyntas, son of Andromenes, brought 6000 Macedonian foot soldiers from Antipater, besides 500 calvary of the same nation, with these Thracian horsemen, accompanied by 3500 infantry of their people, and from the Peloponesus about 4000 merceneries had arrived with 380 horsemen. The

same Amyntas and brought fifty adult sons of Macedonia's chief men for a body-guard for these wait upon the kings at table, bring them their horses when they go to battle, attend them at the chase, and stand guard in turn before the doors of their bedroom; and these duties are the novitiate and training school of great prefects and generals.

Accordingly the king, after appointing Agathon to command the citadel of Babylon with 700 Macedonians and 300 mercenaries, left Menes and Apollodorus as governors in charge of the region of Babylonia and Cilicia. To these 2000 soldiers and a thousand talents were given; and both were ordered to levy additional troops. He presented Mazaeus, the deserter, with the satrapy at Babylon, and ordered Bagophanes, who had surrendered the citadel, to follow him; Armenia was given to Mithrenes, the betrayer of Sardis. Then from the money handed over at Babylon there were assigned to each of the horsemen of the Macedonians 600 drachmae; the foreign cavalry received 500 each, the Macedonian infantry 200 apiece, and the mercenaries pay for two months.

His ita conpositis in regionem, quae Sittacene vocatur, pervenit: fertilis terra copia rerum et omni commeatu abundans. [2] Itaque diutius ibi substitit ac, ne desides otio dmitterent animos, iudices dedit praemiaque proposuit de virtute militari certantibus nova: [3] qui fortissimi iudicati essent, singulis militum milibus praefuturi erant — chiliarchas vocabant — tunc primum in nunc numerum copiis distributis: namque antea quingenariae cohortes fuerant nec fortitudini praemia cesserant. [4] Ingens militum turba convenerat egregio interfutura certamini, testis eadem cuiusque factorum et de iudiciis latura sententiam: quippe verone an falso honos cuique haberetur, ignorari non poterat. [5] Primus omnium virtutis causa donatus est Atarrhias senior, qui omissum apud Halicarnason a iunioribus proelium unus maxime accenderat, proximus ei Antigenes visus est, tertium locum Philotas Augaeus obtinuit, quartus Amyntae datus, post hos Antigonus et ab eo Lyncestes Amyntas fuit, septimum locum Theodotus, [6] ultimum obtinuit Hellanicus. In disciplina quoque militari relictā a maioribus pleraque summa utilitate [p. 115] mutavit. Nam cum ante equites in suam quisque gentem discriberentur seorsus a ceteris, exempto nationum discrimine praefectis non utique suarum gentium, sed delectis attribuit. [7] Tuba, cum castra movere vellet, signum dabat, cuius sonus plerumque tumultuantium fremitu ex oriente haud satis exaudiebatur: ergo perticam, quae undique conspici posset, supra praetorium statuit, ex qua signum eminens pariter omnibus conspicuum observabatur ignis noctu, fumus interdiu. [8] Iamque Susa ei adituro Abulites, regionis eius praefectus, sive Darei iussu, ut Alexandrum praeda retineret, sive sua sponte filium obviam misit, traditurum se urbem promittens. [9] Benigne iuvenem excepit rex et eodem duce ad Choaspin amnem pervenit, delicatam, ut fama est, vehentem aquam. Hic Abulites cum donis regalis opulentiae occurrit. [10] Dromades cameli inter dona erant velocitatis eximiae, XII elephanti a Dareo ex India

acciti, iam non terror, ut speraverat, Macedonum, sed auxilium, opes victi ad victorem transferente fortuna. [11] Ut vero urbem intravit, incredibilem ex thesauris summam pecuniae egressit, L milia talentum argenti non signati forma, sed rudi pondere. [12] Multi reges tantas opes longa aetate: quas una hora in externi regis manus intulit. [13] Consedit deinde in regia sella multo excelsiore quam pro habitu corporis. Itaque, cum pedes imum gradum non contingerent, unus [p. 116] ex regiis pueris mensam subdidit pedibus. [14] Et cum spadonem, qui Darei fuerat, ingemiscentem conspexisset rex, causam maestitiae requisivit. Ille indicat Da reum vesci in ea solitum, seque sacram eius mensam ad ludibrium recidentem sine lacrimis conspici non posse. [15] Subiit ergo regem verecundia violandi hospitales deos, iamque subduci iubebat, cum Philotas: ‘Minime vero haec feceris, rex, sed omen quoque accipe, mensam, ex qua libavit hostis epulas, tuis pedibus esse subiectam.’ [16] Rex Persidis finem aditurus Susa urbem Archelao et praesidium III milium tradidit, Xenophilo arcis cura mandata est mille Macedonum aetate gravibus praesidere arcis custodiae iussis, [17] thesaurorum Callicrati tutela permissa, satrapea regionis Susianae restituta Abulitae. Matrem quoque et liberos Darei in eadem urbe deponit. [18] Ac forte Macedonicas vestes multamque purpuram dono ex Macedonia sibi missam cum iis, quae confecerant, tradi Sisigambi iubet — omni namque honore eam et filii quoque pietate prosequebatur — [19] admonerique iussit, ut, si cordi ei quoque vestis esset, conficere eam neptes suas adsuefaceret, donoque se, quae docerent, dare. Ad hanc vocem lacrimae abortae prodidere animum aspernantis id munus: quippe non aliud magis in contumeliam Persarum feminae [p. 117] accipiunt quam admoveere lanae manus. [20] Nuntiant, qui dona tulerant, tristem esse Sisigambim, dignaque res et excusatione et solacio visa. Ipse ergo pervenit ad eam et: ‘Mater,’ inquit, ‘hanc vestem, qua indutus sum, sororum non donum solum, sed etiam opus vides: [21] nostri decipere me mores. Cave, obsecro, in contumeliam acceperis ignorationem meam. Quae tui moris esse cognovi, ut spero, abunde servata sunt. [22] Scio apud vos filio in conspectu matris nefas esse considerare, nisi cum ilia permisit: quotienscumque ad te veni, donec, ut considerem, adnueres, ipse steti. Procumbens venerari me saepe voluisti: inhibui. Dulcissimae matri Olympiadi nomen debitum tibi reddo.’

II. After these affairs were thus arranged, Alexander came into the region which is called Sittacenê, a fertile land abounding in wealth of commodities and in all kinds of supplies. For that reason he remained there longer than usual, and that the soldiers might not through leisure and idleness become less spirited, he appointed judges and offered to those who wished to enter a contest in military valour prizes of a new kind; those who should have been judged the bravest were each to command a troop of 1000 men — they called them *chiliarchae* — this being the first time that the forces were divided into that number; for previously there had been *lochoi* consisting of 500 men, and the prizes of command had not gone to bravery.

A great throng of soldiers had assembled to take part in this illustrious contest, both to act as witnesses of the deeds of each entrant, and to give their opinion as to the judges; for they could not fail to know whether honour was paid to each man justly or falsely. First of all the prize for valour was awarded to old Atarrhias, who before Halicarnassus, when the battle was abandoned by the younger men, had been chiefly instrumental in arousing them to action, Antigenes was judged to be next to him, Philotas of Augaea gained third place, the fourth was assigned to Amyntas, and after these came Antigonos and next Lyncestes Amyntas, Theodotus gained seventh place, and Hellanicus the last."

Also in the military discipline handed down by his predecessors Alexander made many changes of the greatest advantage. For whereas before the cavalry were enrolled each man in his own race, apart from the rest, he gave up the separation by nations and assigned them to commanders not necessarily of their own people, but of his own choice. When he wished to move his camp, he used to give the signal with the trumpet, the sound of which was often not readily enough heard amid the noise made by the bustling soldiers; therefore he set up a pole on top of the general's tent, which could be clearly seen from all sides, and from this a lofty signal, visible to all alike, was watched for, fire by night, smoke in the daytime.

And now, as he was on the point of approaching Susa, Abulites, the satrap of that region, whether by order of Darius, in order that the booty might detain Alexander, or of his own volition, sent his son to meet him, promising that he would surrender the city. The king received the young man courteously, and under his guidance came to the river Choaspes, which brings down, as report says, a fine water. There Abulites met him with gifts of regal splendour.

[10] Among the presents were the camels known as dromedaries and of extraordinary swiftness, twelve elephants imported by Darius from India, no longer a terror to the Macedonians, as he had hoped, but a help, when Fortune transferred the wealth of the vanquished to the victor. Moreover, when he entered the city, he amassed from its treasures an incredible sum of money, 50,000 talents of silver, not stamped into coins, but rough ingots. Many kings during a long term of years had amassed such great wealth for their children and their posterity, as they thought, but a single hour delivered it into the hands of a foreign king.

[13] Then Alexander seated himself on the royal throne, which was far too high for his bodily stature. Therefore, since his feet did not reach its lowest step, one of the royal pages placed a table under his feet. And when Alexander had noticed that a eunuch who had belonged to Darius was lamenting, he inquired the reason for his sadness. The eunuch replied that Darius was accustomed to eat at that table, and that he could not without tears see a board consecrated to his service reduced to so insulting a use. Thereupon the king was touched with

shame at such violation of the gods of hospitality, and was already giving orders for the table to be taken away, when Philotas cried: “By no means do so, my king, but accept this omen also, that the board from which your enemy partook of sumptuous meals has been your footstool.”

The king, when about to approach the frontier of Persia entrusted the city of Susa to Archelaus with a garrison of 3000; to Xenophilus was given charge of the citadel and a thousand superannuated Macedonian soldiers were ordered to act as its garrison; the protection of the treasures was left to Callicrates, the satrapy of the district of Susa was restored to Abulites. The mother also and the children of Darius he left behind in that city. And it happened that some Macedonian garments and a great quantity of purple cloth had been sent to him as a gift from Macedonia, along with the women who had made them. These he ordered to be given to Sisigambis — for he treated her with every honour and even with the devotion of a son — and he caused her to be advised that, if the clothing also pleased her, she should train her granddaughters to make it, and that he made her a present of women who could teach them. At these words the tears in the queen’s eyes revealed the feeling that she spurned such a gift; for there is nothing that the women of Persia feel to be a greater disgrace than to work in wool.

Those who had brought the gifts reported that Sisigambis was sorrowful, and the situation seemed to call both for an apology and for consolation. Therefore Alexander in person came to her and said: designations are used for the homeland of the Persians, for the empire at its greatest extent, and for such part of it as, at the time in question, was under Persian rule.

“Mother, in this clothing which I am wearing you see, not only a gift of my sisters, but also their handiwork. It was our customs that led me astray. Do not, I beseech you, interpret my ignorance as an insult. What I have known to be in accordance with your habits, I have, I hope, scrupulously observed. I know that in your country it is a crime for a son to remain seated in the presence of his mother, except when she has given him permission; as often as I have visited you, I myself have stood until you gave me a sign that I might sit. You have often wished to show me respect by prostrating yourself; I have prevented it. I apply to you the title due to my dearly beloved mother Olympias.”

Mitigato animo eius rex quartis castris pervenit ad Tigrim fluvium: Pasitigrim incolae vocant. Oritur in montibus Uxiorum et per l, stadia silvestribus ripis praeceps inter saxa devolvitur. [2] Accipiunt deinde eum campi, quos clementiore alveo praeterit, iam navium patiens. DC sunt stadia mollioris soli, per quod leni tractu aquarum Persico mari se insinuat. [3] Amne superato cum vnn milibus peditum et Agrianis sagittariisque atque Graecorum mercennariorum tribus milibus additis mille Thracum in regionem Uxiorum pervenit. Finitima Susis est et in primam Persidem excurrit [p. 118] artum inter

se et Susianos aditum relinquens. [4] Medates erat regionis praefectus, haud sane temporum homo: [5] quippe ultima pro fide experiri decreverat. Sed periti locorum Alexandrum docent occultum iter esse per calles et aversum ab urbe: [6] si paucos misisset leviter armatos, super capita hostium evasuros. Cum consilium placuisset, idem itinerum fuerunt duces. M et D mercede conducti et Agriani fere M Tauroni praefecto dati ac post solis occasum iter ingredi iussi. [7] Ipse tertia vigilia castris motis circa lucis ortum superat angustias caesaque materia cratibus et pluteis faciundis, ut, qui turres admoverent, extra teli iactum essent, urbem obsidere coepit. [8] Praerupta erant omnia saxis et cotibus impedita. Multis ergo vulneribus depulsi, [9] ut quibus non cum hoste solum, sed etiam cum loco dimicandum esset, subibant tamen, quia rex inter primos constitaterat interrogans, tot urbium victores an erubescerent haerere in obsidione castelli exigui et ignobilis, simul admonens Tauronem mox auxilium esse laturum. Inter haec eminus petebatur: quem testudine obiecta milites — ut recederet, erpellere nequierant — [10] tuebantur. Tandem Tauron super arcem urbis se cum suo agmine ostendit. Ad cuius conspectum et hostium animi labare et Macedones acrius proelium inire coeperunt. [11] Anceps oppidanos malum urgebat, nec sisti vis hostium poterat. Paucis ad moriendum, pluribus ad fugam animus fuit, magna pars in arcem concessit. Inde XXX oratoribus missis ad deprecandum triste responsum a rege [p. 119] redditur, non esse veniae locum. [12] Itaque suppliciorum quoque metu perculsi ad Sisigambim, Darei matrem, occulto itinere ignotoque hostibus mittunt, qui peterent, ut ipsa regem mitigaret, haud ignari, parentis eam loco diligi colique. Et Medates sororis eius filiam secum matrimonio iunxerat, Dareum propinqua cognatione contingens. [13] Diu Sisigambis supplicum precibus repugnavit abnuens deprecationem pro illis non convenire fortunae, in qua esset, adiecitque metuere sese, ne victoris indulgentiam fatigaret, saepiusque cogitare, captivam esse se quam reginam fuisse. [14] Ad ultimum victa litteris Alexandrum ita deprecata est, ut ipsum excusaret, quod deprecaretur: petere se, ut illis quoque, si minus, sibi ignosceret: pro necessario ac propinquo suo, iam non hoste, sed supplice, tantum vitam precari. [15] Moderationem clementiamque regis, quae tunc fuit, vel una haec res possit ostendere: non Medati modo ignovit, sed omnes et deditos et captivos et libertate atque immunitate donavit, urbem reliquit intactam, agros sine tributo colere permisit. A victore Dareo plura mater non inpetrasset. [16] Uxiorum dein gentem subactam Susianorum satrapae contribuit divisisque cum Parmenione copiis illum campestri itinere procedere iubet, ipse cum expedito agmine iugum montium cepit, quorum perpetuum dorsum in Persidem excurrit. [17] Omni hac regione vastata tertio die Persidem, quinto angustias, quas illi Susidas pylas vocant, intrat. Ariobarzanes has cum XXV [p. 120] milibus peditum occupaverat, rupes undique praeruptas et abscisas, in quarum cacuminibus extra teli iactum barbari stabant de industria quieti et paventibus similes, [18] donec in artissimas fauces penetraret agmen. Quod ubi contemptu sui pergere vident, tum vero ingentis magnitudinis saxa per montium prona devolvunt, quae incussa

saepius subiacentibus petris maiore vi incidebant nec singulos modo, sed agmina proterebant. [19] Fundis quoque excussi lapides et sagittae undique ingerebantur. Nec id miserrimum fortibus viris erat, sed quod inulti, quod ferarum ritu veluti in fovea deprehensi caederentur. [20] Ira igitur in rabiem versa eminentia saxa complexi, ut ad hostem pervenirent, alius alium levantes conabantur ascendere: ea ipsa multorum simul manibus convolsa in eos, [21] qui commoverant, recidebant. Nec stare ergo poterant nec niti, ne testudine quidem protegi, cum tantae molis onera propellerent barbari. Regem non dolor modo, sed etiam pudor temere in illas angustias coniecti exercitus angebat. [22] Invictus ante eam diem fuerat nihil frustra ausus, inpune Ciliciae fauces intraverat, mare quoque novum in Pamphyliam iter aperuerat: tunc haesitabat deprehensa felicitas, [23] nec aliud remedium erat quam reverti, quae venerat. Itaque signo receptui dato densatis ordinibus scutisque super capita consertis retro evadere ex angustiis iubet. XXX fuere stadia, quae remensi sunt.

III. Having soothed the queen's feelings, the king came at his fourth camp to the river Tigris; the natives call it Pasitigris. It rises in the mountains of the Uxii and for fifty stadia rolls on rapidly amid rocks and with wooded banks. Then plains receive it, through which it passes in a gentler course, now fit for boats. There are 600 stadia of smoother ground through which in a quiet stretch of water it makes its way into the Persian Sea. Having crossed the river with 9000 foot-soldiers and Agrianian archers and 3000 Greek mercenaries besides 1000 Thracians, he came into the land of the Uxii. This adjoins Susa, and extends into the first part of Persia, leaving a narrow passage between itself and the Susiani.

[4] Medates was the governor of that region, a man by no means a time-server; for he had decided to endure the utmost to the best of his loyalty. But men who were well acquainted with the country informed Alexander that there was a secret road through the mountain pastures and leading away from the city; if he would send a few light-armed troops, they would come out above the heads of the enemy.

[6] When this plan had been approved, the same men were their guides over the roads. 1500 mercenaries and nearly 1000 Agriani were put under the command of Tauron and ordered to begin their march after [7] sunset. Alexander himself broke camp in the third watch, passed through the narrows about daybreak, and after cutting timber for making hurdles and mantlets, so that men bringing up siege-towers should be out of reach of missiles, began the siege of the city. The whole place was precipitous and encumbered by rocks and crags. Therefore the soldiers were repulsed after suffering many wounds, since they had to contend not only with the enemy, but also with the terrain; they came on again however, since the king had taken his place among the foremost, asking whether the victors over so many cities did not

blush to falter in the siege of an insignificant and obscure fortress, at the same time reminding them that Tauron would presently bring help. As he said these words he was being attacked at long range; and the soldiers — they had been unable to prevail upon him to retire — were protecting him by interposing a tortoise-formation.

[10] At last Tauron showed himself with his troops above the height of the city's citadel. At sight of him both the courage of the enemy began to give way and the Macedonians to enter battle with more spirit. The double danger pressed the townsmen hard, and the force of the enemy could not be checked. A few were resolved to die, more to flee, the greater part withdrew to the citadel. From there when thirty envoys were sent to plead for mercy, the grim answer was returned by the king that there was no room for pardon. Therefore alarmed by the fear of torture also, they sent men by a secret way, unknown to the enemy, to Sisigambis, the mother of Darius, to beg that she herself should appease the king, knowing, as they did, that she was loved and honoured by him as a mother. Medates too had taken to wife her sister's daughter, and thus was a near relative of Darius.

For a long time Sisigambis resisted the entreaties of the suppliants, declaring that to intervene in their behalf was not consistent with the fortune in which she found herself, and she added that she feared to take too great advantage of the victor's indulgence, and that she reflected more often that she was a prisoner than that she had been a queen. Overcome at last, in a letter she begged Alexander to excuse her for presuming to beg a favour; she asked that he would pardon them also, if not, that he would pardon her; that she was pleading only for the life of a friend and relative of hers, who was no longer his enemy, but a suppliant. The moderation and clemency of the king, as it was at that time, even this act alone could make clear; he pardoned not only Medates, but to all, both those who had been taken prisoner and those who had surrendered, he granted both freedom and even immunity, left the city intact, and allowed it to cultivate its fields without tribute. If Darius had been victor his mother would not have obtained more from him.

Then Alexander incorporated the subdued race of the Uxii in the satrapy of the Susiani, and having divided his forces with Parmenion, he ordered him to go on by the road through the plains, while he himself with a light-armed band took the ridge of the mountains whose back runs without interruption into Persia. Having laid waste all this region, on the third day he entered Persia, and on the fifth day the pass which the Persians call the Susidan Gates. Ariobarzanes with 25,000 foot-soldiers had taken possession of that pass, shut in on all sides by steep and craggy rocks, on the summits of which the barbarians stood out of reach of missiles, purposely quiet and pretending fear, until the army of Alexander should enter the narrowest part of the pass. But when they saw that in scorn of them it continued to advance, then indeed they

rolled stones of huge size down the slopes of the mountains, and these, often striking against the rocks below, fell with greater force and crushed, not only single soldiers, but entire troops. Stones also hurled from slings, as well as arrows, were poured upon them from all sides.

And this was not the most wretched fate for brave men to bear, but that they were being slain unavenged, like wild beasts caught in a pit. Therefore their wrath turned to frenzy, and grasping the jutting rocks, they tried to clamber up and reach the enemy, lifting one another; but those very rocks, torn away by the hands of many who seized them at the same time, fell back upon those who had loosened them. Therefore they could neither stand nor make any effort, nor be protected even by a tortoise-formation, since the barbarians were rolling down masses of such great size. The king was tormented, not alone by resentment, but also by shame for having inconsiderately thrown his army into those narrow quarters. Invincible before that day, he had risked nothing without success; he had safely entered the pass of Cilicia, he had opened a new route by sea into Pamphylia “; but now his good fortune was caught and had come to a standstill, and there was no other remedy than to return by the way he had come.

Therefore, having given the signal for retreat, he ordered his men to leave in close order, joining then-shields over their heads. There were thirty stadia which were retraced.

Tum castris undique aperto loco positis non con- [p. 121] sultare modo, quid agendum esset, sed vates quoque adhibere coepit a superstitione animi. [2] Sed quid tunc praedicere Aristander, cui tum plurimum credebat ex vatibus, poterat? Itaque damnatis intempestivis sacrificiis peritos locorum convocari, iubet: per Mediam iter ostendebant tutum apertumque. [3] Sed rex deserere milites insepultos erubescerebatur ita tradito more, ut vix ullum militiae tam sollemne esset munus quam humandi suos. Captivos ergo, quos nuper exceperat, vocari iubet. [4] Inter quos erat quidam Graecae Persicaeque linguae peritus, qui frustra eum in Persidem montium dorso exercitum ducere adfirmat, silvestres esse calles vix singulis pervios, omnia contegi frondibus inplexosque arborum ramos silvas committere. [5] Namque Persis ab altero latere perpetuis montium iugis clauditur. Hoc dorsum, quod in longitudinem MDC, in latitudinem CLXX stadia procurrit, a Caucaso monte ad Rubrum mare pertinet, quaque defecit mons, aliud munimentum, fretum, obiectum est. [6] Planities deinde sub radicibus montium spatiosa procumbit, fertilis terra multisque vicis atque urbibus frequens. [7] Araxes amnis per hos campos multorum aquas torrentium evolvit in Medum: Medus ad mare ad meridiem versus — minor amnis eo, quem accepit — [8] evehitur, gignendaeque herbae non alius est aptior, quidquid adluit, floribus vestiens. Platani quoque et populi contegunt ripas, ita ut procul visentibus continuata videantur montibus nemora riparum. Quippe [p. 122] obumbratus amnis presso in solum alveo delabatur,

imminentque colles, ipsi quoque frondibus laeti, radices eorum humore subeunte. [9] Regio non alia tota Asia salubrior habetur: temperat caelum hinc perpetuum iugum opacum et umbrosum, quod aestus levat, illinc mare adiunctum, quod modico tepore terras fovet. [10] His captivus expositis interrogatus a rege, auditune an oculis conperta haberet, quae diceret, pastorem se fuisse et omnes eas calles percurrisse respondit: [11] bis captum, semel a Persis in Lycia, iterum ab ipso. Subit animum regis memoria oraculo editae sortis: quippe consulenti responsum erat, ducem in Persidem ferentis viae Lycium civem fore. [12] Igitur promissis, quanta et praesens necessitas exigebat et ipsius fortuna capiebat, oneratum armari iubet Macedonum more et, quod bene verteret, monstrare iter quamvis arduum et praeceps: evasurum se esse cum paucis, nisi forte crederet, qua ipse pecoris causa isset, Alexandrum pro gloria et perpetua laude ire non posse. [13] Etiam atque etiam docere captivus, quam difficile iter esset, maxime armatis. [14] Tum rex: ‘Praedem,’ inquit, ‘me accipe neminem eorum, qui secuntur, recusaturum ire, qua duces.’ Cratero igitur ad custodiam castrorum relicto cum peditibus, quis adsueverat, et iis copiis, quas Meleager ducebat, et sagittariis equitibus praecipit, ut castrorum specie manente plures de industria ignes fieri imperet, quo magis barbari credant ipsum regem in castris esse. [15] Ceterum, si forte Ariobarzanes cognovisset per callium anfractus intrare se et ad occupandum iter suum partem copiarum temptasset opponere, Craterus eum inlato [p. 123] terrore retineret ad propius periculum conversurum agmen: [16] sin autem ipse hostem fefellisset saltum occupasset, cum trepidantium barbarorum tumultum exaudisset, persequens tum regem id ipsum iter, quo pridie pulsi fuerant, ne dubitaret ingredi: quippe vacuum fore hostibus in semet aversis. [17] Ipse tertia vigilia silenti agmine ac ne tuba quidem dato signo pergit ad demonstratum iter callium: tridui alimenta portare militem iusserat leviter armatum. [18] Sed praeter invias rupes ac praeupta saxa vestigium subinde fallentia nix cummulata vento ingredientis fatigabat: quippe velut in foveas delati hauriebantur et, cum a commilitonibus adlevarentur, trahebant magis adjuvantes quam sequebantur. [19] Nox quoque et ignota regio ac dux — incertum an satis fidus — multiplicabant metum: si custodes fefellisset, quasi feras bestias ipsos posse deprehendi. Ex unius captivi vel fide vel anima pendere et regis salutem et suam. [20] Tandem venere in iugum. A dextra iter ad ipsum Ariobarzanem erat: hic Philotam et Coenon cum Amynta et Polyperconte expeditam habentes manum relinquit, monitos, ut, quia et eques pediti iret mixtus et quam pinguissimum esset solum et pabuli fertile, sensim procederent: duces erant itineris de captivis dati. [21] Ipse cum armigeris et ala, quam agema appellabant, ardua semita, sed longius a stationibus hostium remota multa cum vexatione processit. [22] Medius erat dies et fatigatis necessaria quies — quippe tantundem itineris supererat, quantum emensi erant, sed [p. 124] minus praecipitis atque ardui —: [23] itaque refectis cibo somnoque militibus secunda vigilia surgit. Et cetera quidem haud aegre praeterit, ceterum, qua se montium iugum paulatim ad planiora demittit,

ingens vorago concursu cavata torrentium iter ruperat. [24] Ad hoc arborum rami alius alio implicati et cohaerentes ut perpetuam obiecerant saepem. [25] Desperatio igitur ingens, adeo ut vix lacrimis abstinere, incesserat. Praecipue obscuritas terrori erat : nam etiam si qua sidera internitebant, continenti fronde tectae arbores conspiciere prohibebant. Ne aurium quidem usus supererat silvas quatiente vento, qui concurrentibus ramis maiorem quam pro flatu sonum edebat. [26] Tandem expectata lux omnia, quae terribiliora nox fecerat, minuit: circumiri brevi spatio poterat eluvies, [27] et sibi quisque dux itineris coeperat fieri. Evadunt ergo in editum verticeni: ex quo hostium statione conspecta strenue armati a tergo se ostendunt nihil tale metuentibus. [28] Quorum pauci, qui congredi ausi erant, caesi sunt. Itaque hinc morientium gemitus, hinc ad suos recurrentium miserabilis facies integros quoque, antequam discrimen experirentur, [29] in fugam avertit. Fremitu deinde in castra, quis Craterus praesidebat, inlato ad occupandas angustias, in quibus pridie haeserant, miles educitur. [30] Simul et Philotas cum Polyperconte Amyntaque et Coeno diversum iter ingredi iussus alium terrorem intulit barbaris. [31] Undique ergo Macedonum armis fulgentibus ancipiti malo oppressi memorabile tamen proelium edunt. Ut opinor, ignaviam quoque necessitas acuit, et saepe desperatio spei causa est. [32] Nudi [p. 125] conplectebantur armatos et ingenti corporum mole secum ad terram detrahentes ipsorum telis plerosque fodiebant. [33] Ariobarzanes tamen XL ferme equitibus et v milibus peditum stipatus per mediam aciem Macedonum cum multo suorum atque hostium sanguine erupit, Persepolim urbem, caput regionis, occupare festinans. [34] Sed a custodibus urbis exclusus consecutis strenue hostibus cum omnibus fugae comitibus renovato proelio cecidit. Craterus quoque raptim agmine actio supervenit.

IV. Then, having encamped in a place open on all sides, he not only began to take counsel on what was to be done, but also, from a feeling of superstition, to summon soothsayers. But what prediction could Aristander, in whom among the seers he then had the greatest confidence, make at such a crisis? Therefore, rejecting sacrifices as untimely, he gave orders that the men acquainted with the country should be summoned; these pointed out a safe and open route through Media. But the king was ashamed to desert the soldiers who were unburied, because it was an inherited usage that hardly any military duty was so sacred as that of burying their dead. Accordingly, he gave orders that the prisoners whom he had lately taken should be called. Among these was a man well versed in the Greek and the Persian tongues, who declared that it was hopeless for the king to try to lead the army into Persia over the ridge of the mountains, but that there were paths through the woods barely to be traversed in single file, that everything was covered with foliage, and that the interlaced branches of the trees made the forests continuous. For Persis on one side is shut in by continuous chains of mountains. This height, which extends in length for 1600 stadia, and in width for 170, reaches from the Caucasus mountains to the Red Sea, and where the

mountains end, another barrier, the sea, is interposed. Then at the roots of the mountains a spacious plain slopes down, a fertile land, and abounding in many villages and cities. Through these fields the river Araxes rolls the waters of many torrents into the Medus; the Medus — a lesser river than the one which flows into it — in a southerly direction goes on to the sea, and no other river is more favourable to the growth of vegetation, and it clothes with flowers whatever it flows near. Plane trees also and poplars cover its banks, so that to those who view them from afar the groves along the banks seem to be a continuation of those on the mountains. For the shaded stream flows in a channel sunk deep in the soil, and over it hang hills which are themselves also rich in foliage because of the moisture which makes its way to their roots. No other region in all Asia is regarded as more health-giving; the climate is tempered on one side by dark and shaded mountains in a continuous line, which alleviate the heat, on the other by the nearness of the sea, which warms the lands with moderate heat.

When the prisoner had made his reply, on being asked by the king whether he had learned this by hearsay or by observation, he replied that he had been a shepherd and had roamed over all those paths; that he had been twice captured, once by the Persians in Lycia, again by Alexander. The king was reminded of the prediction given by an oracle; for when he consulted it, the reply was made that a citizen of Lycia would be his guide on the road leading into Persia. Therefore, after loading the man with promises as great as the present necessity demanded and as suited his condition, he ordered him to arm himself in the Macedonian fashion, and, uttering a prayer that it might result favourably, to show him the way, however steep and difficult it might be; that he would pass through it with a few men, unless by any chance the shepherd supposed that, where he had gone to feed his flock, Alexander could not go for the sake of glory and immortal fame. Again and again the prisoner explained to him how difficult the route was, especially for armed men. Then said the king: "Take my word for it that none of those who follow will refuse to go where you will lead the way."

Accordingly, having left Craterus to guard the camp with the infantry which he had been accustomed to command, and with the forces led by Meleager, and with a thousand mounted bowmen, he directed him, in order that the appearance of a camp might be kept up, purposely to order more fires than usual to be made, so that the barbarians might be more inclined to believe that the king himself was in the camp. Further, if haply Ariobarzanes should have learned that he was entering through the winding paths, and should try to oppose a part of his forces to block his advance, Craterus was to hold him back by alarming him, and force him to turn the attention of his army to the nearer ^[16] danger; but if he himself should elude the enemy and get possession of the pass, then Craterus, following the king, when he heard the noise made by the confusion of the enemy, must not hesitate to take that same route from

which they had been driven the day before; for it would be empty when the attention of the enemy had been turned to himself.

Alexander himself in the third watch in silent march and not even having given the signal with the trumpet, went on to the route, which had been pointed out, through the paths; he had ordered the soldiers, who were lightly armed, to carry provisions for three days. But besides the pathless rocks and steep crags which from time to time made their footing insecure, snow drifted by the wind made their progress wearisome; for they were swallowed up as if they had fallen into pits, and when their comrades tried to lift them out, they dragged down instead of coming up with those who were aiding them. Night also and the unknown country, as well as the guide — since it was uncertain whether he was wholly to be trusted — increased their fear; for if he had deceived his guards, they themselves could be caught like so much wild game. The safety of their king and of themselves depended either on the trustworthiness or the life of a single prisoner.

[20] At last they reached the summit. On the right was a road to Ariobarzanes himself; here the king left Philotas and Coenus with Amyntas and Polypercon in command of a light-armed band, advising them to advance slowly, since cavalry mixed with infantry were marching, and the soil was very rich and abounded in fodder; guides for their route were given them from among the prisoners.

Alexander himself with his guards and a company of what they called the *agema*, advanced with great trouble by a path which was steep, but more remote from the pickets of the enemy. It was midday, and rest was essential for the wearied soldiers — for as much of the route was left as they had traversed, but it was less steep and difficult — therefore, when the troops had been refreshed by food and sleep, he continued his march at the second watch. And the rest he passed over without trouble; but where the summit of the mountains gradually descends to the more level ground, a great abyss, hollowed out by the rushing together of torrents, had broken into the road. Besides this, the branches of the trees, entangled one with another and clinging together, had interposed an apparently continuous hedge. In consequence, such extreme despair had fallen upon them, that they could hardly refrain — from tears. The darkness especially was a cause of terror; for even if any stars shone through the clouds, the trees, which were completely covered with leaves, prevented them from getting sight of them. Not even the use of their ears was left them, since the woods were shaken by the wind, which made a greater noise when the branches knocked against each other than was proportionate to its blast.

At last the long awaited daylight lessened all the terrors which night had made more formidable; the flooded spot could be passed round by a slight detour, and each man had begun to be his own guide for the route. And so they made

their way out to a lofty height; and when they had observed from there the enemies' position, the armed force showed itself in vigorous fashion behind men who were in fear of nothing of the kind. A few of them, who had ventured to join battle, were slain. And so, on the one side the groans of the dying, on the other the pitiful appearance of those who were hastening back to their main body, turned to flight even those who were untouched before they made any attempt at a struggle. Then their shouting penetrated to the camp of which Craterus was in charge, and his soldiers were led out to take possession of the pass in which they had been brought to a standstill the day before. At the same time Philotas, with Amyntas, Polypercon and Coenus, who had been ordered to take a different route, struck the barbarians with another fear.

But even though the arms of the Macedonians thus gleamed on every side, and they were threatened with a double danger, they nevertheless fought a memorable fight. In my opinion, necessity spurs on even cowardice, and desperation is often a cause for hope. Unarmed as they were, they seized the armed men in their embrace, and dragging them down to the ground with them by the huge bulk of their bodies, stabbed most of them with their own weapons.

However, Ariobarzanes, closely attended by about forty horsemen and five thousand foot, burst through the centre of the Macedonians' line with much bloodshed on their own side and on their enemies', in haste to take possession of the city of Persepolis, the capital of the region. But shut out by the garrison of the city, and vigorously pursued by the enemy, he renewed the battle and was killed with all the participants in his flight. Craterus also arrived, having driven on his force with all speed.

Rex eodem loco, quo hostium copias fuderat, castra communit. Quamquam enim undique fugati hostes victoriam concesserant, tamen praealtae praecipitesque fossae pluribus locis obiectae abruperant iter, sensimque et caute progrediendum erat iam non hostium, sed locorum fraude suspecta. [2] Procedenti ei litterae redduntur a Tiridate, custode pecuniae regiae, indicantes eos, qui in urbe essent, audito eius adventu diripere velle thesauros: properaret occupare thesauros dimissos: expeditum iter esse, quamquam Araxes amnis interfluat. [3] Nullam virtutem regis iustius quam celeritatem laudaverim: relictis pedestribus copiis tota nocte vectus cum equitibus itineris tanto spatio fatigatis ad Araxen prima luce pervenit. [4] Vici erant in propinquo: quibus dirutis pontem ex materia eorum subditis saxis strenue induxit. [5] Iamque haud procul urbe erant, cum miserabile agmen inter pauca fortunae exempla memorandum regi occurrit. Captivi erant Graeci ad nonnulla milia fere, quos Persae vario suppliciorum modo adfecerant. [6] Alios pe- [p. 126] dibus, quosdam manibus auribusque amputatis inustisque barbararum litterarum notis in longum sui ludibrium reservaverant et, cum se quoque alienae dicionis esse cernerent, volentes regi occurrere non prohibuerant. [7] Invisitata simulacra,

non homines videbantur, nec quicquam in illis praeter vocem poterat agnosci. Plures igitur lacrimas commovere, quam profunderant ipsi: quippe in tam multiplici variaque fortuna singulorum intuentibus similes quidem, sed tamen dispaes poenas, [8] quis maxime miserabilis esset, liquere non poterat. Ut vero Iovem illi tandem, Graeciae ultorem, aperuisse oculos conclamavere, omnes pari supplicio adfecti sibi videbantur. Rex abstersis, quas profunderat, lacrimis bonum habere animum iubet, [9] visuros urbes suas coniugesque, et castra ibi duo ab urbe stadia communit. Graeci excesserant vallo deliberaturi, quid potissimum a rege peterent: cumque aliis sedem in Asia rogare, alus reverti domos placeret, Euctemon Cymaeus ita locutus ad eos fertur: [10] 'Ti, qui modo etiam ad opem petendam ex tenebris et carcere procedere erubuimus, ut nunc est, supplicia nostra — quorum nos pudeat magis an paeniteat, incertum est — ostentare Graeciae velut laetum spectaculum cupimus. [11] Atqui optime miserias ferunt, qui abscondunt, nec ulla tam familiaris est infelicibus patria quam solitudo et status prioris oblivio. Nam qui multum in suorum misericordia ponunt, ignorant, quam celeriter lacrimae inarescant. [12] Nemo fideliter diligit, quem fastidit: nam et calamitas querula est et superba felicitas. Ita suam quisque fortunam in consilio habet, cum de aliena [p. 127] deliberat. Nisi mutuo miseri essemus, olim alius alii potuissimus esse fastidio: quid mirum et fortunatos semper parem quaerere? [13] Obsecro vos, olim vita defuncti quaeramus locum, in quo haec semesa obruamus. Grati prorsus coniugibus, quas iuvenes duximus, revertemur ! Liberi in flore et aetatis et rerum agnoscent patres ergastuli detrimenta! [14] Et quota pars nostri tot obire terrae potest? Procul Europa in ultima Orientis relegati, senes debiles, maiore membrorum parte mulcati tolerabimus scilicet, quae armatos et victores fatigarunt! [15] Coniuges deinde, quas captis fors et necessitas unicum solacium adplicuit, parvosque liberos trahimus nobiscum an relinquimus? [16] Cum his venientes nemo agnoscere volet: relinquemus ergo extemplo praesentia pignora, cum incertum sit, an visuri simus ilia, quae petimus? Inter hos latendum est, qui nos miseros nosse coeperunt.' Haec Euctemon. [17] Contra Theaetetus Atheniensis orsus est dicere: Neminem pium habitu corporis suos aestimaturum, utique saevitia hostis, non natura calamitosos. Dignum esse omni malo, qui erubesceret fortuito: tristem enim de mortalitate ferre sententiam et desperare misericordiam, quia ipse alteri denegaturus sit. [18] Deos, quod ipsi numquam optare ausi forent, offerre: patriam, coniuges, liberos et, quidquid homines vel vita aestimant vel morte redimunt. [19] Quin illi ex hoc carcere erumperent? alium domi esse caeli haustum, alium lucis aspectum. Mores, sacra, [p. 128] linguae commercium etiam a barbaris expeti, quae ingenita ipsi omissuri sint sua sponte, non ob aliud tam calamitosi, quam quod illis carere coacti essent. [20] Se certe rediturum ad penates et in patriam tantoque beneficio regis usurum : [21] si quos contubernii liberorumque, quos servitus coegisset agnoscere, amor detineret, relinquerent, quibus nihil patria carius esset. Pauci huius sententiae fuere, ceteros consuetudo natura potior vicit. Consenserunt petendum esse a rege, ut aliquam ipsis attribueret sedem.

[22] C ad hoc electi sunt. Quos Alexander ratus, quod ipse praestare cogitabat, petituros: 'Iumenta,' inquit, 'adsignari, quae vos veherent, et singulis vestrum milia denarium dari iussi. Cum redieritis in Graeciam, praestabo, ne qui statum suum, [23] si haec calamitas absit, vestro credat esse meliorem.' Illi obortis lacrimis terram intuebantur nec aut erigere vultus aut loqui audebant: tandem rege tristitiae causam exigente Euctemon similia iis, quae in consilio dixerat, respondit. [24] Atque ille non fortunae solum eorum, sed etiam paenitentiae miseritus terna milia denariorum singulis dari iussit: denae vestes adiectae sunt et armenta cum pecoribus ac frumento data, ut coli serique attributus iis ager posset.

V. The king fortified a camp on the same spot where he had routed the enemy. For although the flight of the foe on all sides had acknowledged the victory, yet the interposition of very deep and sheer trenches in many places had broken up the road, and it was necessary to advance slowly and cautiously, no longer through suspicion of deception by the enemy, but by the terrain. As he was on his way, a letter was delivered to him from Tiridates, who was in charge of Darius' finances, informing him that the inhabitants of the city, on hearing of his coming, wished to pillage its treasures, and urging Alexander to hasten to take possession of the deserted riches; he said that the route was unimpeded, although the Araxes River crossed it. There is no merit of the king that I could praise with more justice than his rapidity in action. Leaving his infantry forces, and riding all night with his cavalry, wearied though they were by a march of so great extent, he reached the Araxes at daybreak. There were villages near by; these he destroyed and from their timbers supported by stones he quickly threw a bridge across.

And already he was not far from the city, when a wretched troop, to be paralleled among few examples of ill-fortune, met the king. They were Greek captives, to the number of nearly 4000, on whom the Persians had inflicted various kinds of torture. Some with their feet, others with their hands and ears cut off, and branded with the characters of barbarian letters, they had reserved for their long-continued mockery, and when the Persians perceived that they themselves also were under foreign subjection, they had not opposed the desire of the prisoners to go to meet Alexander. They resembled strange images, not human beings, and there was nothing that could be recognized in them except their voices; therefore they aroused more tears than they themselves had shed. Indeed, amid such manifold and varied misfortunes of individuals, to those who beheld their sufferings, similar indeed, but yet unlike, it could not be clear which was the most wretched; but when they cried out that at last Jupiter, avenger of the Greeks, had opened his eyes, all who beheld them seemed to themselves to have suffered the same torture.

The king, after having dried the tears which he had shed, bade them have a good heart, since they would see their cities and their wives, and he fortified a

camp there, two stadia from the city. The Greeks had come out from the palisade to deliberate what it would be best to request of the king; and when some wished to ask for an abode in Asia, others to return to their homes, Euctemon of Cymê is said to have addressed them as follows: "We who but now were ashamed to come out from the darkness of a dungeon even to implore aid, desire, as things now stand, to display to Greece our mutilations — whether our shame or our grief is the greater is uncertain — as if they were a joyful spectacle. And yet they endure their miseries best who hide them, and no native land is so intimate to the unhappy as solitude and forgetfulness of their former condition. For those who count greatly on the compassion of their relatives are not aware how quickly tears dry. No one faithfully loves one from whom he shrinks; for while calamity is given to complaining, prosperity too is proud. So true is it that each one has regard to his own fortune when he deliberates about that of another. If it were not that we are mutually wretched, we might long since have become a cause of disgust to one another; what wonder is it that the fortunate also always seek those like themselves?

"I beseech you, let us who have long been dead to the world seek a place in which we may bury these half-consumed bodies. Welcome forsooth shall we return to the wives whom we married in our youth! Our children in the bloom both of their age and their fortunes will of course recognize as their fathers the off-scourings of the slave-prison! And how many of us can traverse so many lands? Far from Europe, banished to the ends of the Orient, old and weak, with the greater part of our bodies battered, can we, forsooth, endure what has wearied armed men flushed with victory? What then of the wives whom chance and necessity have joined to us as our sole consolation, and their little children — do we drag them with us or leave them behind? If we come with these, no one will be willing to own us; shall we, then, at once abandon those dear ones who are with us, when it is uncertain whether we shall ever see those whom we seek? We must remain hidden among those who have begun to know us in this wretched plight." So spoke Euctemon. Theaetetus, an Athenian, took up the discussion on the opposite side: "No good man," he said, "will judge his kin by their bodily condition, especially when the cause of their calamity has been an enemy's cruelty, not Nature. He deserves every misfortune who is ashamed of a misfortune due to chance; for he has a sinister opinion of humanity, and despairs of pity only because he himself would deny it to his ^[18] fellow man. The gods are offering them what they themselves would never have ventured to wish for: fatherland, wives, children, and whatever men either value at the price of life, or, if you would so put ^[19] it, redeem with death as the price. Why, then, do they not break out from this prison? At home they breathe a different air, see the light of a different sun. Their own customs, sacred rites, community of language, are desired even by barbarians, but these, your birthright, you yourselves would give up of your own accord, although you are so unhappy for no other reason than that you have been compelled to live without them. For my part, I would certainly

return to my household gods and to my fatherland, and would accept so great a favour from the king; but if the love of mate and children, whom slavery has compelled you to acknowledge, should detain any of you, those at least to whom nothing is dearer than their native land should leave theirs behind.”

A few were of this opinion; habit, which is stronger than nature, overcame the rest. They agreed that the king should be asked to assign them some dwelling-place. One hundred were selected to make the request. Alexander, having supposed that they would ask for what he himself was thinking of giving to them, said: “I have ordered mounts to be assigned, on which you can ride, and a thousand drachmae to be given to each of you. When you have returned to Greece, I will guarantee that, except for this misfortune of yours, none will believe that his condition is better than yours.” They, with tears in their eyes, kept their gaze fixed upon the ground, nor dared either to lift their faces or to speak; when at last the king asked the cause of their sadness, Euctemon answered in words similar to those which he had used in the council. And the king, pitying not only their fortune but their change of heart, ordered 3000 drachmae to be given to each man; ten robes apiece were added, and herds and flocks and also grain were given them, in order that the land assigned to them might be cultivated and sown.

Postero die convocatos duces copiarum docet nullam infestiores urbem Graecis esse quam regiam veterum [p. 129] Persidis regum: hinc illa immensa agmina infusa, hinc Dareum prius, dein Xerxes Europae inopium intulisse bellum: excidio illius parentandum esse maioribus. [2] Iamque barbari deserto oppido, qua quemque metus agebat, diffugerant, cum rex phalangem nihil cunctatus inducit. Multas urbes refertas opulentia regia partim expugnauerat, partim in fidem acceperat, sed urbis huius divitiae vicere praeterita. [3] In hanc totius Persidis opes congesserant barbari: aurum argentumque cumulatissimum erat, vestis ingens modus, supellex non ad usum, sed ad ostentationem luxuriae comparata. [4] Itaque inter ipsos victores ferro dimicabatur: pro hoste erat, qui pretiosiores occupaverat praedam. Et cum omnia, quae reperiebant, capere non possent, iam res non occupabantur, sed aestimabantur. [5] Lacerabant regias vestes ad se quisque partem trahentes, dolabris pretiosae artis vasa caedebant, nihil neque intactum erat neque integrum ferebatur, abrupta simulacrorum membra, ut quisque avellerat, trahebat. [6] Neque avaritia solum, sed etiam crudelitas in capta urbe grassata est: auro argentoque onusti vilia captivorum corpora trucidabant, passimque obvii caedebantur, quos antea pretium sui miserabilis fecerat. [7] Multi ergo hostium manus voluntaria morte occupaverunt pretiosissima vestium induti e muris semetipsos cum coniugibus ac liberis in praecipitium iacentes. Quidam ignes, quod paulo post facturus [p. 130] hostis videbatur, subiecerant aedibus, ut cum suis vivi cremarentur. [8] Tandem suos rex corporibus et cultu feminarum abstinere iussit. Ingens captivae pecuniae modus traditur, prope ut fidem excedat. [9] Ceterum aut de aliis quoquo dubitabimus aut credemus in huius urbis gaza fuisse C et XX milia

talentum. Ad quae vehenda — namque ad usus belli secum portare decreverat — iumenta et camelos et a Susis et a Babylone contrahi iussit. [10] Accessere ad hanc pecuniae summam captis Parsagadis sex milia talentum. Cyrus Parsagada urbem condiderat, quam Alexandro praefectus eius Gobares tradidit. [11] Rex arcem Persepolis tribus milibus Macedonum praesidio relictis Nicarchiden tueri iubet. Tiridati quoque, qui gazam tradiderat, servatus est honos, quem is apud Dareum habuerat. Magnaque exercitus parte et impedimentis ibi relictis Parmeniona Craterumque praefecit. [12] Ipse cum mille equitibus peditumque expedita manu interiorem Persidis regionem sub ipsum Vergiliarum sidus petiit multisque imbris et prope intolerabili tempestate vexatus procedere tamen, quo intenderat, perseveravit. [13] Ventum erat ad iter perpetuis obsitum nivibus, quas frigoris vis gelu adstrinxerat, locorumque squalor et solitudines inviae fatigatum militem terrebant humanarum rerumque sine ullo [p. 131] humani cultus vestigio attoniti intuebantur et, antequam lux quoque et caelum ipsos deficerent, reverti iuebant. [14] Rex castigare territos supersedit, ceterum ipse equo desiluit pedesque per nives et concretam glaciem ingredi coepit. Erubuerunt non sequi primum amici, deinde copiarum duces, ad ultimum milites. Primusque rex dolabra glaciem perfringens iter sibi fecit: [15] exemplum regis ceteri imitati sunt. Tandem propemodum invias silvas emensi humani cultus rara vestigia et passim errantes pecorum greges repperere: et incolae, qui sparsis tuguriis habitabant, cum se callibus inviis saeptos esse credidissent, ut conspexere hostium agmen, interfectis, qui comitari rugientes non poterant, devios montes et nivibus obsitos petiverunt. [16] Inde per colloquia captivorum paulatim feritate mitigata tradidere se regi. Nec in deditos gravius consultum. [17] Vastatis inde agris Persidis vicisque conpluribus redactis in potestatem ventum est in Mardorum gentem bellicosam et multum a ceteris Persis cultu vitae abhorrentem. Specus in montibus fodiunt, in quos seque ac coniuges et liberos condunt, pecorum aut ferarum carne vescuntur. [18] Ne feminis quidem pro naturae habitu molliora ingenia sunt: comae prominent hirtae, vestis super genua est, funda vinciunt frontem: hoc et ornamentum capitis et telum est. [19] Sed hanc quoque gentem idem fortunae impetus domuit. Itaque tricesimo die, postquam a Persepoli profectus erat, eodem redit. [20] Dona deinde amicis ceterisque pro cuiusque merito dedit. Propemodum omnia, quae in ea urbe ceperat, distributa.

VI. On the following day the king called together the leaders of his forces and informed them that “no city was more mischievous to the Greeks than the seat of the ancient kings of Persia; it was from there that those huge armies had been poured into their country, from there first Darius, then Xerxes, had made godless war upon Europe; by its destruction they ought to offer sacrifice to the spirits of their forefathers.” And already the barbarians, having abandoned the city, had scattered in flight whithersoever fear had driven each man, when the king without delay led in the phalanx. He had either stormed or received in surrender many cities filled with regal opulence, but the riches of this city surpassed all that had gone before. Into it the barbarians had heaped the

wealth of all Persia; gold and silver had been amassed, a vast amount of clothing, furniture designed not for use but for luxurious display. Hence the victors themselves fought with one another with the steel; he was regarded as a foeman who had been first to seize a more precious prize. And when they could not carry all that they found, articles were no longer seized at random, but their value was appraised. They rent the royal robes, as each one dragged a part into his possession, they broke with mattocks vases of priceless art, nothing was left uninjured or carried off whole, each one carried the broken limbs of statues as he had torn them off.

And not avarice alone but cruelty also ran riot in the captured city; those who were loaded with gold and silver butchered as valueless the persons of prisoners; and in all directions people, whom previously their ransom had made it worth while to spare, were cut down when they came in the enemy's way. Therefore many forestalled the hands of the enemy by a voluntary death, putting on their most costly clothing and throwing themselves from the walls, along with their wives and children. Some set fire to their houses, which it seemed that the enemy would do a little later, in order to be burned alive with their families. At last the king ordered his men to spare the persons and the ornaments of the women.

So vast amount of wealth is said to have been taken as almost to be beyond belief. But we shall either have to feel doubtful about other particulars also, or believe that there was in this city a treasure of 120,000 talents. For transporting this — for the king had decided to take it with him for use in war — he ordered camels and other beasts of burden to be brought together from Susa and Babylon. There were added to this sum of money 6000 talents from the capture of Parsagada. Cyrus had founded that city, which its governor Gobares surrendered to Alexander.

The king ordered Nicarchides to defend the citadel of Persepolis, having left as a garrison 3000 Macedonian soldiers. For Tiridates, who had handed over the treasure, the same rank was continued which he had held under Darius. Also a great part of the army and the baggage was left there, in charge of Parmenion and Craterus. Alexander himself with 1000 horsemen and a light-armed force of infantry made for the interior of Persia just at the setting of the Vergiliae, and although troubled by frequent rains and almost intolerable weather, he nevertheless persisted in pushing on to his destination. He had come to a road blocked by perpetual snows, which the violence of the cold had bound with frost, and the horror of the places and the pathless solitudes terrified the wearied soldiers, who believed that they were looking upon the end of the habitable world. In amazement they beheld everything desolate and without any trace of human cultivation, and they demanded that they should turn back, before even daylight and the sky should fail them.

The king forbore to rebuke his frightened men, but he himself sprang down

from his horse, and on foot began to advance through the snows and over the hard-frozen ice. Ashamed not to follow were at first his friends, then his officers, finally the soldiers. And the king was first to make a way for himself by breaking the ice with a mattock; the rest followed the king's example. At last, after passing through almost pathless forests, they found sporadic traces of human cultivation, and flocks of sheep wandering here and there; and the inhabitants, who dwelt in isolated huts, since they believed that they were protected by the inaccessible by-paths, as soon as they caught sight of the soldiers, killed those who were not able to accompany them in their flight and made for the remote and snow-clad mountains. Then, through conversation with the prisoners they gradually became less wild, and delivered themselves up to the king. And the surrendered were not severely dealt with.

Then, after devastating the fields of Persia and reducing many villages into his power, he came to the race of the Mardi, a warlike people, differing greatly from the rest of the Persians in their manner of life. They dig caves in the mountains, in which they hide themselves with their wives and children, they feed on the flesh of their flocks and of wild animals. Not even the women have gentler dispositions, as is Nature's way; they have overhanging bushy hair, their garments do not reach their knees, they bind their brows with a sling; this is both an ornament of their heads and a weapon. But this race also the same onrush of Fortune overcame. And so, on the thirtieth day after he had set out from Persepolis the king returned to the same place. Then he gave presents to his friends and to the rest according to each man's deserts. Almost everything which he had taken in that place was distributed among them.

Ceterum ingentia animi bona, illam indolem, qua omnes reges antecessit, illam in subeundis periculis [p. 132] constantiam, in rebus moliendis efficiendisque velocitatem, in deditis fidem, in captivos clementiam, in voluptatibus permissis quoque et usitatis temperantiam haud tolerabili vini cupiditate foedavit. [2] Hoste et aemulo regni reparante cum maxime bellum, nuper subactis, quos vicerat, novumque imperium aspernantibus de die inibat convivia, quibus feminae intererant, non quidem quas violari nefas esset, quippe pelices licentius, quam decebat, cum armato vivere adsuetae. [3] Ex his una, Thais, et ipsa temulenta maximam apud omnes Graecos initurum gratiam adfirmat, si regiam Persarum iussisset incendi: expectare hoc eos, quorum urbes barbari delessent. [4] Ebrio scorto de tanta re ferente sententiam unus alter, et ipsi mero onerati, adsentiuntur. [5] Rex quoque avidior vini quam patientior: 'Quin igitur ulciscimur Graeciam et urbi faces subdimus?' Omnes incaluerant mero: itaque surgunt temulenti ad incendendam urbem, cui armati pepercerant. Primus rex ignem regiae iniecit, tum convivae et ministri pelicesque. [6] Multa cedro aedificata erat regia, quae celeriter igne concepto late fudit incendium. Quod ubi exercitus, qui haud procul urbe tendebat, conspexit, fortuitum ratus ad opem ferendam concurrit. [7] Sed ut ad vestibulum regiae ventum est, vident regem ipsum adhuc aggerentem faces.

Omissa igitur, quam portaverant, aqua ipsi aridam materiem in incendium iacere coeperunt. [8] Hunc exitum habuit regia totius Orientis, unde tot gentes antea iura petebant, patria tot regum, unicus quondam Graeciae terror, molita mille navium [p. 133] classem et exercitus, quibus Europa inundata est, contabulato mari molibus perfossisque montibus, in quorum specus fretum inmissum est. [9] Ac ne tam longa quidem aetate, quae excidium eius secuta est, resurrexit. Alias urbes vastavere Macedonum reges, quas nunc habent Parthi: huius vestigium non inveniretur, nisi Araxes amnis ostenderet. Haud procul moenibus fluxerat: inde urbem fuisse XX stadiis distantem credunt magis quam sciunt accolae. [10] Pudebat Macedones tam praeclaram urbem a commissabundo rege deletam esse: itaque res in serium versa est, et imperaverunt sibi, ut crederent illo potissimum modo fuisse delendam. [11] Ipsum, ut primum gravato ebrietate mentem quies reddidit, paenituisse constat et dixisse. maiores poenas Graecis Persas idaturos fuisse, si ipsum in solio regiaque Xerxis conspiciere coacti essent. [12] Postero die Lycio, itineris, quo Persidem intraverat, duci, XXX talenta dono dedit. Hinc in regionem Mediae transiit: ubi supplementum novorum e Cilicia militum occurrit. Peditum erant V milia, equites M: utrisque Platon Atheniensis praeerat. His copiis auctus Dareum persequi statuit.

VII. But Alexander's great mental endowments, that noble disposition, in which he surpassed all kings, that intrepidity in encountering dangers, his promptness in forming and carrying out plans, his good faith towards those who submitted to him, merciful treatment of his prisoners, temperance even in lawful and usual pleasures, were sullied by an excessive love of wine. At the very time when his enemy and his rival for a throne was preparing to renew the war, when those whom he had conquered were but lately subdued and were hostile to the new rule, he took part in prolonged banquets at which women were present, not indeed those whom it would be a crime to violate, but, to be sure, harlots who were accustomed to live with armed men with more licence than was fitting.

One of these, Thais by name, herself also drunken, declared that the king would win most favour among all the Greeks, if he should order the palace of the Persians to be set on fire; that this was expected by those whose cities the barbarians had destroyed.

When a drunken strumpet had given her opinion on a matter of such moment, one or two, themselves also loaded with wine, agreed. The king too, more greedy for wine than able to carry it, cried: "Why do we not, then, avenge Greece and apply torches to the city?"

All had become heated with wine, and so they arose when drunk to fire the city which they had spared when armed. The king was the first to throw a firebrand upon the palace, then the guests and the servants and courtesans. The palace had been built largely of cedar, which quickly took fire and spread

the conflagration widely. When the army, which was encamped not far from the city, saw the fire, thinking it accidental, they rushed to bear aid. But when they came to the vestibule of the palace, they saw the king himself still piling on firebrands. Therefore, they left the water which they had brought, and they too began to throw dry wood upon the burning building.

Such was the end of the capital of the entire Orient, from which so many nations previously sought jurisdiction, the birthplace of so many kings, once the special terror of Greece, a city that built a fleet of a thousand ships, and armies by which Europe was flooded, bridged the sea with a causeway of boards formed by massive hulks of ships, tunnelled mountains, and let the sea into the cavity thus — made. And not even in the long age which followed its destruction did it rise again. The Macedonian kings laid waste other cities, which the Parthians now possess; of this city not a trace would be found, did not the Araxes River show where it stood. That river had flowed not far from its walls; the neighbouring peoples believe, but do not really know, that the city was twenty stadia distant from it.

The Macedonians were ashamed that so renowned a city had been destroyed by their king in a drunken revel; therefore the act was taken as earnest, and they forced themselves to believe that it was right that it should be wiped out in exactly that manner.

It is certain that Alexander himself, as soon as sleep had restored his senses after he had been overcome by drunkenness, regretted what he had done and said that the Greeks would have been more severely avenged upon the Persians, if these had been forced to see Alexander on the throne and in the palace of Xerxes. On the following day he gave the Lycian guide of the route by which he had entered Persia a gift of 30 talents.

From there he crossed into the district of Media, where a reinforcement of fresh soldiers from Cilicia met him. They consisted of 5000 foot and 1000 horse; both were commanded by Platon, an Athenian. Strengthened by these forces, he resolved to pursue Darius.

Ille iam Ecbatana pervenerat. Caput Mediae urbs haec: nunc tenent Parthi, eaque aestiva agentibus sedes est. Adire deinde Bactra decreverat, sed veritus, ne celeritate Alexandri occuparetur, consilium iterque mutavit. [2] Aberat ab eo Alexander stadia MD, sed iam nullum intervallum adversus velocitatem eius satis longum videbatur: itaque proelio magis quam fugae [p. 134] se praeparabat.

[3] XXX milia peditum sequebantur, in quibus Graecorum erant mi milia fide vetere erga re gem ad ultimum invicta. [4] Funditorum quoque et sagittariorum manus III milia expleverat: praeter hos III milia et CCC equites erant, [5] maxime Bactrianorum. Bessus praeerat, Bactrianae regionis praefectus. Cum hoc agmine paulum declinavit via militari iussis praecedere lixis impedimentorumque custodibus. [6] Consilio deinde advocato: 'Si cum

ignavis,' inquit, 'et pluris qualemcumque vitam quam honestam mortem aestimantibus fortuna me iunxisset, tacerem potius quam frustra verba consumerem. [7] Sed maiore, quam vellem, documento et virtutem vestram et fidem expertus magis etiam coniti debeo, ut dignus talibus amicis sim, quam dubitare, an vestri similes adhuc sitis. [8] Ex tot milibus, quae sub imperio fuerunt meo, bis me victum, bis fugientem persecuti estis. [9] Fides vestra et constantia, ut regem me esse credam, facit. Proditores et transfugae in urbibus meis regnant, non, hercule, quia tanto honore digni habentur, sed ut praemiis eorum vestri sollicitentur animi. Meam fortunam tamen quam victoris maluistis sequi, dignissimi, quibus, si ego non possim, dii pro me gratiam referant. [10] Et, mehercule, referent. Nulla erit tam surda posteritas, nulla tam ingrata fama, quae non in caelum vos debitis laudibus ferat. Itaque etiam si consilium fugae, a qua multum abhorret animus, agitassem, vestra tamen virtute fretus obviam issem hosti. [11] Quo usque enim in regno exulabo et per fines imperii mei fugiam externum et [p. 135] advenam regem, cum liceat experto belli fortunam aut reparare, [12] quae amisi, aut honesta morte defungi? Nisi forte satius est expectare victoris arbitrium et Mazaei et Mithrenis exemplo precarium accipere regnum nationis unius, ut iam malit ille gloriae suae quam irae obsequi. [13] Nec di siverint, ut hoc decus mei capitis aut demere mihi quisquam audeat aut condonare, nec imperium vivus amittam, idemque erit regni mei, qui spiritus finis. [14] Vobis si hic animus, si haec lex, nulli non parta libertas est. Nemo e vobis fastidium Macedonum, nemo vultum superbum ferre cogetur: sua cuique dextera aut ultionem tot malorum pariet aut finem. [15] Equidem, quam versabilis fortuna sit, documentum ipse sum nec inmerito mitiores vices eius expecto. Sed si iusta ac pia bella di aversantur, fortibus tamen viris licebit honeste mori. [16] Per ego vos decora maiorum, qui totius Orientis regna cum memorabili laude tenuerunt, per illos viros, quibus stipendium Macedonia quondam tulit, per tot navium classes in Graeciam missas, per tot tropaea regum oro et obtestor, ut nobilitate vestra gentisque dignos spiritus capiat, [17] ut eadem constantia animorum, qua praeterita tolerastis, experiamini, quidquid deinde fors tulerit: me certe in perpetuum aut victoria egregia nobilitabit aut ruina.'

VIII. Darius had already reached Ecbatana. This city was the capital of Media; the Parthians now possess it, and it is their abode for passing the summers. From there he had determined to go to Bactra, but fearing lest he should be overtaken by Alexander's rapidity, he changed his plan and his route. Alexander was distant from him 1500 stadia, but already no interval seemed great enough in the face of the Macedonian's swiftness; consequently Darius was preparing himself for battle rather than for flight. He was followed by 30,000 infantry, among whom were 4000 Greeks, whose long fidelity to the king remained invincible to the end. Also he had mustered bands of slingers and archers to the number of 4000; besides these there were 3300 horsemen, mostly Bactriani. Bessus, satrap of the district of Bactra, commanded them. With this force he turned aside a little from the military

road, having ordered the camp-followers and the guards of the baggage to precede him.

Then, having called a council, he said: "If Fortune had joined me with cowards, and with those who regard life on any terms preferable to a noble death, I would keep silent rather than waste words to no purpose. But having made trial of your valour and loyalty by a greater test than I could have wished, I ought to strive even more to be worthy of such friends, rather than to doubt whether you are still like yourselves. Out of so many thousands who were under my command you have followed me, although I was twice defeated and twice put to flight. Your fidelity and constancy make me believe that I am a king. Traitors and deserters rule in my cities, not, by Heaven! because they are deemed worthy of such honour, but that your minds may be tempted by their rewards. In spite of this, you have preferred to follow my fortune rather than the victor's, proving yourselves most worthy of being requited by the gods in my behalf, if it should not be in my own power.

And, by Heaven! they will recompense you. No future generation will be so deaf, no Fame so ungrateful, as not to extol you to the skies with meed of praise.

"Therefore, even if I had considered resorting to flight, from which my mind utterly recoils, yet, relying upon your valour I should have gone to meet the foe. How long, pray, shall I be an exile in my realm, and through the bounds of my empire flee before a foreign and alien king, when it is allowed me to the traitors and deserters might tempt some of the adherents of Darius to follow their example. by trying the fortune of war either to regain what I have lost or to meet an honourable death? Unless haply it is better to await a victor's will and, like Mazaeus or Mithrenes, to accept on sufferance the rule of a single province, supposing that Alexander may now prefer to gratify his vanity rather than his anger. But may the gods forbid that anyone should dare to take from me this adornment of my head, or to bestow it on me, or that I should lose my empire while I still live, but the end of my rule shall be the same as the end of my breath.

"If you have this spirit and this principle, there is no one of you for whom freedom has not been won. No one of your number will be compelled to endure the disdain of the Macedonians, none their haughty looks; the right hand of each of you will either gain vengeance for so many sufferings, or end them. I myself am an example of Fortune's mutability, and with good reason I look for milder changes on her part. But if the gods do not favour just and righteous wars, at any rate brave men will be allowed to die — with honour. By the honour of your forefathers, who held the rule of the entire Orient with noteworthy glory, by those men to whom Macedonia formerly paid tribute, by those many fleets of ships sent against Greece, by those many trophies of your kings, I beg and implore you to assume the courage worthy of your fame and

that of your nation, in order that with the same resolute spirits with which you endured the evils of the past you may meet whatever Fortune may hereafter allot; on me at any rate either a glorious victory or my overthrow will confer eternal fame.”

Haec dicente Dareo praesentis periculi species omnium simul corda animosque horrore perstrinxerat, nec [p. 136] aut consilium suppetebat aut vox, cum Artabazus, vetustissimus amicorum, quem hospitem fuisse Philippi supra diximus: ‘Nos vero,’ inquit, ‘pretiosissimam vestem induti armisque, quanto maximo cultu possumus, adornati regem in aciem sequemur, ea quidem mente, ut victoriam speremus, mortem non recusemus.’ [2] Adsensu excepere ceteri hanc vocem, sed Nabarzanes, qui in eodem consilio erat, cum Besso inauditi antea facinoris societate inita regem suum per milites, quibus ambo praeerant, comprehendere et vincere decreverant, ea mente, ut, si Alexander ipsos insecutus foret, tradito rege vivo inirent gratiam victoris, magni profecto cepisse Dareum aestimaturi, sin autem eum effugere potuissent, interfecto Dareo regnum ipsi occuparent bellumque renovarent. [3] Hoc parricidium cum diu volutassent, Nabarzanes aditum nefariae spei praeparas: ‘Scio me,’ inquit, ‘sententiam esse dicturum prima specie haudquaquam auribus tuis gratam: sed medici quoque graviore morbos asperis remediis curant, [4] et gubernator, ubi naufragium timet, iactura, quidquid servari potest, redimit. Ego tamen, non ut damnum quidem facias, suadeo, sed ut te ac regnum tuum salubri ratione conserves. Dis adversis bellum inimus, et pertinax fortuna Persas urgere non desinit: novis initiis et ominibus opus est. Auspiciis et im- [p. 137] perium interim alii trade, qui tam diu rex appelletur, donec Asia decedat hostis, victor deinde regnum tibi reddat. [5] Hoc autem brevi futurum ratio promittit: Bactra intacta sunt, Indi et Sacae in tua potestate, tot populi, tot exercitus, tot equitum peditumque milia ad res novandas vires paratas habent, ut maior belli moles supersit quam exhausta sit. [6] Quid ruimus beluarum ritu in perniciem non necessariam? Fortium virorum est magis mortem contemnere quam odisse vitam: [7] saepe taedio laboris ad vilitatem sui compelluntur ignavi. At nihil virtus inexpertum omittit. Utique ultimum omnium mors est, ad quam non pigre ire satis est. [8] Proinde si Bactra, quod tutissimum receptaculum est, petimus, praefectum regionis eius, Bessum, regem temporis gratia constituamus : rebus compositis iusto regi tibi fiduciam restituet imperium.’ [9] Haud mirum est Dareum non temperasse animo, quamquam eum, impiae voci quantum nefas subesset, latebat. Itaque: ‘Pessimum,’ inquit, ‘mancipium, repperisti exoptatum tibi tempus, quo parricidium aperires?’ strictoque acinace interfecturus eum videbatur, [10] ni propere Bessus Bactrianique, quasi deprecarentur, tristium specie, [11] ceterum, si perseveraret, vincturi circumstetissent. Nabarzanes interim elapsus, mox et Bessus est secutus: copias, quibus praeerant, a cetero exercitu secedere iubent [p. 138] secretum inituri consilium. [12] Artabazus convenientem praesenti fortunae sententiam orsus mitigare Dareum temporum identidem admonens coepit: ferret aequo animo qualiumcumque, suorum tamen vel stultitiam vel

errorem. Instare iam ei Alexandrum, gravem, etiam si omnes praesto essent: quid futurum, si persecuti fugam ipsius alienentur? [13] Aegre paruit Artabazo et, quamquam movere castra statuerat, turbatis tamen omnium animis eodem in loco substitit. Sed attonitus maestitia simul et desperatione tabernaculo se inclusit. [14] Ergo in castris, quae nullius regebantur imperio, varii animorum motus erant, nec in commune ut ante consulebatur. [15] Dux Graecorum militum, Patron, arma capere suos iubet paratosque esse ad exequendum imperium Persae secesserant: [16] Bessus cum Bactrianis erat temptabatque Persas abducere, Bactra et intactae regionis opulenta simulque, quae manentibus instarent pericula, ostentans. Persarum omnium eadem fere fuit vox, nefas esse deserire regem. [17] Inter haec Artabazus omnibus imperatoris fungebatur officiis: ille Persarum tabernacula circumire, hortari, monere nunc singulos, nunc universos non ante destitit, quam satis constaret imperata facturos. Idem aegre a Dareo inpetravit, ut cibum caperet animumque rebus adverteret.

IX. As Darius said these words, the thought of the present peril cramped with horror the hearts and minds of all alike, and they were in doubt what to advise or to say, when Artabazus, the oldest of his friends, who, as I have said above, had been a guest of Philip, said: "We certainly, clad in our richest apparel and adorned with the finest arms that we possess, will follow our king to battle, and that too with the intention of hoping for victory, yet not shrinking from [2] death." The rest received these words with approval, but Nabarzanes, who took part in the same council, had formed with Bessus a conspiracy for a crime unheard of before, of seizing their king by means of the forces which they both commanded and putting him in fetters; their purpose was that if Alexander should overtake them, they might by delivering the king alive into his hands gain the victor's favour, since he would surely set a high value on the capture of Darius, but that, if they could escape Alexander, having killed Darius, they themselves might usurp [3] the sovereignty and renew the war. When they had long meditated this treason, Nabarzanes, preparing the way for their abominable purpose, said:

"I know that I shall express an opinion which at first thought will not be at all pleasing to your ears; but physicians also cure more desperate maladies by harsh remedies, and a pilot, when he fears shipwreck, rescues by jettison whatever can be saved. I, however, offer my advice, not in order that you may suffer any loss, but that by a helpful plan you may save yourself and your kingdom. We began the war with the gods against us, and persistent Fortune does not cease to persecute the Persians; there is need of a new beginning and new omens.

Hand over the auspices and the rule for a time to another, who shall be called king no longer than until the enemy shall withdraw from Asia; then he will return the sovereignty to you when he has won victory. Moreover, reason

shows that this will soon come to pass; Bactra is untouched, the Indi and Sacae are under your rule, so many peoples, so many armies, so many thousands of horse and foot have strength available for restoring our affairs, that greater material for war is left than has been used up. Why do we, like brute beasts, rush into a destruction that is not necessary? It is the part of brave men rather to scorn death than to hate life; often through distaste for toil cowards are driven to hold themselves cheap. But valour leaves nothing untried. Assuredly death is the end of everything, and we may as well go to meet it in no passive spirit.

Accordingly, if we desire to go to Bactra, which is the safest place of refuge, let us make Bessus, the satrap of that region, king, because of the exigency; when affairs are settled, he will restore to you, the legitimate king, the rule which he has held in trust."

It is not at all surprising that Darius could not control his anger, although he did not know how great a crime lurked under these detestable words. Hence he said: "Basest of slaves, have you found the time which you desired, when you might disclose your treason?" and drawing his sword, he seemed to be on the point of killing Nabarzanes, had not Bessus and the Bactriani quickly surrounded the king, as if to plead against the act, under pretence of sorrow, but actually intending to make him prisoner, if he should persist. Nabarzanes meanwhile had slipped away and Bessus also followed him; they ordered the forces which they commanded to withdraw from the rest of the army, intending to hold a secret council. Artabazus, starting to express an opinion suitable to the present situation, began to try to soothe Darius, from time to time reminding him of the exigencies; the king, he said, ought to bear with patience either the folly or the error of those, of whatever sort they might be, who were nevertheless his subjects. Alexander was already close upon him, a dangerous foe even if all his men were on hand; what would happen if those who had followed him in his flight should be alienated? Darius followed the advice of Artabazus, albeit reluctantly, and although he had determined to move his camp, yet since the minds of all were disturbed, he remained where he was. But being overwhelmed with sadness and at the same time with despair, he shut himself in his tent.

The result was, that in the camp, which was under no one's command, there were varied impulses, and they no longer took council for the common good, as before. The leader of the Greek troops, Patron," ordered his men to arm themselves and be ready to carry out his orders. The Persians had formed a separate group; Bessus was with the Bactriani and was trying to win over the Persians, telling them of Bactra and the riches of that untouched region, and at the same time of the dangers which threatened those who remained where they were. The reply of all the Persians was about the same, that it was impious for the king to be deserted. Meanwhile Artabazus performed all the

duties of a commander; he did not cease to go round the tents of the Persians, to exhort them, and to warn them, now one by one, now in a body, until it was clear that they would obey his orders. He also induced Darius, though with difficulty, to take food and to turn his attention to the situation.

At Bessus et Nabarzanes olim agitatum scelus exequi statuunt regni cupiditate accensi: Dareo autem incolumi tantas opes sperare non poterant. [2] Quippe in illis gentibus regum eximia maiestas est: ad nomen quoque barbari conveniunt, et pristinae veneratio fortunae sequitur adversam. [3] Inflabat inpios animos regio, [p. 139] cui praeerant, armis virisque et spatio locorum nulli earum gentium secunda: tertiam partem Asiae tenet, multitudo iuniorum exercitus, quos amiserat Dareus, aequabat. [4] Itaque non illum modo, sed etiam Alexandrum spernebant, inde vires imperii repetituri, si regis potiri contigisset. [5] Diu omnibus cogitatis placuit per milites Bactrianos ad omne obsequium destinates regem comprehendere mittique nuntium ad Alexandrum, qui indicaret vivum adservari eum: [6] si, id quod timebant, proditorem aspernatus esset, occisuri Dareum et Bactra cum suarum gentium manu petitori. Ceterum propalam comprehendere Dareus non poterat tot Persarum milibus laturis opem regi: [7] Graecorum quoque fides timebatur. [8] Itaque, quod vi non poterant, fraude adsequi temptant: paenitentiam secessionis simulare decreverant et excusare apud regem consternationem suam. [9] Interim, qui Persas sollicitarent, mittuntur. Hinc spe, hinc metu militares animos versant: ruinae rerum subdere illos capita, in perniciem trahi, cum Bactra pateant exceptura eos bonis et opulentia, animis quam concipere non possint. [10] Haec agitantibus Artabazus supervenit sive regis iussu sive sua sponte adfirmans mitigatum esse Dareum et eundem illis amicitiae gradum patere apud regem. [11] Illi lacrimantes nunc purgare se, nunc Artabazum orare, ut causam ipsorum tueretur precesque perferret. [12] Sic peracta nocte sub lucis exortum Bessus et Nabarzanes cum Bactrianis militibus in vestibulo praetorii aderant titulum sollemnis officii occulto sceleri praeferentes. Dareus signo ad eundem [p. 140] dato currum pristino more conscendit. [13] Nabarzanes ceterique parricidae procumbentes humi, quem paulo post in vinculis habituri erant, sustinere venerari, lacrimas etiam paenitentiae indices profuderunt: adeo humanis ingeniis parata simulatio est. [14] Preces deinde suppliciter admotae Dareum natura simplicem et mitem non credere modo, quae adfirmabant, sed flere etiam coegerunt. [15] Ac ne tum quidem cogitati sceleris paenituit, cum intuerentur, qualem et regem et virum fallerent. Ille quidem securus periculi, quod instabat, Alexandri manus, quas solas timebat, effugere properabat.

X. But Bessus and Nabarzanes resolved to carry out the criminal design which they had formerly agitated, being inflamed with a desire for sovereignty; but they could not hope for so great power while Darius lived. For in those nations the majesty of their kings is extraordinary; in response to his mere name the barbarians assemble, and veneration for his former fortune attends him even in adversity. The impious minds of the conspirators were puffed up

by the province which they governed, one which in arms and men, as well as in extent of territory is second to none among those nations; it occupies a third part of Asia, and the number of its men of military age equalled the armies which Darius had lost. Therefore they scorned, not only Darius, but also Alexander; from there they expected to regain the power of the empire, should they succeed in getting possession of the province. After long deliberation on all possibilities, they decided to seize the king with the aid of the Bactrian troops, who could be counted upon for absolute obedience, and that then a message should be sent to Alexander, to make known to him that Darius was being held alive in their power; if, as they feared, Alexander should have rejected their betrayal, they intended to kill Darius, and make for Bactra with the forces of their nations.

However, Darius could not be seized openly, when so many thousands of the Persians would bear aid to their king; the loyalty of the Greeks also was feared.

Accordingly, they tried to effect through stratagem what they could not do by force; they decided to feign regret for their secession, and to excuse it to the king on the ground of their consternation. Meanwhile emissaries were sent to appeal to the Persians.

Now by hope, now by fear they work upon the feelings of the soldiers, saying that they were exposing themselves to utter ruin and were being dragged to destruction, when Bactra was open to receive them with possessions and wealth such as were beyond their imagination. While they were busy with these matters, Artabazus appeared, either by the order of the king or of his own accord, declaring that Darius had been appeased and that the same degree of friendship with the king was open to them. They, shedding tears, now excused themselves, now begged Artabazus that he would plead their cause and present their entreaties. Accordingly, when the night had been thus spent, at daybreak Bessus and Nabarzanes, with the Bactrian soldiers, came to the vestibule of the king's tent, hiding their secret crime under pretence of their customary service. Darius, having given the signal for marching, mounted his chariot according to his former custom; and Bessus and the rest of the traitors, prostrating themselves on the ground, had the audacity to pretend to venerate the man whom a little later they were intending to make prisoner, and they even shed tears as indications of repentance. So ready is deceit in the human heart. Then their entreaties, presented in suppliant guise, forced Darius, who was by nature trusting and mild, not only to believe what they affirmed, but — even to weep. But not even then did the traitors repent of the crime which they had planned, although they saw what kind of man and king they were deceiving. He indeed, unaware of the danger which threatened him, was hastening to escape Alexander's hands, which alone he feared.

Patron autem, Graecorum dux, praecipit suis, ut arma, quae in sarcinis antea

ferebantur, induerent ad omne imperium suum parati et intenti. [2] Ipse currum regis sequebatur occasioni imminens adloquendi eum: quippe Bessi facinus praesenserat. Sed Bessus id ipsum metuens, custos verius quam comes, a curru non recedebat. [3] Diu ergo Patron cunctatus ac saepius sermone revocatus, inter fidem timoremque haesitans, [4] regem intuebatur. Qui ut tandem advertit oculos, Bubacen spadonem inter proximos currum sequentem percontari iubet, numquid ipsi velit dicere. Patron se vero, sed remotis arbitris loqui velle cum eo respondit iussusque propius accedere sine interprete — nam haud radis Graecae linguae Dareus erat — [5] : ‘Rex,’ inquit, ‘ex L milibus Graecorum supersumus pauci, omnis fortunae tuae comites et in hoc tuo statu idem, qui florente te fuimus, quascumque terras elegeris, pro patriar et domesticis rebus petitori. [6] Secundae adversaeque res tuae copulavere nos tecum. Per hanc fidem [p. 141] invictam oro et obtestor, in nostris castris tibi tabernaculum statue : nos corporis tui. custodes esse patiaris. Omisimus Graeciam, nulla Bactra sunt nobis, spes omnis in te: utinam etiam ceteris esset. Plura dici non attinet. Custodiam corporis tui externus et alienigena non deposcerem, si crederem alium posse praestare.’ [7] Bessus quamquam erat Graeci sermonis ignaras, tamen stimulante conscientia indicium profecto Patronem detulisse credebat: et interpretes celato sermone Graeci exempta dubitatio est. Dareus autem, ‘ quantum ex voltu concipi poterat, haud sane territus percontari Patrona causam consilii, quod adferret, coepit. [8] Ille non ultra differendum ratus: ‘Bessus,’ inquit, ‘et Nabarzanes insidiantur tibi, in ultimo discrimine es fortunae tuae et vitae, [9] hic dies aut parricidis aut tibi futurus ultimus.’ Et Patron quidem egregiam conservati regis gloriam tulerat. [10] Eludant fidem licet, quibus forte temere humana negotia volvi agique persuasum est nexuve causarum latentium et multo ante destinatarum suum quemque ordinem inmutabili lege percurrere: [11] Dareus certe respondit, quamquam sibi Graecorum militum fides nota sit, numquam tamen a popularibus suis recessurum. Difficilius sibi esse damnare quam decipi. Quidquid fors tulisset, inter suos perpeti malle quam transfugam fieri. Sero se perire, si salvum sese milites sui nollent. [12] Patron desperata [p. 142] regis salute ad eos, quibus praeerat, rediit omnia pro fide experiri paratus.

XI. But Patron, the leader of the Greeks, ordered his men to put on their arms, which before were carried with the baggage, and to be ready and on the alert for every order of his. He himself was following the king’s chariot, eager for a chance to speak to him; for he had a premonition of the evil design of Bessus. But Bessus, in fear of that very thing, did not move from the chariot, acting as a guard rather than as a companion. Therefore Patron after waiting for a long time and often being restrained from speaking, kept his eyes fixed upon the king, wavering between loyalty and fear. When at last the king turned towards him, he ordered Bubaces, a eunuch who was following the chariot among those nearest Darius, to ask the Greek whether he wished to say anything to him. Patron replied that he did in fact wish to talk with him, but without witnesses, and when bidden to come nearer without an interpreter for Darius

was not unacquainted with the Greek language — he said: “My king, out of 50,000 Greeks we are the few that are left, companions of all your fortune, and in your present state unchanged from what we were in your prosperity, ready to seek, in place of our native land and our homes, whatever lands you shall select. Your prosperity and adversity-have linked us with you. By this invincible loyalty I beg and conjure you, pitch your tent in our camp; suffer us to be your body-guards. We have abandoned Greece, no Bactra belongs to us, all our hope is in you; would that it were true also of the rest! It is needless to say more. I, a foreigner and of an alien race, should not demand the guard of your person, if I believed that another could guarantee it.” [7] Although Bessus was unacquainted with the Greek language, yet, pricked by conscience, he believed that Patron had surely revealed his plot; and since the words of the Greek were concealed from interpreters, any doubt was removed. Darius, however, being so far as could be inferred from his expression not at all alarmed, began to question Patron as to the reason for the advice which he brought. The Greek, thinking that there was no room for further delay, said: “Bessus and Nabarzanes are plotting against you, your fortune and your life are in extreme danger, this day will be the last for the traitors or for you.” [9] And in fact Patron had gained the illustrious glory of saving the king. Those may scoff at my belief who haply are convinced that human affairs roll on and take place by mere chance, or that each man runs his ordered course in accordance with a combination of hidden causes determined long beforehand by an immutable law; at any rate, Darius replied, that although the loyalty of the Greek soldiers was well known to him, yet he would never separate himself from his own countrymen; that it was more difficult for him to condemn than to be deceived. Whatever Fortune should offer him he preferred to endure among his own subjects rather than to become a deserter. He was perishing too late, if his own 12 soldiers did not wish him to be saved. Patron, despairing of the king’s safety, returned to those whom he commanded, prepared to submit to every possible trial to the best of his loyalty.

At Bessus occidendi protinus regis impetum ceperat: ed veritus, ne gratiam Alexandri, nisi vivum eum tradidisset, inire non posset, dilato in proximam noctem sceleris consilio agere gratias incipit, quod perfidi hominis insidias iam Alexandri opes spectantis prudenter cauteque vitasset: donum eum hosti laturum fuisse regis caput. [2] Nec mirari hominem mercede conductum omnia habere venalia: sine pignore, sine lare, terrarum orbis exulem, ancipitem hostem ad nutum licentium circumferri. [3] Purganti deinde se deosque patrios testes fidei suae invocanti Dareus vultu adsentiebatur, haud dubius, quin vera deferrentur a Graecis: sed eo rerum ventum erat, [4] ut tam periculosum esset non credere suis quam decipi. XXX milia erant, quorum inclinata in scelus levitas timebatur, mi milia Patron habebat: quibus si credidisset salutem suam damnata popularium fide, parricidio excusationem videbat offerri. Itaque praeoptabat inmerito quam iure violari. [5] Besso tamen insidiarum consilium purganti respondit, Alexandri sibi non minus iustitiam quam virtutem esse

perspectam. Falli eos, qui proditionis ab eo praemium expectent: [6] violatae fidei neminem acriorem fore vindicem ultoremque. Iamque nox adpetebat, cum Persae more solito armis positis ad necessaria ex proximo vico ferenda discurrent. At Bactriani, ut imperatum a Besso erat, armati stabant. [7] Inter haec Dareus Artabazum acciri iubet, expositisque, quae Patron detulerat, haud [p. 143] dubitare Artabazus, quin transeundum esset in castra Graecorum: Persas quoque periculo vulgato secuturos. [8] Destinatus sorti suae et iam nullius salubris consilii patiens unicam in illa fortuna opem Artabazum, ultimum illud visurus, amplectitur perfususque mutuis lacrimis inhaerentem sibi avelli iubet: capite deinde velato, ne inter gemitus digredientem velut a rogo intueretur, in humum primum corpus abiecit. [9] Tum vero custodiae eius adsueta, quos regis salutem vel periculis vitae tueri oportebat, dilapsi sunt, clam armatis, quos iam adventare credebant, haud rati se futuros pares. Ingens ergo in tabernaculo solitudo erat paucis spadonibus, quia, quo discederent, non habebant, circumstantibus regem. [10] At ille remotis arbitris diu aliud atque aliud consilium animo volutabat. Iamque solitudinem, quam paulo ante pro solacio petiverat, perosus Bubacen vocari iubet. [11] Quem intuens: ‘Ite,’ inquit, ‘consulite vobis ad ultimum regi vestro, ut decebat, fide exhibita: ego hic legem fati mei exspecto. Forsitan mireris, quod vitam non finiam : alieno scelere quam meo mori malo.’ [12] Post hanc vocem spado gemitu non tabernaculum modo, sed etiam castra conplevit. Inrupere deinde alii laceratisque vestibibus lugubri et barbaro ululatii regem deplorare coeperunt. [13] Persae ad illos clamore perlato attoniti metu nec arma capere, ne in Bactrianos inciderent, nec quiescere audebant, ne in pie deserere regem viderentur. [14] Varius ac dissonus clamor sine duce ac sine imperio totis castris referebatur. Besso et Nabarzani nuntiaverant sui regem a semetipso interemptum esse — planctus eos [p. 144] [15] deceperat — : itaque citatis equis advolant sequentibus, quos ad ministerium sceleris delegerant, et, cum tabernaculum intrassent, quia regem vivere spadones indicabant, [16] comprehendi vincirique iusserunt. Rex curru paulo ante vectus et deorum auspiciis ac summis honoribus cultus nulla externa ope admota captivus servorum suorum in sordidum vehiculum pellibus undique contextum inponitur. [17] Pecunia regis et supellex quasi belli iure diripitur, onustique praeda per scelus ultimum parta fugam intendunt. [18] Artabazus cum iis, qui imperio parebant. Graecisque militibus Parthienem petebat omnia tutiora parricidarum comitatu ratus. [19] Persae promissis Bessi onerati maxime, quia nemo alius erat, quem sequerentur, coniungere se Bactrianis agmen eorum tertio adsecuti die. [20] Ne tamen honos regi non haberetur, aureis conpedibus Dareum vinciunt nova ludibria subinde excogitante fortuna. Et ne forte cultu regio posset agnosci, sordidis pellibus vehiculum intexerant, ignoti iumenta agebant, ne percontantibus in agmine monstrari posset, custodes procul sequebantur.

XII. But Bessus had been seized with a strong impulse to kill Darius at once; fearing, however, that he could not find favour with Alexander unless he should deliver the king alive, putting off his wicked design to the following

night, he began to give thanks because Darius had wisely and cautiously avoided the plot of a treacherous man, who already had an eye to the riches of Alexander; that he would have offered his king's life as a gift to the enemy. And it was not surprising, he said, that a man hired for a fee made everything a matter of traffic; that being without wife or child, without a home, banished from the whole world, he was a treacherous enemy who like a lot is tossed round the sale-room at the nod of bidders.

Then, as Bessus asserted his innocence and called upon his country's gods as witnesses to his loyalty, Darius assumed an expression of assent, although he had no doubt that the report of the Greeks was true; but the situation had reached such a pass that it was as dangerous not to believe his subjects as to be deceived. Those were 30,000 in number whose untrustworthiness and inclination to crime were feared, Patron had only 4000; if he should trust his safety to the latter, distrusting the loyalty of his countrymen, he saw that he was offering an excuse for treason. Therefore he preferred to be injured undeservedly rather than with justification. Nevertheless, he replied to Bessus, when he denied any treacherous design, that Alexander's justice was not less clear to him than his valour. That those deceived themselves who looked for a reward for treachery from him; that no one would be a severer chastiser and avenger of violated loyalty.

And now night was approaching, when the Persians after their usual custom laid aside their arms and hastened to bring supplies from the nearest village. But the Bactriani, as Bessus had commanded, remained under arms. Meanwhile Darius ordered Artabazus to be summoned, and when what Patron had reported had been revealed, Artabazus had no doubt that the king ought to cross over to the Greeks' camp; that the Persians also, when the danger was made known, would follow him. But Darius, unable to escape his destiny and no longer receptive of any wholesome advice, embraced Artabazus, his sole consolation in his present fortune, whom he was about to see for that last time, and, bathed in his own tears and those of his friend, when Artabazus clung to him, ordered that he be pulled away; then, veiling his head, in order not to see Artabazus going away amid lamentations, as if from his funeral pyre, he threw himself prone upon the ground. Then indeed the men accustomed to form his body-guard, who ought to have protected the king's safety even at the peril of their lives, slipped away, thinking that they would be no match for those who had secretly armed themselves, and whom they believed to be already approaching. Hence there was a vast solitude in the tent except for a few eunuchs who stood around the king because they ^[10] had no place to which to withdraw. But Darius, dismissing all witnesses, for a long time turned over in his mind one plan after another.

And now, detesting the loneliness which shortly before he had sought as a solace, he ordered Bubaces to be called. Fixing his eyes upon him, the king

said: "Go, and look out for your own safety, having shown to the end, as was your duty, fidelity to your king; I shall await here the decree of my destiny. You wonder perhaps that I do not put an end to my life; I prefer to die by another's crime rather than by my own." After these words the eunuch filled with his wailing not only the tent but even the whole camp. Then others burst in and, rending their clothes, began to lament the king with mournful and barbaric outcry. The Persians, when the clamour reached their ears, stunned with fear, did not dare either to arm themselves, for fear of falling in with the Bactriani, or to remain quiet, lest they should seem impiously to desert their king.

Varied and discordant shouting without a leader and at no one's order was heard throughout the whole camp. To Bessus and Nabarzanes their men reported that the king had killed himself — the wailing had misled them — and so they rode to the spot at full speed, followed by those whom they had chosen to perpetrate their crime; and when they entered the tent, because the eunuchs made known to them that the king still lived they ordered him to be seized and bound. That king who shortly before had ridden in a chariot and had been revered with divine authority as well as his royal honours, through the influence of no foreign power, but the prisoner of his own slaves, was placed in a sorry cart covered all over with hides. The king's money and equipment, as if by the laws of war, was rifled; and laden with booty, acquired by the worst of crimes, the traitors hastened to flee.

Artabazus with those under his command and with the Greek soldiers made for Parthienê, thinking anything safer than a retinue of traitors. The Persians, who had been loaded with promises by Bessus, joined themselves with the Bactriani, especially because there was no one else to follow, having overtaken their army two days later. Nevertheless, that some honour might be paid to the king, they bound Darius in fetters of gold, for Fortune constantly devised new mockeries for the luckless king. Also, lest haply he could be recognized by his regal apparel, they had covered the cart with dirty hides, and unknown persons drove the beasts; in order that he could not be pointed out to any who questioned them on the way, guards followed at a distance.

Alexander audito, Dareum movisse ab Ecbatanis, omisso itinere, quod petebat, in Mediam, fugientem insequi pergit strenue. [2] Tabas — oppidum est in Paraetacene ultima — pervenit: ibi transfugae nuntiant praecipiti fuga Bactra petere Dareum. [3] Certiora deinde cognoscit ex Bagistane Babylonio, qui nondum vinctum regem, sed in periculo esse aut mortis aut vinculorum adfirmabat. [4] Rex ducibus convocatis: [p. 145] 'Maximum,' inquit, 'opus, sed labor brevissimus superest. Dareus haud procul destitutus a suis aut oppressus: in illo corpore posita est nostra victoria, et tanta res celeritatis est praeium.' [5] Omnes pariter conclamant paratos ipsos sequi: nec labori nec periculo parceret. Igitur raptim agmen cursus magis quam itineris modo ducit

ne nocturna quidem quiete diurnum laborem relaxante. [6] Itaque D stadia processit, perventumque erat in vicum, in quo Dareum Bessus comprehenderat. [7] Ibi Melon, Darei interpres, excipitur: corpore aeger non potuerat agmen adsequi et deprehensus celeritate regis transfugam se esse simulabat. Ex hoc acta cognoscit. [8] Sed fatigatis necessaria quies erat: itaque delectis equitum vi milibus CCC, quos dimachas appellabant, adiungit. Dorso hi graviora anna portabant, ceterum equis vehebantur: cum res locusque posceret, pedestris acies erant. [9] Haec agentem Alexandrum adeunt Orsines et Mithracenes: Bessi parricidium exosi transfugerant nuntiabantque stadia D abesse Persas, ipsos brevius iter monstraturos. [10] Gratus regi adventus transfugarum fuit. Itaque prima vespera ducibus isdem cum expedita equitum manu monstratam viam ingreditur phalange, quantum festinare posset, sequi iussa. Ipse quadrato agmine incedens ita cursum regebat, ut primi coniungi ultimis possent. [11] CCC stadia processerant, cum occurrit Brochubelus, Mazaei filius, Syriae quondam praetor: is quoque transfuga nuntiabat Bessum haud amplius [p. 146] quam ce stadia abesse, exercitum, utpote praedae avidum, inconpositum inordinatumque procedere. [12] Hyrcaniam videri petituos: si festinaret sequi palan tes, superventurum. Dareum adhuc vivere. Strenuo alioqui cupiditatem consequendi transfuga iniecerat: itaque calcaribus subditis effuso cursu eunt. Iamque fremitus hostium iter ingredientium exaudiebatur, sed prospectum ademerat pulveris nubes. Paulisper ergo inhibuit cursum, donec consideret pulvis. [13] Iamque conspecti a barbaris erant et abeuntium agmen conspexerant nequaquam futuri pares, si Besso tantum animi fuisset ad proelium, quantum ad parricidium fuerat. Namque et numero barbari praestabant et robore: ad hoc refecti cum fatigatis certamen inituri erant. [14] Sed nomen Alexandri et fama, [15] maximum in bello utique momen tum, pavidos in fugam avertit. Bessus vero et ceteri facinoris eius participes vehiculum Darei adsecuti coeperunt hortari eum, conscenderet equum et se hosti fuga eriperet. [16] Ille deos ultores adesse testatur et Alexandri fidem inplorans negat se parricidas velle comitari. Tum vero ira quoque accensi tela coiciunt in regem multisque confossum vulneribus relinquunt. [17] Iumenta quoque, ne longius prosequi possent, convulnerant duobus servis, qui regem comitabantur, occisis. [18] Hoc edito facinore, ut vestigia fugae spargerent, Nabarzanes Hyrcaniam, Bessus Bactra paucis equitum comitantibus petebant. Barbari ducibus destituía, qua quemque aut spes ducebat aut pavor, dissipabantur : [19] D tantum equites congregaverant se incerti adhuc, resistere melius esset an fugere. Alexander hostium trepidatione conperta Nicanorem cum equitum parte [p. 147] ad inhibendam fugam emittit, ipse cum ceteris sequitur. Tria ferme milia resistentia occisa sunt, reliquum agmen pecudum more intactum agebatur iubente rege, ut caedibus abstineretur. [20] Nemo captivorum erat, qui monstrare Darei vehiculum posset: singula, ut quaeque prenderent, scrutabantur, nec tamen ullum vestigium fugae regis extabat. [21] Festinantem Alexandrum vix III milia equitum persecuta sunt. At in eos, qui lentius sequebantur, incidebant universa fugientium agmina. [22] Vix credibile

dictu, plures captivi quam, qui caperent, erant : adeo omnem sensum territis fortuna penitus excusserat, ut nec hostium paucitatem nec multitudinem suam satis cernerent. [23] Interim iumenta, quae Dareum vehebant, nullo regente decesserant militari via et errore delata per quattuor stadia in quadam valle constiterant aestu simulque vulneribus fatigata. [24] Haud procul erat fons: ad quem monstratum a peritis Polystratus Macedo siti maceratus accessit ac, dum galea haustam aquam sorbet, tela iumentorum deficientium corporibus infixata conspexit. [25] Miratusque, confossa potius quam abacta esse, semivivi hominis l gemitum percipit. Itaque more ingenii humani cupidus visendi, quid rei vehiculo isto conderetur, dimotis pellibus, quibus obtectum erat, Dareum multis vulneribus confossum repperit. Regius enim cultus et aureae catenae, quibus a parricidis vinctus erat, dubitationem eximebant. Non erat expers Graeci sermonis Dareus [p. 148] gratiasque agebat dis, qui post tanta mala hoc tamen induisissent solacii, ne omnino in solitudine extremum spiritum effunderet. ‘Itaque te,’ inquit, ‘quisquis es mortalium, per communem hominum sortem, a qua ne maximos quidem reges exemptos esse praesenti spectaculo moneris, rogo quaesoque, ut haec ad Alexandrum mandata per feras: nihil eorum, quae longe tristissima perpessus sum, ne hunc quidem incredibilis calamitatis exitum tam gravem mihi accidisse quam illud, quod post tanta in me meosque merita adversus clementissimum victorem inimico vivendum fuit et nunc ingrato moriendum est. Sed — si qua extremis miserorum votis apud deos vis est, et cum ipso spiritu profusas preces aliquod numen exaudit — ille quidem sospes et incolumis longeque supra sortem fortunae meae et invidiam deorum positus in solio Cyri gloriosam aetatem exigat suaeque virtutis memor eum matri liberisque meis locum apud se esse patiatur, quem illi fide et obsequio meruerint. At parricidas promptum exitium consequatur, quod Alexander inrogabit, si non misericordia infelicis hostis, saltem odio facinorum, et ne impunita in aliorum etiam regum suumque ipsius exitium erumpant.’ Post haec, cum siti angeretur, adlata per Polystratum aqua recreatus: ‘Ergo,’ inquit, ‘hanc etiam tantis calamitatibus extremam accedere oportuit, ut bene merito gratiam referre non possim: at refer et Alexander, Alexandro vero di.’ Dextram deinde protendit eamque Alexandro fidei regiae pignus ferri iubens adprehensa Polystrati manu animam efflavit. Alexander num spiranti adhuc supervenerit, incertum est: illud constat miserabili regis opulentissimi exitu conperto plurimas lacrimas profudisse statimque chlamyde sibi detracta corpus operuisse et magno cum honore ad suos deferri iussisse, ut regio Persarum more curatum monumentis maiorum inferretur. Perfidiam hominum, a quibus pro summis beneficiis crudelissimum exitium Dareus pertulit, quamquam suapte natura horrendam et execrabilem, insigniore ad posteritatem [p. 149] infamia notavit canis cuiusdam mira fides, qui ab omnibus familiaribus destitute solus adfuit et eandem, quam vivo, adulationem morienti praestitit. Hunc vitae finem sortitus est ille, quem modo contumelia adfici putabant, nisi regem regum et deorum consanguineum salutarent; magnoque denuo experimento conprobatum est neminem magis

patere fortunae, quam qui plurimis eius beneficiis ornatus iugum eius tota cervice receperit.

XIII. Alexander, when he heard that Darius had moved from Ecbatana, abandoning the journey he was seeking to make into Media, quickly proceeded to follow after the fleeing king. He came to Tabae — it is a town in the farthest part of Paraetacene — ; there deserters reported that Darius in headlong flight was on his way to Bactra. Then he had more definite news from Bagistanes, a Babylonian, who declared that Darius was not yet a prisoner, but that he was in danger either of death or of fetters. Alexander, having called together his generals, said: “A very great task is left us, but the labour will be very short. Darius is not far away, deserted by his own troops or overwhelmed; on that body of his depends our victory, and so great a prize is the reward of speed.” All alike shout that they are ready to follow; let him spare neither toil nor danger. Therefore Alexander hurriedly leads on his army, rather as if racing than as marching, not resting even by night to relax the day’s toil. And in this way he advanced for 500 stadia, and had arrived at the village in which Bessus had seized Darius. There Melon, Darius’ interpreter, was captured; being ailing in body, he had been unable to keep up with the army, and when caught by Alexander’s swiftness he pretended to be a deserter. From him Alexander learned what had been done. But rest was necessary for his wearied men; therefore to 6000 elite horsemen he added 300 of the troops called *dimachae*. These carried heavier armour on their backs, but rode on horses; when the occasion and the situation demanded, they fought on foot.

While Alexander was thus occupied, Orsines and Mithracenes came to him; since they detested the treason of Bessus, they had deserted and now reported that the Persians were 500 stadia distant, that they ^[10] would show him a shorter route. The king was gratified by the coming of the deserters. Accordingly, at the beginning of evening under their guidance he set out with a light-armed troop of horsemen on the road which they had pointed out, having ordered the phalanx to follow with all possible speed. He himself, advancing in order of battle, so regulated his speed that the foremost should not become separated from the hindmost. He had gone on for 300 stadia, when Brochubelus, son of Mazaeus, formerly satrap of Syria, met him; he also was a deserter and reported that Bessus was not more than 200 stadia distant, and that his army, being greedy for plunder, was marching in confusion and disorder. That they seemed to be about to make for Hyrcania; if Alexander should hasten to follow them while straggling, he would surprise them. Darius, he said, was still alive. Alexander was a man of swift action at other times also, and now the deserter had inspired him with eagerness to overtake the king; and so, plying the spurs, they went on at top speed.

And already the noise of the enemy as they marched was plainly heard, but a

cloud of dust had hidden them from sight. Therefore Alexander checked his advance for a while, waiting for the dust to settle. And now they had been seen by the barbarians and had caught sight of their retreating army, for which they would by no means have been a match if Bessus had had as much spirit for fighting as he had had for treason. For the barbarians were superior both in number and in strength; and besides their fresh soldiers would have entered battle with wearied men. But the name of Alexander and his fame, of especially great import in war, so terrified them that they turned to flight. Bessus indeed and the other accomplices in his crime, coming up to the cart in which Darius was, began to urge the king to mount a horse and rescue himself from the enemy by flight. Darius declared that the avenging gods were at hand, and imploring Alexander's protection, said that he had no desire to accompany traitors. Then truly, inflamed also by wrath, they hurled javelins at the king and left him pierced through by many wounds. They also maimed the beasts, to prevent them from being able to go farther, and killed the two slaves who accompanied the king.

Having committed this crime, in order to spread in different directions the traces of their flight, Nabarzanes made for Hyrcania, Bessus for Bactra, accompanied by a few horsemen. The barbarians, bereft of their leaders, were scattered in whatever direction hope or fear led each man; only 500 horse were massed together, uncertain as yet whether it would be better to resist or to flee. Alexander, informed of the consternation of the enemy, sent Nicanor on with a part of the cavalry to prevent their flight and himself followed with the rest. Nearly 3000 who resisted were slain, the rest of the troop were driven along like so many cattle, uninjured, since the king gave orders that none should be killed. There was no one among the prisoners who could give information about the cart carrying Darius; each wagon, as they took it, was searched, but yet no trace of the king's flight appeared. Barely 3000 of the horsemen kept up with Alexander in his haste. But into the hands of those who were following more slowly whole companies of the fugitives fell. Almost incredible to relate, the prisoners were more numerous than men who captured them; to such a degree had Fortune deprived the panic-stricken barbarians of all sense, that they were unable to comprehend properly either the small number of their foes or their own great multitude.

Meanwhile the beasts which drew the cart in which Darius was, since no one guided them, had left the military road and after straying for four stadia had stopped in a valley, worn out by the heat and at the same time by their wounds. Not far off there was a spring; to this, pointed out by those who knew the country, Polystratus, a Macedonian, worn out by thirst, came and, while he was drinking water out of his helmet, he caught sight of the javelins planted in ^[25] the bodies of the dying beasts. And as he wondered that they had been stabbed, rather than carried off, he heard the groan of a man near death. Therefore, as is the way of human nature, being desirous of seeing what was

hidden in that cart, he drew aside the hides with which it had been covered and found Darius, run through by many wounds. For his regal attire and its golden fetters with which he had been bound by the traitors left no room for doubt. Darius, who was not unacquainted with the Greek language, gave thanks to the gods, who after so many misfortunes had yet vouchsafed him this much solace, that he should not pour out his last breath in complete solitude.

Therefore,” said he, “whoever of mortals you are, by the common lot of mankind, from which you are reminded by the sight before your eyes that not even the greatest kings are exempt, I beg and beseech you to take this message to Alexander; that none of those misfortunes, by far the most grievous, which I have suffered, not even this outcome of incredible disaster, has fallen upon me so much to my regret as this, that after your great services to me and mine I was forced to live in enmity with a most merciful victor, and now to die without thanking him. But — if with the gods the last wishes of the wretched have any power, and if any divinity listens to prayers poured out with the very breath of life — may Alexander, safe and unharmed, and raised far above the lot of my fortune and the envy of the gods, on the throne of Cyrus complete a glorious life, and mindful of his own virtue, may he allow my mother and my children to have that place in his regard which they have deserved because of their loyalty and their respect. But may a speedy death overtake the murderers, which Alexander will inflict upon them, if not from pity for an unhappy enemy, at least from hatred of their crimes, and for fear that, if these go unpunished, they may break out to the destruction also of other kings and even to his own.”

After these words, being tormented by thirst and being refreshed with water brought him by Polystratus, Darius said: “So, then, this final calamity was fated to be added also to such great misfortunes, that I cannot requite one who has well deserved it; but Alexander will requite you, the gods Alexander.” Then he stretched out his right hand and ordered it to be transferred to Alexander as a pledge of the king’s faith, and grasping the hand of Polystratus he gave up the ghost. Whether Alexander arrived while Darius was still breathing is uncertain; this much is sure, that on learning of the wretched end of a most powerful king, he shed many tears, and at once taking off his cloak, he covered the body, and ordered it to be taken with great honour to his family, in order to be embalmed after the fashion of the Persian kings, and placed among the tombs of his predecessors. The treachery of the men at whose hands Darius suffered a most cruel death in return for the greatest favours, although in its own nature horrifying and execrable, was marked with greater infamy for future generations by the wonderful faithfulness of a dog, which alone was with Darius when he was deserted by all his friends, and fawned upon him when he was dying as it had when he was alive.

Such was the end of life allotted to that king whom shortly before men thought to be insulted unless they addressed him as king of kings and kinsman of the gods; and once more it was proved by a striking example, that no one is more exposed to Fortune's changes than one who, having been honoured by very many of her favours, has bowed his neck wholly under her yoke.

BOOK VI.

Dum1 haec in Asia geruntur, ne in Graecia quidem Macedoniaque tranquillae res fuere. Regnabat apud Lacedaemonios Agis, filius Archidami, qui Tarentinis opem ferens occiderat eodem die, quo Philippus Athenienses ad Chaeroneam vicit: is Alexandri virtutis aemulus cives suos stimulabat, ne Graeciam Servitute Macedonum diutius premi paterentur: nisi in tempore providerent, idem iugum ad ipsos transiturum. Adnitendum igitur, dum aliquae Persis ad resistendum vires essent: illis oppressis adversus inmanem potentiam frustra avitae libertatis memores futuros. Sic instinctis animis occasionem belli movendi captabant. Prospero igitur eventu Memnonis invitati consilia cum eo miscere adgressi sunt et, postquam ille rerum laetarum initia intempestiva morte destituit, nihilo remissius agebant. Sed ad Pharnabazum et Autophradaten profectus Agis triginta argenti talento decemque triremes inpetravit, quas Agesilao fratri misit, ut in Cretam navigaret, cuius insulae cultores inter Lacedaemonios et Maccdonas diversis studiis distrahebantur. Legati quoque ad Dareum missi sunt, qui ad bellum ampliorem vim pecuniae pluresque naves peterent. Atque haec eorum consilia clades ad Issum — nam ea intervenerat — adeo non interpellavit, ut etiam adiuveret. Quippe fugientem insecutus Alexander in loca in dies longinquiora rapiebatur, et ex ipso proelio mercennariorum ingens multitudo in Graeciam fuga se receperat: quorum octo milia pecunia conduxit Agis eorumque opera plerasque Cretensium urbes recepit. Cum deinceps Menon in Thraciam ab Alexandro missus barbaros ad defectionem impulisset atque Antipater ad eam comprimendam exercitum ex Macedonia in Thraciam duxisset, opportunitate temporis strenue usi Lacedaemonii totam Peloponnesum paucis urbibus exceptis ad suas partes traxerunt confectoque exercitu viginti milium peditum cum duobus milibus equitum Agidi summam imperii detulerunt. Antipater ea re conperta bellum in Thracia, quibus potest condicionibus, componit raptimque in Graeciam regressus ab amicis sociisque civitatibus auxilia cogit. Quibus convenientibus ad quadraginta milia militum recensuit. Advenerat etiam ex Peloponneso valida manus: sed quia dubiam eorum fidem cognoverat, dissimulata suspicione gratias egit, quod ad defendendam a Lacedaemoniis Alexandri dignitatem adfuissent: scripturum se id regi gratiam in tempore relatu. In praesens nihil opus esse maioribus copiis: itaque domos redirent foederis necessitate expleta. Nuntios deinde ad Alexandrum mittit de motu Graeciae certiore facturum. Atque illi regem apud Bactradem consecuti sunt, cum interim Antipatri victoria et nece Agidis in Arcadia res transacta esset. Rex iam pridem tumultu Lacedaemoniorum cognito, quantum tot terrarum spatiis discretus potuit, providerat: Amphoterum cum Cypriis et Phoeniciis navibus in Peloponnesum navigare, Meneta tria milia talentum ad mare deferre iusserat, ut ex propinquo pecuniam Antipatro subministraret, quanta illi opus esse cognovisset. Probe enim perspexerat, quanti ad omnia [p. 152] momenti motus istius inclinatio futura

esset: quamquam postea accepto victoriae nuntio cum suis rebus illam dimicationem comparans murium eam pugnam fuisse cavillatus est. Ceterum principia eius belli haud inprospera Lacedaemoniis fuere. Iuxta Corrhagum, Macedoniae castellum, cum Antipatri militibus congressi victores extiterant: et rei bene gestae fama etiam, qui dubiis mentibus fortunam spectaverant, societati eorum se adiunxerunt. Una ex Eleis Achaeisque urbibus Pellene foedus aspernabatur et in Arcadia Megalopolis, fida Macedonibus propter Philippi memoriam, a quo beneficiis adfecta fuerat. Sed haec circumsessa non multum a deditione aberat, nisi tandem Antipater subvenisset. Is postquam castra castris contulit seque numero militum alioque apparatu superiorem conspexit, quam primum de summa rerum proelio contendere statuit: neque Lacedaemonii detrectavere certamen. Ita commissa est pugna, quae rem Spartanam maiorem in modum adflixit. Cum enim angustiis locorum, in quibus pugnabatur, confisi, ubi hosti nullum multitudinis usum futurum credebant, fortissime congressi essent, ac Macedones inpigerrime resisterent, multum sanguinis fusum est. Sed postquam Antipater integram subinde manum laborantibus suis subsidio misit, impulsu Lacedaemoniorum acies gradum paulisper retulit. Quod conspicatus Agis cum cohorte

regia, quae ex fortissimis constabat, se in medium pugnae discrimen inmisit obtruncatisque, qui promptius resistebant, magnam partem hostium propulit.

[2] Coeperant fugere victores et, donec avidius sequentes in planum deduxere, inulti cadebant: sed ut primum locus, in quo stare possent, fuit, aequis viribus dimicatum est. [3] Inter omnes tamen Lacedaemonios rex eminebat, non armorum modo et corporis specie, sed etiam magnitudine animi, quo uno vinci non potuit. [4] Undique [p. 153] nunc comminus, nunc eminus petebatur diuque arma circumferens alia tela clipeo excipiebat, corpore alia vitabat, donec hasta femina perfossa plurimo sanguine effuso destituere pugnantem. [5] Ergo clipeo suo exceptum armigeri raptim in castra referebant iactationem vulnere haud facile tolerantem. [6] Non tamen omisere Lacedaemonii pugnam et, ut primum sibi quam hosti aequiorum locum capere potuerunt, densatis ordinibus effuse fluentem in se aciem excepere. [7] Non aliud discrimen vehementius fuisse memoriae proditum est. Duarum nobilissimarum bello gentium exercitus pari Marte pugnabant: [8] Lacedaemonii vetera, Macedones praesentia decora intuebantur, illi pro libertate, hi pro dominatione pugnabant, Lacedaemoniis dux, Macedonibus locus deerat. [9] Diei quoque unius tam multiplex casus modo spem, modo metum utriusque partis augebat velut de industria inter fortissimos viros certamen aequante fortuna. [10] Ceterum angustiae loci, in quo haeserat pugna, non patiebantur totis ingredi viribus: spectabant ergo plures, quam inierant proelium, et, qui extra teli iactum erant, clamore invicem suos accendebant. [11] Tandem Laconum acies languescere lubrica arma sudore vix sustinens, pedem deinde referre coepit. [12] Ut urgente hoste apertius fugere, insequeretur dissipatos victor et emensus cursu omne spatium, quod acies Laconum obtinuerat, ipsum Agin persequeretur. [13] Ille ut fugam suorum et proximos

hostium conspexit, deponi se iussit: expertusque membra, an impetum [p. 154] animi sequi possent, [14] postquam deficere sensit, poplitibus semet excepit galeaque strenue sumpta clipeo protegens corpus hastam dextera vibrabat ultro provocans hostem, [15] si quis iacenti spolia demere auderet. Nec quisquam fuit, qui sustineret comminus congredi: procul missilibus adpetebatur, ea ipsa in hostem retorquens, donec lancea nudo pectori infixata est. Qua ex vulnere evolva inclinatum ac deficiens caput clipeo paulisper excepit, dein linquente spiritu pariter ac sanguine moribundus in arma procubuit. [16] Cecidere Lacedaemoniorum v milia et CCC, ex Macedonibus haud amplius m: ceterum vix quisquam nisi saucius revertit in castra. Haec victoria non Spartam modo sociosque eius, sed etiam omnis, qui fortunam belli expectaverant, [17] fregit. Nec fallebat Antipatrum dissentire ab animis gratulantium vultus: sed bellum finire cupienti opus erat decipi, et, quamquam fortuna rerum placebat, invidiam tamen, quia maiores res erant quam, quas praefecti modus caperet, metuebat. [18] Quippe Alexander hostes vinci voluerat, Antipatrum vicisse ne tacitus quidem indignabatur suae demptum gloriae existimans, quidquid cessisset alienae. [19] Itaque Antipater, qui probe nosset spiritus eius, non est ausus ipse agere arbitria victoriae, sed concilium Graecorum, quid fieri placeret, [20] consuluit. A quo Lacedaemonii nihil aliud quam, ut oratores mittere ad regem liceret, Tegeatae veniam [p. 155] defectionis praeter auctores inpetraverunt, Megalopolitanis, quorum urbs obsessa erat a defectionis sociis, Achaei et Elei centum XX talenta dare iussi sunt. [21] Hic fuit exitus belli, quod repente ortum prius tamen finitum est, quam Dareum Alexander apud Arbela superaret.

While this was happening in Asia, not in Greece either nor in Macedonia was there complete quiet. There was ruling among the Lacedaemonians Agis, son of Archidamus, who, while bearing aid to the Tarentines, was slain on the same day that Philip defeated the Athenians at Choeronea. Agis, a rival of Alexander in valour, was spurring on his citizens not to allow Greece to be longer oppressed by slavery to the Macedonians; unless they took precaution betimes, the same yoke would pass to them. They ought therefore to bestir themselves while the Persians still had some strength for resistance; when they were crushed, the Lacedaemonians, faced by an immense power, would in vain be mindful of their ancestral freedom. When their minds had been thus aroused, the Lacedaemonians sought for an opportunity of beginning war. Accordingly, encouraged by Memnon's successful result, they began to join in his plans, and after he was taken off in the beginning of a prosperous career by an untimely death, they did not act with any less vigour.

But Agis went to Pharnabazus and Autophradates, and obtained thirty talents of silver and ten triremes, which he lent to his brother Agesilaus, in order that he might sail to Crete, the inhabitants of which island were divided by confiding interests between the Lacedaemonians and the Macedonians. Envoys were sent also to Darius, to ask for a greater sum of money for

carrying on the war and more ships. And these plans of theirs the defeat at Issus — for that had meanwhile happened — was so far from interrupting, that it even helped them. For Alexander, in his close pursuit of the fleeing king, was being hurried to more distant places, and from the battle itself a great number of mercenaries had fled to Greece; and of these Agis with his Persian money hired 8000, and by their help recovered numerous cities of the Cretans.

Next, after that, when Menon, sent by Alexander into Thrace, had stirred up the barbarians to revolt, and Antipater, to suppress it, had led an army from Macedonia into Thrace, promptly taking advantage of the opportune time, the Lacedaemonians brought over to their side the entire Peloponnesus with the exception of a few cities, and mustering an army of 20,000 infantry and 2000 cavalry, conferred the chief command upon Agis. Antipater, on learning of this action, settled the war in Thrace on the best terms he could make, and hastily returning to Greece, got together what troops he could from the friendly and allied cities. When these had assembled he counted a force of 40,000 soldiers. A strong band also had come from the Peloponnesus; but since he knew that their loyalty was doubtful, concealing his suspicion, he thanked them for having come to defend the prestige of Alexander against the Lacedaemonians; he said that he would write this to the king, who in due time would requite them. That at present there was no need of greater forces; therefore they might return to their homes, having fulfilled the obligation of their treaty. Then he sent messengers to Alexander, to inform him of the uprising in Greece.

These at last overtook Alexander at Bactra, when in the meantime the revolt had been ended by Antipater's victory in Arcadia and the death of Agis.

The king, having learned long beforehand of the rebellion of the Lacedaemonians, had provided for it so far as he could when separated by the extent of so many lands; he had ordered Amphoterus with Cyprian and Phoenician ships to sail to the Peloponnesus, Menes to take 3000 talents to the sea-coast, in order that from near at hand he might supply Antipater with as much money as he should learn that he needed. For he had rightly perceived how greatly that move would tip the scales of Fortune's balance for all his plans; although later, after having received news of Antipater's victory, he jestingly remarked, comparing that battle with his own exploits, that it had been a fight with mice. However, the first stages of that war had not been without success for the Lacedaemonians. Near Corrhagum, a fortress of Macedonia, having encountered Antipater's soldiers, they had come off victors; and because of the fame of that success those also who had looked upon the fortune of the rebels with doubting minds had allied themselves with them. Pellenê alone of the cities of Elis and Achaia rejected the league, and in Arcadia Megalopolis, being faithful to the Macedonians because of the

memory of Philip, from whom they had received favours. But that city was besieged and was on the point of surrender, had not Antipater at last come to their aid. He, after comparing camp with camp and seeing that he was superior in number of men and in other equipment, decided to fight a decisive battle as soon as possible; and the Lacedaemonians did not decline the contest.

Accordingly, a battle took place, which greatly damaged the Spartan cause. For when, trusting to the narrowness of the plain in which they fought, where they believed that the enemy would have no advantage from their superior numbers, they attacked most valiantly and the Macedonians resisted most vigorously, there was great bloodshed. But after Antipater from time to time sent a fresh force to aid his hard-pressed men, the army of the Lacedaemonians was forced to give way, and drew back for a while. Agis, on seeing this, with the royal cohort, which was made up of his bravest men,

Sed ut primum instantibus curis laxatus est animus militarium rerum quam quietis otique patientior, excepere eum voluptates, et, quem arma Persarum non fregerant, vitia vicerunt: [2] tempestiva convivia et perpotandi pervigilandique insana dulcedo ludique et greges pelicum. Omnia in externum lapsa morem. Quem ille aemulatus quasi potioem suo ita popularium animos oculosque pariter offendit, ut a plerisque amicorum pro hoste haberetur. [3] Tenaces quippe disciplinae suae solitosque parco ac parabili victu ad implenda naturae desideria defungi in peregrina et devictarum gentium mala inpulerat. [4] Hinc saepius comparatae in caput eius insidiae, secessio militum et liberior inter mutuas querellas dolor, ipsius deinde nunc ira, nunc suspiciones, quas excitabat inconsultus pavor, ceteraque his similia, quae deinde dicuntur. [5] Igitur cum tempestivis conviviis dies pariter noctesque consumeret, satietatem epularum ludis interpellabat non contentus artificum, quos e Graecia exciverat, turba: quippe captivae iuebantur suo ritu canere inconditum et abhorrens peregrinis auribus carmen. [6] Inter quas unam [p. 156] rex saepe conspexit maestioem quam ceteras et producentibus eam verecunde reluctantem. Excellens erat forma, et formam pudor honestabat: deiectis in terram oculis et, quantum licebat, ore velato suspicionem praebeuit regi, [7] nobiliorem esse, quam ut inter convivales ludos deberet ostendi. Ergo interrogata, quanam esset, neptim se Ochi, qui nuper regnasset in Persis, filio eius geni tam esse respondit, uxorem Hystaspis fuisse. Propinquus hic Darei fuerat, magni et ipse exercitus praetor. [8] Adhuc in animo regis tenues reliquiae pristini moris haerebant: itaque fortunam regia stirpe genitae et tam celebre nomen neptem Ochi reveritus non dimitti modo captivam, [9] sed etiam restitui ei suas opes iussit, virum quoque requiri, ut reperto coniugem redderet. Postero autem die praecepit Hephæstioni, ut omnes captivos in regiam iuberet adduci. Ibi singulorum nobilitate spectata secrevit a vulgo, quorum eminebat genus. M hi fuerunt: inter quos repertus est Oxathres, Darei frater, non illius fortuna quam indole animi sui clarior. [10] XXVI milia

talentum proxima praeda redacta erant omnino: duodecim milia in congiarium militum absumpta sunt, par huic pecuniae summa custodum fraude subtracta est. [11] Oxydates erat nobilis Perses, qui a Dareo capitali supplicio destinatus cohibebatur in vinculis: huic liberato satrapeam Mediae attribuit fratremque Darei recepit in cohortem amicorum omni vetustae claritatis honore servato. [p. 157] Hinc in Parthienem perventum est, [12] tunc ignobilem gentem, nunc caput omnium, qui post Euphraten et Tigrim amnes siti Rubro mari terminantur. [13] Scythae regionem campestram ac fertilem occupaverant, graves adhuc accolae. Sedes habent et in Europa et in Asia: qui super Bosphorum colunt, adscribuntur Asiae, at, qui in Europa sunt, a laevo Thraciae latere ad Borysthenem atque inde ad Tanaim alium amnem recta plaga attinent. [14] Tanais Europam et Asiam medius interfluit. Nec dubitatur, quin Scythae, qui Parthos condidere, non a Bosphoro, sed ex Europae regione penetraverint. [15] Urbs erat ea tempestate clara Hecatompylos, condita a Graecis: ibi stativa rex habuit commeatibus undique advectis. Itaque rumor, otiosi militis vitium, sine auctore percrebruit, regem contentum rebus, quas gessisset, in Macedoniam protinus redire statuisse. Discurrunt lymphatis similes in tabernacula et itineri sarcinas aptant: [16] signum datum crederes, ut vasa colligerent totis castris. Tumultus hinc contubernales suos requirentium, hinc onerantium plaustra perfertur ad regem. [17] Fecerant fidem rumori temere vulgato Graeci milites redire iussi domos: quorum equitibus singulis denarium sena milia cum data essent, peditibus singula milia, ipsis quoque finem militiae adesse credebant. [18] Haud secus, quam par erat, territus, qui Indos atque [p. 158] ultima Orientis peragrarare statuisset, praefectos copiarum in praetorium contrahit obortisque lacrimis ex medio gloriae spatio revocari se victi magis quam victoris fortunam in patriam relaturum conquestus est: [19] nee sibi ignaviam militum obstare, sed deum invidiam, qui fortissimis viris subitum patriae desiderium admovissent paulo post in eandem cum maiore laude famaue reductoris. [20] Tum vero pro se quisque operam suam offerre, difficillima quaeque poscere, polliceri militum quoque obsequium, [21] si animos eorum leni et apta oratione permulcere voluisset: numquam infractos et abiectos recessisse, quotiens ipsius alacritatem et tanti animi spiritus haurire potuissent. Ita se facturum esse respondit: illi modo vulgi aures praepararent sibi. Satisque omnibus, quae in rem videbantur esse, conpositis vocari ad contionem exercitum iussit, apud quem talem orationem habuit:

I. plunged right into the danger-point of the fight, and cutting down those who resisted most bravely, drove a great part [21] of the enemy before him. The victors had begun to flee, and until they brought the enemy, who pursued them too eagerly, down into the level ground, they were falling unavenged; but no sooner was there standing-room, than they fought on equal terms.

[3] Among all the Lacedaemonians, however, their king was conspicuous, not only for the excellence of his arms and his person, but also for the greatness of his [4] courage, in which alone he was unsurpassed. On all sides, now hand to

hand, now at long range, he was attacked, and for a long time, turning his arms now here, now there, he caught some of the weapons with his shield and avoided others by his agility; but at last his thighs were run through by a lance and from great loss of blood failed him as he fought. Therefore his guards laid him upon his shield and quickly carried him back to his camp, hardly able to endure the effect of the jolting on his wounds.

Yet the Lacedaemonians did not give up the fight, but as soon as they could gain ground more favourable to themselves than to the enemy, they took close order and met their line of battle as it poured like a flood upon them. That no contest was ever more desperate is a matter of record. The armies of the two nations most famed in war were fighting ^[8] on even terms; the Lacedaemonians had an eye to their ancient, the Macedonians to their present glory, the one side was fighting for freedom, the other, for dominion, the Lacedaemonians lacked a ^[9] leader, the Macedonians room for fighting. Also, so many shifting changes in a single day increased now the hope, now the fear of both sides, as if Fortune were purposely balancing a struggle between the bravest of men. But the narrowness of the place in which the battle remained fixed did not allow them to engage with their full strength; therefore more looked on at the contest than took part in it, and those who were out of range of a weapon urged on their men in turn by their acclamations. At last the army of the Laconians, who were barely able to hold their weapons slippery with sweat, began to weaken, ^[12] then to retreat. Next, when they fled more openly, as the enemy pushed on, the victor followed them closely, scattered as they were, and passing at the double over all the space which the Laconians' army had held, was in pursuit of Agis himself.

^[13] He, when he saw the flight of his men and the foremost of the enemy, gave orders to be put down, and having tried whether his limbs could follow the desire of his spirit, and feeling that they failed him he sank upon his knees, and quickly putting on his helmet, and protecting his body with his shield, he brandished a spear in his right hand, actually challenging anyone who would dare to despoil him as he lay ^[15] there. But there was no one who could endure to engage with him hand to hand. He was assailed from a distance with weapons, hurling the same ones back at the enemy, until at last a lance was implanted in his naked breast. When this had been pulled from the wound, he rested his bent and failing head upon his shield for a moment, then, as his breath and his blood left him together, he fell dying upon his ^[16] armour. There fell of the Lacedaemonians 5300; of the Macedonians, not more than a thousand; but hardly anyone returned to the camp without a wound.

This victory broke the spirit, not alone of Sparta and her allies, but of all those who had awaited the ^[17] fortune of the war. Antipater did not fail to notice that the expression of those who congratulated him did not correspond with their feelings, but since he desired to end the war, he was constrained to let himself

be deceived, and although the success of the affair pleased him, yet he feared envy, for what he had done was more important than suited the limitations of a prefect. For Alexander had wished the enemy to be defeated, but that Antipater had conquered them was so displeasing to him, that he could not even be silent, thinking that whatever had fallen to the glory of another had been taken from his own.

[19] Hence Antipater, who perfectly understood the king's disposition, did not himself venture to act as arbiter of his victory, but summoned a council of the Greeks and consulted it as to what was best to [20] be done. From the council the Lacedaemonians obtained nothing except permission to send envoys to the king, the people of Tegea, except the ringleaders, were granted pardon for their revolt, to those of Megalopolis, whose city had been besieged by the participants in the revolt, the Achaeans and the [21] Eleans were ordered to pay 120 talents. Such was the outcome of the war, which broke out suddenly, yet was ended before Alexander overcame Darius at Arbela.

‘Magnitudinem rerum, quas gessimus, milites, intuentibus vobis minime mirum est et desiderium quietis et satietatem gloriae occurrere. [2] Ut omittam Illyrios, Triballos, Boeotiam, Thraciam, Spartam, Achaeos, Peloponnesum, quorum alia ductu meo, [3] alia imperio auspicioque perdomui, ecce orsi bellum ab Hellesponto Ionas, Aeolidem servitio barbariae inpotentis exemimus, Cariam, Lydiam, Cappadociam, Phrygiam, Paphlagoniam, Pamphyliam, Pisidas, Cili- [p. 159] ciam, Syriam, Phoenicen, Armeniam, Persidem, Medos, Parthienem habemus in potestate. [4] Plures provincias complexus sum, quam alii urbes ceperunt, et nescio an enumeranti mihi quaedam ipsarum rerum multitudo subduxerit. [5] Itaque si crederem satis certam esse possessionem terrarum, quas tanta velocitate domuimus, ego vero, milites, ad penates meos, ad parentem sororesque et ceteros cives vel retinentibus vobis erumperem, ut ibi potissimum parta vobiscum laude et gloria fruerer, ubi nos uberrima victoriae praemia expectant, liberum, coniugum parentumque laetitia, pax, quies, rerum per virtutem partarum secunda possessio. [6] Sed in novo et, si verum fateri volumus, precario imperio adhuc iugum eius rigida cervice subeuntibus barbaris tempore, milites, opus est, dum mitioribus ingeniis inbuuntur et efferatos melior consuetudo permulcet. [7] Fruges quoque maturitatem statuto tempore expectant: adeo etiam ilia sensus omnis expertia tamen sua lege mitescunt. [8] Quid? creditis tot gentes alterius imperio ac nomine adsuetas, non sacris, non moribus, non commercio linguae nobiscum cohaerentes eodem proelio domitas esse, quo victae sunt? Vestris armis continentur, non suis moribus et, qui praesentes metuunt, in absentia hostes erunt. Cum feris bestiis res est, quas captas et inclusas, quia ipsarum natura non potest, longior dies mitigat. [9] Et adhuc sic ago, tamquam omnia subacta sint armis, quae fuerunt in ditione Darei. Hyrcaniam Nabarzanes occupavit, Bactra [p. 160] non possidet solum parricida Bessus, sed etiam minatur, Sogdiani, Dahae, Massagetae, Sacae, Indi sui iuris

sunt. [10] Omnes hi, simul terga nostra viderint, illos sequentur: illi enim eiusdem nationis sunt, nos alienigenae et externi. [11] Suis quisque autem placidius paret, etiam cum is praest, qui magis timeri potest. Proinde aut, quae cepimus, omittenda sunt aut, quae non habemus, occupanda. Sicut in corporibus aegris, milites, nihil, quod nociturum est, medici relinquunt, sic nos, quidquid obstat imperio, recidamus. Parva saepe scintilla contempta magnum excitavit incendium. Nil tuto in hoste despicitur: quem spreveris, valentior neglegentia facias. [12] Ne Dareus quidem hereditarium Persarum accepit imperium, sed est in sedem Cyri beneficio Bagoae, castrati hominis, admissus: ne vos magno labore credatis Bessum vacuum regnum occupaturum. [13] Nos vero peccavimus, milites, si Dareum ob hoc vicimus, ut servo eius traderemus imperium, qui ultimum ausus scelus regem suum, etiam externae opis egentem, certe cui nos victores pepercissemus, quasi captivum in vinculis habuit, ad ultimum, ne a nobis conservari posset, occidit. [14] Hunc vos regnare patiemini? Quem equidem cruci adfixum videre festino, omnibus regibus gentibusque et fidei, quam violavit, meritas poenas solventem. [15] At, hercules, si mox eundem Grae- [p. 161] corum urbes aut Hellespontum vastare nuntiatum erit vobis, quo dolore adficiemini Bessum praemia vestrae occupavisse victoriae? Tunc ad repetendas res festinabatis, tunc arma capietis. Quanto autem praestat territum adhuc et vix mentis suae compotem opprimere! [16] Quadridui nobis iter superest, qui tot proculcavimus nives, tot amnes superavimus, tot montium iuga transcucurrimus. Non mare illud, quod exaestuans iter fluctibus occupat, euntes nos moratur, non Ciliciae fauces et angustiae includunt: plana omnia et prona sunt. [17] In ipso limine victoriae stamus. Pauci nobis fugitivi et domini sui interfectores supersunt. Egregium, mehercule, opus et inter prima gloriae vestrae numerandum posteritati famaeque tradetis, Dareum quoque hostem finito post mortem illius odio parricidae caede esse vos ultos, neminem impium effugisse vestras manus. [18] Hoc perpetrare quanto creditis Persas obsequentiores fore, cum intellexerint vos pia bella suscipere et Bessi sceleri, non nomini suo irasci?

II. But Alexander, as soon as a mind which was better qualified for coping with military toil than with quiet and ease was relieved of pressing cares, gave himself up to pleasures, and one whom the arms of the Persians had not overcome fell victim to their vices: [2] banquets begun early, the mad enjoyment of heavy drinking and being up all night, sport, and troops of harlots. There was a general slipping into foreign habits. By emulating these, as if they were preferable to those of his country, he so offended alike the eyes and the minds of his countrymen, that by many of [3] his former friends he was regarded as an enemy. For men who held fast to their native discipline, and were accustomed with frugal and easily obtained food to satisfy the demands of nature, he had driven to the evil habits of foreign and conquered nations. Hence the more frequent making of plots against his life, mutiny of the soldiers, and freer expression of resentment amid mutual complaints, then on his own part now anger, now suspicions aroused by groundless fear, and other

similar evils, of which an account will ^[5] be given later. Alexander, therefore, when he was wasting days and nights alike in early and prolonged banquets, used to relieve the satiety of his feasts with entertainments, not content with a throng of artists whom he had summoned from Greece; for captive women were bidden to sing after their manner a song discordant and hateful to foreign ears.

^[6] Among these women the king himself noticed one more sad than the others, who modestly resisted those who would lead her forward. She was of surpassing beauty, and her modesty enhanced her beauty; with downcast eyes and with her face covered so far as she was allowed, she aroused in the king a suspicion that she was of too high birth to be exhibited amid ^[7] entertainments at a banquet. On being accordingly asked who she was, she replied that she was the granddaughter of Ochus, who had lately been king of the Persians, being the daughter of his son, and that she had been the wife of Hystaspes. He had been a kinsman of Darius and himself the commander ^[8] of a great army. There still lingered in the king's mind slight remains of his former disposition; and so, respecting the ill-fortune of a lady born of royal stock, and so famous a name as that of Ochus, he not only gave orders that the captive should be set free, but also that her property should be returned to her; likewise that her husband should be looked for, in order that when he had been found, he might restore ^[9] his wife to him. Moreover, on the following day he ordered Hephaestion to cause all the prisoners to be brought to the palace. There, having inquired into the rank of each one, he separated from the common herd those who were of high birth. There were a thousand of these; among them was Oxathres, brother of Darius, no more distinguished because of the rank of that king than for his own mental endowments.

^[10] Twenty-six thousand talents were amassed from the recent booty, and of these 12,000 were spent in largess to the soldiers, and a sum equal to this was embezzled by the great dishonesty of those who ^[11] had charge of it. Oxydates was a Persian noble, who was being kept in bonds, because he had been destined by Darius for capital punishment. Alexander freed him and conferred upon him the satrapy of Media, and the brother of Darius he received into the band of his friends, with the maintenance of all the honour due to his ancient lineage.

^[12] From there they came to Parthienê, then an obscure nation, but now the head of all those who dwell beyond the Euphrates and Tigris Rivers and extend ^[13] as far as the Red Sea. The Scythians had taken possession of the level and fertile part of the region, and are still dangerous neighbours. They have homes both in Europe and in Asia; those who dwell above the Bosphorus are assigned to Asia, but those who are in Europe extend from the left side of Thrace to the Borysthenes and from there in a direct ^[14] course to the Tanais. The Tanais flows between Europe and Asia. There is no doubt

that the Scythians, from whom the Parthians are descended, made their way, not from the Bosphorus, but from the region of Europe.

[13] There was at that time a famous city called Hecatompylos, founded by the Greeks; there the king remained for several days, after having supplies brought there from every side. As a result, gossip, the vice of idle soldiery, spread without authority that the king, content with what he had accomplished, [16] had decided to return forthwith to Macedonia. They ran as though crazed to their tents and made ready their packs for the journey; you would believe that the signal to march had been given throughout the whole camp. Here the noise of those looking for their tent-mates, there of those loading the wagons, was [17] borne to the king's ears. The Greek soldiers who had been bidden to return to their homes had gained credence for the report which had been circulated without reason; since 6000 denarii had been given to each of their horsemen, and 1000 to every man of their infantry, the rest of the army believed that the end of military service was at hand for themselves [18] also. Alarmed, as was natural, the king, who had determined to traverse the lands of the Indi and the remotest parts of the Orient, summoned the leaders of his forces to his tent, and, with tears in his eyes, complained that he was being recalled from the midcourse of his glory, to take back to his native land the fortune of one who was vanquished rather than [19] that of a victor; that it was not cowardice on the part of his soldiers that stood in his way, but the envy of the gods, who had inspired in the bravest of men a sudden longing for their native land, to which they would return a little later with greater glory and fame.

[20] Then indeed each general individually offered his service, demanded the most difficult tasks, promised also the obedience of the soldiers, if the king would consent to soothe their feelings by a mild and appropriate [21] address; that they had never held back spiritless and downcast, whenever they had been able to draw upon his enthusiasm and the inspiration of so great a mind. Alexander replied that he would do it; only let them in advance prepare the ears of the common soldiers for what he was to say. When everything that seemed to be to the purpose had been sufficiently arranged, he ordered the army to be called to an assembly, and delivered to it a speech in the following terms:

Summa militum alacritate iubentium, quocumque vellet, ducere oratio excepta est. [2] Nec rex moratur impetum tertioque per Parthienem die ad fines Hyrcaniae penetrat Cratere relicto cum iis copiis, quibus praeerat, et ea manu, quam Amyntas ducebat, additis DC equitibus et totidem sagittariis, ut ab incursione barbarorum Parthienem tueretur. [3] Erigium inpedi- [p. 162] menta modico praesidio dato campestri itinere ducere iubet. Ipse cum phalange et equitatu CL stadia emensus castra in valle, qua Hyrcaniam adeunt, communit. Nemus praealtis densisque arboribus umbrosum est pingue vallis solum

rigantibus aquis, [4] quae ex petris imminentibus manant. Ex ipsis radicibus montium Stiboetes amnis effunditur, qui tria fere stadia in longitudinem uni versus fluit, deinde saxo, quod alveolum interpellat, repercussus duo itinera velut dispensatis aquis aperit. [5] Inde torrens et saxorum, per quae incurrit, asperitate violentior terram praeceps subit. Per CCC stadia conditus labitur rursusque velut ex alio fonte conceptue editur et novum alveum intendit priore sui parte spatiosior — [6] quippe in latitudinem x et trium stadiorum diffunditur — rursusque angustioribus coercitus ripis iter cogit. Tandem in alterum amnem cadit: [7] Rhidagno nomen est. Incolae adfirmabant, quaecumque demissa essent in cavernam, quae propior est fonti, rursus, ubi aliud os amnis aperitur, existere: itaque Alexander boves, qua subeunt aquae terram, praecipitari iubet, quorum corpora, ubi rursus erumpit, expulsa videre, qui missi erant, ut exciperent. [8] Quartum iam diem eodem loco quietem militi dederat, cum litteras Nabarzanis, qui Dareum cum Besso interceperat, accepit, quarum sententia haec erat: se Dareo non fuisse inimicum, immo etiam, quae credidisset utilia esse, suasisse et, quia fidele consilium regi [p. 163] dedisset, prope occisum ab eo. [9] Agitasse Dareum custodiam corporis sui contra ius fasque peregrino militi tradere damnata popularium fide, quam per ducentos et triginta annos inviolatam regibus suis praestitissent. [10] Se in praecipiti et lubrico stantem consilium a praesenti necessitate repetisse. Dareum quoque, cum occidisset Bagoan, hac excusatione satisfacisse popularibus, quod insidiantem interemisset. [11] Nihil esse miseris mortalibus spiritu carius: amore eius ad ultima esse propulsum. [12] Sed ea magis esse secutum quam optasse. In communi calamitate suam quemque habere fortunam. Si venire se iuberet, sine metu esse venturum. Non timere, ne fidem datam tantus rex violaret: deos a deo falli non solere. [13] Ceterum si, cui fidem daret, videretur indignus, multa exilia patere fugienti: patriam esse, ubicumque vir fortis sedem sibi elegerit. [14] Nec dubitavit Alexander fidem, quo Persae modo accipiebant, dare, inviolatum, si venisset, fore. Quadrato tamen agmine et composito ibat speculatores subinde praemittens, qui explorarent loca. [15] Levis armatura ducebat agmen, phalanx eam sequebatur, post pedites erant impedimenta. Et gens bellicosa et naturae situs difficilis aditu curam regis intenderat. [16] Namque perpetua vallis iacet usque ad mare Caspium patens, quo terrae eius velut brachia excurrunt: media flexu modico sinum faciunt lunae maxime similem, cum eminent cornua nondum totum orbem sidere implente. [17] Cercetae et Mossyni et Chalybes a laeva sunt et ab altera parte Leucosyri et Amazonum campi: et illos, [p. 164] qua vergit ad septentrionem, hos ad occasum conversa prospectat. [18] Mare Caspium dulcius ceteris ingentis magnitudinis serpentes alit: piscium in eo longe diversi ab aliis colores. Quidam Caspium, quidam Hvrcanium appellant: alii sunt, qui Maeotiam paludem in id cadere putent et argumentum adferant aquam, quod dulcior sit quam cetera maria, infuso paludis humore mitescere. [19] A septentrione ingens in litus mare incumbit longeque agit fluctus et magna parte exaestuans stagnat: idem alio caeli statu recipit in se fretum eodemque

impetu, quo effusum est, relabens terram naturae suae reddit. Et quidam credere non Caspium mare esse, sed ex India in Hyrcaniam Oceanum cadere, cuius fastigium, ut supra dictum est, perpetua valle submittitur. [20] Hinc rex XX stadia processit semita propemodum invia, cui silva imminebat, torrentesque et eluvies iter morabantur: nullo tamen hoste obvio penetratum tandemque ad cultiora perventum est. [21] Praeter alios commeatus, quorum tum copia regio abundabat, pomorum quoque ingens modus nascitur, et uberrimum gignendis uvis solum est. [22] Frequens arbor faciem quercus habet, cuius folia multo melle tinguntur, sed, nisi solis ortum incolae occupaverint, vel modico tepore sucus exstinguitur. [23] XXX hinc stadia processerat, cum Phrataphernes ei occurrit seque et eos, qui post Darei mortem [p. 165] profugerant, dedens: quibus benigne exceptis ad oppidum Arvas pervenit. Hic ei Craterus et Erigyus occurrunt. [24] Praefectum Tapurorum gentis, Phradatem, adduxerant: hic quoque in fidem receptus multis exemplo fuit experiendi clementiam regis. [25] Satrapen deinde Hyrcaniae dedit Amminaspin: exul hic regnante Ocho ad Philippum pervenerat. Tapurorum quoque gentem Phradati reddidit.

III. "When you look back, soldiers, upon the greatness of the deeds which we have done, it is not surprising that you feel a desire for repose and a [2] satiety of glory. To say nothing of the Illyrians, the Triballi, Boeotia, Thrace, Sparta, the Achaeans, the Peloponnesus in general, some of whom I have subdued under my own leadership, others under my [3] command and auspices, lo! beginning war at the Hellespont, we have freed the Ionians and Aeolis from slavery to a savage barbarian, we have made ourselves masters of Caria, Lydia, Cappadocia, Phrygia, Paphlagonia, Pamphylia, the Pisidians, Cilicia, Syria, Phoenicia, Armenia, Persia, the Medes, [4] and Parthienê. The provinces of which I have taken possession outnumber the cities which others have captured, and I verily believe that in enumerating our exploits their very number has caused me to [5] forget some of them. Therefore, if I believed that the possession of the lands which we have so quickly subdued were wholly secure, I myself, my soldiers, even if you wished to hold me back, would rush to my home, to my mother and sisters, and to the rest of our fellow countrymen, in order that there rather than elsewhere I might enjoy with you the praise and glory which we have won, where the richest rewards of victory await us, the happiness of our children, wives and parents, the repose of peace, the carefree possession of the fruits of our valour.

"But in a new and, if we wish to confess the truth, insecure "empire, to whose yoke the barbarians still submit with obdurate necks, there is need of time, my soldiers, until they are trained to milder dispositions, and until better habits appease their [7] savage temper. The fruits of the earth also look forward to ripeness at its appointed season, so true is it that even those things, devoid of sense as they are, nevertheless grow soft in accordance with a law [8] of their own. Well, then! Do you believe that so many nations accustomed to the rule

and name of another, united with us neither by religion, nor customs, nor community of language, have been subdued in the same battle in which they were overcome? It is by your arms that they are restrained, not by their dispositions, and those who fear us when we are present, in our absence will be enemies. We are dealing with savage beasts, which lapse of time only can tame when they are caught and caged, [9] because their own nature cannot tame them. And I am so far speaking as if our arms had subdued everything that was under the sway of Darius. Nabarzanes has taken possession of Hyrcania, the murderer Bessus not only holds Bactra, but he also threatens us; the Sogdiani, Dahae, Massagetae, Sacae, and Indi are independent. All these, as soon as they see our backs, will follow them; for they are of the same nation, we are of an alien race and foreigners. Moreover, everyone obeys his own rulers with better grace, even when he who dominates them can be more feared. Accordingly, we must either give up what we have taken, or we must seize what we do not yet hold.

Just as in ailing bodies, my soldiers, physicians leave nothing which will do harm, so let us cut away whatever stands in the way of our rule. Often to have ignored a tiny spark has roused a great conflagration. Nothing is safely despised in an enemy; one whom you have scorned you make stronger by [12] neglect. Not even Darius received the rule of the Persians by right of succession, but he was admitted to the throne of Cyrus by the favour of Bagoas, a eunuch; so do not suppose that it will be hard [13] labour for Bessus to seize a vacant kingdom. We certainly committed a sin, soldiers, if we conquered Darius for the purpose of turning over the sovereignty to his slave, who, having dared the worst of crimes, held his king in fetters, like a captive, even when he was in need of aid from without, and whom we, the victors, would surely have spared, and finally slew him in order that he might not be saved by us. Will you suffer such a man to rule? A man whom I, for my part, am in haste to see nailed to a cross, thus paying a well-deserved penalty to all kings and [15] nations, and to loyalty, which he desecrated. But, by Heaven! if presently it shall have been announced that the same wretch is laying waste the cities of the Greeks and the Hellespont, what grief will you feel that a Bessus has robbed you of the fruits of your victory! Then you will hurry to recover what is yours, then you will take up arms. But how much better it is to crush him while he is still in fear and almost beside himself.

[16] "A march of four days is left for us, who have trodden so many snows, have passed over so many rivers, crossed the heights of so many mountains. Not that sea, which with its rising tide covers the road with its waves, delays our march, not the passes and narrows of Cilicia shut us in, the whole country is level and easy. We stand on the very [17] threshold of victory. A few runaways and slayers of their master remain for us. A noble work, by Heaven! and one to be numbered among the chief of your glorious deeds you will hand down to posterity and to fame, namely, that you have avenged even Darius,

your enemy, having ended your hatred of him after his death, by slaying his murderer, and ^[18] that no impious man has escaped your hands. When this has been accomplished, how much more submissive do you think that the Persians will be, when they know that you undertake pious wars, and that it is the crime of Bessus, not the Persian name, that inflames your wrath?"

Iamque ultima Hyrcaniae intraverat, cum Artabazus, quem Dareo fidissimum fuisse supra diximus, cum propinquis Darei ac suis liberis modicaque Graecorum militum manu occurrit. ^[2] Dextram venienti obtulit rex: quippe et hospes Philippi fuerat, cum Ocho regnante exularet, et hospitii pignora in regem suum ad ultimum fides conservata vincebat. ^[3] Comiter igitur exceptus: "Tu quidem," inquit, "rex, deos quaeso, perpetua felicitate floreas: ego ceteris laetus hoc uno torqueor, quod praecipiti senectute diu frui tua bonitate non possum." Nonagesimum et quintum annum agebat. ^[4] Novem iuvenes, omnes eadem matre geniti, patrem comitabantur: hos Artabazus dexteræ regis admovit precatus, ut tam diu viverent, donec utiles Alexandro essent. ^[5] Rex pedibus iter plerumque faciebat: tunc admoveri sibi et Artabazo equos iussit, ne ipso ingrediente pedibus senex equo vehi erubesceret. ^[6] Ut deinde castra sunt posita, Graecos, quos Artabazus adduxerat, convocari iubet: at illi, nisi fides ^[p. 166] Lacedaemoniis quoque et Sinopensibus daretur, respondent se, quid agendum ipsis foret, deliberaturos. ^[7] Legati erant Lacedaemoniorum missi ad Dareum: quo victo adplicuerant se Graecis mercede apud Persas militantibus. ^[8] Rex omissis sponsonum fideique pignoribus venire eos iussit, fortunam, quam ipse dedisset, habituros. Diu cunctantes plerisque consilia variantibus tandem venturos se pollicentur. ^[9] At Democrates Atheniensis, qui maxime Macedonum opibus semper obstiterat, desperata venia gladio se transfigit. Ceteri, sicut constitueront, dicioni Alexandri ipsos se permittunt. ^[10] M et D milites erant, praeter hos legati ad Dareum missi XC. In supplementum distributus miles, ceteri remissi domum praeter Lacedaemonios, quos tradi in custodiam iussit. ^[11] Mardorum erat gens confinis Hyrcaniae, cultu vitae aspera et latrociniis adsueta: haec sola nec legatos miserat nec videbatur imperata factura. Itaque rex indignatus, si una gens posset efficere, ne invictus esset, ^[12] impedimentis cum praesidio relictis valida manu comitante procedit. Noctu iter fecerat, et prima luce hostis in conspectu erat: tumultus magis quam proelium fuit. Deturbati ex collibus, quos occupaverant, barbari profugerunt, proximique vici ab incolis deserti capiuntur. ^[13] Interiora regionis eius haud sane adiri sine magna vexatione exercitus poterant: iuga montium praealtæ silvæ rupesque inviae saepiunt, ea, quae plana sunt, ^[14] novo munimenti genere impedierant barbari. Arbores ^[p. 167] densae sunt de industria consitæ: quarum teneros adhuc ramos manu flectunt, quos intortos rursus inserunt terræ: inde velut ex alia radice laetiores virent trunci. ^[15] Hos, quæ natura fert, adolescere non sinunt: quippe alium alii quasi nexu conserunt. Qui ubi multa fronde vestiti sunt, operiunt terram: itaque occulti ramorum velut laquei perpetua saepe iter cludunt. ^[16] Una ratio erat caedendo aperire saltum, sed hoc quoque magni operis. Crebri namque nodi duraverant stipites, et in se

implicati arborum rami suspensis circulis similes lento vimine frustrabantur ictus. [17] Incolae autem ritu ferarum virgulta subire soliti tum quoque intraverant saltum occultisque telis hostem lacescebant. Ille venantium modo latibula scrutatus plerosque confodit, ad ultimum circumire saltum milites iubet, ut, si qua pateret, inrumperent. [18] Sed ignotis locis plerique oberrabant, exceptique sunt quidam, inter quos equus regis . — Bucephalam vocabant — , quem Alexander non eodem quo ceteras pecudes animo aestimabat. Namque ille nec in dorso insidere suo patiebatur alium et regem, cum vellet descendere, sponte genua submittens excipiebat credebaturque sentire, quem veheret. [19] Maiore ergo, quam decebat, ira simul ac dolore stimulatus equum vestigari iubet et per interpretem pronuntiari, ni reddidissent, neminem esse victurum. Hac denuntiatione territi cum ceteris donis equum adducunt. [20] Sed ne sic quidem mitigatus caedi silvas iubet adgestaque humo e montibus planitiem ramis inpeditam exaggerari. [21] Iam in aliquantum altitudinis opus creverat, cum barbari desperato regionem, quam [p. 168] oocupaverant, posse retineri, gentem suam dedidere. Rex obsidibus acceptis Phradati parere eos iussit. [22] Inde quinto die in stativa revertitur. Artabazum deinde geminato honore, quem Dareus habuerat ei, remittit domum. Iam ad urbem Hyrcaniae, in qua regia Darei fuit, ventum erat: ibi Nabarzanes accepta fide occurrit dona ingentia ferens. [23] Inter quae Bagoas erat, specie singulari spado atque in ipso flore pueritiae, cui et Dareus adsuerat et mox Alexander adsuevit: [24] eiusque maxime precibus motus Nabarzani ignovit. Erat, ut supra dictum est, Hyrcaniae finitima gens Amazonum, circa Thermodonta amnem Themiscyrae incolentium campos. [25] Reginam habebant Thalestrin, omnibus inter Caucasum montem et Phasin amnem imperitantem. Haec cupidine visendi regis accensa finibus regni sui excessit et, cum haud procul abesset, praemisit indicantes, venisse reginam adeundi eius cognoscendique avidam. [26] Protinus facta potestas est veniendi ceteris iussis subsistere. Trecentis feminarum comitata processit atque, ut primum rex in conspectu fuit, equo ipsa desiluit duas lanceas dextera praeferens. [27] Vestis non tota Amazonum corpori obducitur: nam laeva pars ad pectus est nuda, cetera deinde velantur. Nec tamen sinus vestis, quem nodo colligunt, infra genua descendit. [28] Altera papilla intacta servatur, qua muliebris sexus liberos alant: aduritur dextera, ut arcus facilius intendant et tela vibrent. [29] Interrito vultu regem Thalestris intuebatur habitum eius haudquaquam [p. 169] rerum famae parem oculis perlustrans: quippe omnibus barbaris in corporum maiestate veneratio est, magnorumque operum non alios capaces putant, quam quos eximia specie donare natura dignata est. [30] Ceterum interrogata, num aliquid petere vellet, haud dubitavit fateri ad communicandos cum rege liberos se venisse, dignam, ex qua ipse regni generaret heredes: feminini sexus se retenturam, [31] marem reddituram patri. Alexander, an cum ipso militare vellet, interrogat: at ilia causata, sine custode regnum reliquisse, petere perseveraba, ne se inritam spei abire pateretur. [32] Acrior ad venerem feminae cupido quam regis, ut paucos dies subsisteret, perpulit. xiii dies in obsequium desiderii eius absumpti sunt.

Tum illa regnum suum, rex Parthienen petiverunt.

IV. The address was received with the greatest enthusiasm of the soldiers, who bade him lead them ^[2] whithersoever he wished. Nor did the king delay their ardour, but two days later he made his way through Parthienê to the borders of Hyrcania, having left Craterus with the forces under his command and the band which Amyntas was leading, besides 600 horsemen and the same number of archers, to protect Parthienê from any inroad of the ^[3] barbarians. He ordered Erigyius to conduct the baggage by the route through the plains, having given him a moderate escort. He himself with the phalanx and the cavalry, after traversing 150 stadia, fortified a camp in the valley through which one enters Hvrkania. There is a grove shaded by a dense growth of very tall trees, where the rich soil of the valley is watered by streams which flow from ^[4] the overhanging rocks. From the very roots of the mountains the Stiboetes River gushes forth, which flows as a single stream for a distance of nearly three stadia, then, dashed against a rock which obstructs its little channel, it forms two branches, as if by a distribution of its waters. From there a torrent, made more violent by the rough stones over which it runs, it plunges headlong under the earth. For 300 stadia it glides on in a hidden course, and again, as if reborn from another source, it comes to the surface and cuts a new channel, wider than its former ^[6] one — for it expands to a width of thirteen stadia — and once more contracts its course within narrower banks. At last it empties into another river; it is ^[7] called the Rhidagnus. The natives asserted that whatever articles had been thrown into the cavern which is nearer the river's source come out where the other mouth of the river opens; therefore Alexander gave orders that oxen be thrown in where the waters go under the earth, and those who were sent to intercept them saw their bodies thrown out where the river bursts forth again.

^[8] Alexander had already given the soldiers a rest for the fourth day in the same place, when from Nabarzanes, who with Bessus had taken Darius prisoner, he received a letter, of which this was the purport: That he had not been an enemy of Darius, quite on the contrary, he had given him what he believed to be salutary advice, and because he had given the king faithful counsel, he had barely escaped ^[9] with his life. That Darius had meditated handing over the guardianship of his person to foreign soldiers, contrary to what was just and right, distrusting the loyalty of his own subjects, which for two hundred and thirty years they had preserved inviolate to their ^[10] kings. For his own part, standing as he was on dangerous and slippery ground, he had taken counsel from his immediate necessity. Darius also, when he had killed Bagoas, had satisfied his countrymen with this excuse, that he had killed the eunuch because he was plotting against him. That nothing was more precious to wretched mortals than life; that it was from love of this that he had been driven to extremities. But those acts he had yielded to, rather than desired. In a general calamity each man's fortune was his own.

[12] If Alexander should order Nabarzanes to come to him, he would come without fear. He had no apprehension that so great a king would violate a pledge which he had given; the gods were not wont [13] to be deceived by a god. But if Nabarzanes should be thought unworthy of receiving a pledge, many places of exile were open to his flight; wherever a brave man has chosen his home, there is his native H land. Alexander did not hesitate to give a pledge, in the manner in which the Persians were wont to receive them, that if he should come, he would be unharmed.

Nevertheless Alexander went on with his army in square formation and in good order, sending scouts ahead from time to time, to reconnoitre the country.

[13] The light-armed troops led the march, the phalanx followed them, after the infantry was the baggage. Both the warlike race and the nature of their position, which was difficult of access, had put the king on his guard. For there is a continuous valley extending as far as the Caspian Sea, to which arms, so to speak, of that land jut forth; these, bending slightly in the middle, form a curve very like the moon with its horns standing out when that heavenly [17] body does not yet fill out its complete orb. The Cercetae and the Mossyni, and the Chalybes are on the left, and on the other side the fields of the Leucosyri and the Amazons; and it looks towards the latter where it slopes towards the north, to the [18] former when it is turned towards the west. The Caspian Sea, which is fresher than others, breeds serpents of huge size; the colours of the fish in it are very different from others. Some call it Caspian, others Hyrcanian; there are still others who think that the Maeotic pool empties into it, and they advance as evidence the water, because it is fresher than the other seas, since the water from the pool which has flowed into it tempers its saltness.

[19] Towards the north a great sea rushes upon the shore, drives its waves far, and like a rising tide forms a pool of great extent; but in another condition of the weather the sea retires into itself, and with the same force with which it poured in, it flows back and restores the land to its natural condition. And some have thought that this is not the Caspian Sea, but that the Ocean makes its way from India into Hyrcania, whose high land, as was said before, sinks into an uninterrupted valley.

[20] From here the king proceeded for twenty stadia by an almost impassable path, which a forest overhung, while torrents and floods delayed the march; yet since no enemy met them, they passed through, [21] and finally came to more cultivated places. Besides other supplies, of which the region then had an abundance, a huge amount of fruits is grown, and [22] the soil is very rich in producing grapes. A kind of tree winch is common there resembles an oak, the leaves of which are bedewed with a great deal of honey; but unless the natives gather it before sunrise, the sap is destroyed by even a moderate

warmth.

[23] From there Alexander had advanced for thirty stadia, when Phrataphernes met him, surrendering himself and those who had fled after the death of Darius; having received them courteously, the king came to the town of Arvae. There Craterus and [24] Erigyius met him. They had brought Phradates, governor of the tribe of the Tapuri; he also was received under protection, and was an example to many in entrusting themselves to the king's clemency.

[25] Then Alexander made Amminaspes satrap of Hyrcania; he had come to Philip as an exile during the reign of Ochus. Alexander also restored the tribe of the Tapuri to Phradates.

Hic vero palam cupiditates suas solvit continentiamque et moderationem, in altissima quaque fortuna eminentia bona, in superbiam ac lasciviam vertit. [2] Patrios mores disciplinamque Macedonum regum salubriter temperatam et civilem habitum velut leviora magnitudine sua ducens Persicae regiae par deorum potentiae fastigium aemulabatur : [3] iacere humi venerabundos ipsum paulatimque servilibus ministeriis tot victores gentium inbuere et capiti vis pares facere expetebat. [4] Itaque purpureum diadema distinctum albo, quale Dareus habuerat, capiti circumdedit vestemque Persicam sumpsit, ne omen quidem veritus, quod a victoris [p. 170] insignibus in devicti transiret habitum. [5] Et ille se quidem spolia Persarum gestare dicebat, sed cum illis quoque mores induerat, superbiamque habitus animi insolentia sequebatur. [6] Litteras quoque, quas in Europam mitteret, veteris anuli gemma obsignabat, iis, quas in Asiam scriberet, Darei anulus inprimebatur, ut adpareret unum animum duorum non capere fortunam. [7] Amicos vero et equites unaque principes militum, aspernantes quidem, sed recusare non ausos, Persicis ornaverant vestibus. [8] Pelices CCC et LXV, totidem quot Darei fuerant, regiam inplebant, quas spadonum greges et ipsi muliebria pati adsueti sequebantur. [9] Haec luxu et peregrinis infecta moribus veteres Philippi milites, rudis natio ad voluptates, palam aversabantur, [10] totisque castris unus omnium sensus ac sermo erat, plus amissum victoria quam bello esse quaesitum: cum maxime vinci ipsos deditos alienis moribus et externis. Quo tandem ore domos quasi in captivo habitu reversuros? Pudere iam sui regem: victis quam victoribus similiorum ex Macedonia imperatore Darei Satrapen factum. [11] Ille non ignarus, et principes amicorum et exercitum graviter offendi, gratiam liberalitate donisque reparare temptabat. Sed, opinor, liberis pretium servitutis ingratum est. [12] Igitur, ne in seditionem res verteretur, [13] otium interpellandum erat bello, cuius materia opportune alebatur. Namque Bessus veste regia sumpta [p. 171] Artaxerxen appellari se iusserat Scythasque et ceteros Tanais accolae contrahebat. Haec Satibarzanes nuntiabat: quem receptum in fidem regioni, quam antea obtinuerat, praefecit. [14] Et cum grave spoliis apparatuque luxuriae agmen vix moveretur, suas primum, deinde totius exercitus sarcinas exceptis admodum necessariis conferri iussit in medium. [15]

Planities spatiosa erat, in quam vehicula onusta perduxerant. Expectantibus cunctis, quid deinde esset imperaturus, iumenta iussit abduci suisque primum sarcinis face subdita ceteras incendi praecepit. [16] Plagrabant exurentibus dominis, quae ut intacta ex urbibus hostium raperent, saepe flammās restinxerant, nullo sanguinis pretium audente deflere, cum regias opes idem ignis exureret. [17] Brevi deinde ratio mitigavit dolorem, habilesque militiae et ad omnia parati laetabantur sarcinarum potius quam disciplinae fecisse iacturam. [18] Igitur Bactrianam regionem petebant. Sed Nicanor, Parmenionis filius, subita morte correptus magno desiderio sui adfecerat cunctos. [19] Rex ante omnis maestus cupiebat quidem subsistere funeri adfuturus, sed penuria commeatum festinare cogebat: itaque Philotas cum duobus milibus et C relictus, ut iusta fratri persolveret, ipse contendit ad Bessum. [20] Iter facienti ei litterae adferuntur a finitimis satraparum, e quibus cognoscit Bessum quidem hostili animo occurrere cum exercitu, ceterum Satibarzanen, quem [p. 172] satrapeae Ariorum ipse praefecisset, defecisse ab eo. [21] Itaque quamquam Besso imminabat, tamen ad Satibarzanen opprimendum praeverti optimum ratus levem armaturam et equestres copias educit totaque nocte itinere strenue facto improvisus hosti supervenit. [22] Cuius cognito adventu Satibarzanes cum duobus milibus equitum — nec plures subito contrahi poterant — Bactra perfugit, ceteri proximos montes occupaverunt. [23] Praerupta rupes est, qua spectat occidentem, eadem, qua vergit ad orientem, leniore summissa fastigio: multis arboribus obsita perennem habet fontem, ex quo large aquae manant. [24] Circuitus eius XXX et duo stadia comprehendit. In vertice herbidus campus: in hoc multitudinem inbellem considerare iubent. Ipsi, qua rupes sedit, arborum truncos et saxa obmoliuntur. [25] XIII milia armata erant. In quorum obsidione Cratero relicto ipse Satibarzanen sequi festinat. At, quia longius abesse eum cognoverat, ad expugnandos eos, qui edita montium occupaverant, redit. [26] Ac primo repurgari iubet, quidquid ingredi possent, deinde, ut occurrebant in viae cotes praeruptaeque rupes, inritus labor videbatur obstante natura. [27] Ille, ut erat animi semper obluctantis difficultatibus, cum et progredi arduum et reverti periculosum esset, versabat se ad omnes cogitationes aliud atque aliud — ita ut fieri solet, ubi prima quaeque damnamus — subiciente animo. [28] Haesitanti, quod ratio non potuit, fortuna consilium subministravit. Vehemens favonius erat, et multam [p. 173] materiam ceciderat miles aditum per saxa molitus. Haec vapore torrida flamma arserat: [29] ergo adgeri alias arbores iubet et igni dari alimenta, celeriterque stipitibus cumulatis fastigium montis aequatum est. [30] Tunc undique ignis iniectus cuncta comprehendit. Flammam in ora hostium ventus ferebat, fumus ingens velut quadam nube absconderat caelum. [31] Sonabant incendio silvae, atque ea quoque, quae non incenderat miles, concepto igne proxima quaeque adurebant. Barbari suppliciorum ultimum, si qua intermoreretur ignis, effugere temptabant, sed, qua flamma dederat locum, hostis obstabat. [32] Varia igitur caede consumpti sunt: alii in medios ignis, alii petris praecipitavere se, quidam hostium manibus obtulerunt, pauci

semustulati venere in potestatem. [33] Hinc ad Craterum, qui Artacana obsidebat, redit. Ille omnibus praeparatis regis expectabat adventum captae urbis titulo, sicut par erat, cedens. [34] Igitur Alexander turres admoveri iubet: ipsoque aspectu barbari territi e muris supinas manus tendentes orare coeperunt: iram in Satibarzanen, defectionis auctorem, reservaret, supplicibus semet dedentibus parceret. Rex data venia non obsidionem modo solvit, sed omnia sua incolis reddidit. [35] Ab hac urbe digresso supplementum novorum militum occurrit: Zoilus D equites ex Graecia adduxerat, III milia ex Illyrico Antipater miserat, Thessali equites C et XXX cum Philippo erant, ex Lydia II milia et sescenti, peregrinus miles, advenerant, CCC equites gentis eiusdem sequebantur. [36] Hac manu adiecta adit Dran- [p. 174] gas: bellicosa natio est. Satrapes erat Barzaentes, sceleris in regem suum particeps Besso: is suppliciorum, quae meruerat, metu profugit in Indiam.

V. And already the king had entered the farthest part of Hyreania, when Artabazus, who, as we have said before, had been most faithful to Darius, met him with his own children and the relatives of Darius, [2] as well as with a small band of Greek soldiers. On his arrival the king offered him his right hand; for he had been a guest of Philip when he was in exile in the reign of Ochus, but the loyalty to his king, which he had maintained to the end, prevailed over the pledges [3] of guest-friendship. Being therefore affably greeted, he said: "May you for your part, king, I pray the gods, enjoy perpetual happiness; I, though in all other respects happy, am grieved by this alone, that because of hastening old age I cannot long enjoy [4] your kindness." He was in his ninety-fifth year. Nine young men, all born of the same mother, accompanied their father; these Artabazus caused to take the king's right hand, praying that they might live [5] so long as they might be helpful to Alexander. The king generally made a journey on foot; on that occasion he ordered horses to be brought for himself and Artabazus, in order that the aged man might not feel ashamed to ride a horse while the king himself went on foot.

[6] Then, after a camp had been pitched, the king ordered the Greeks whom Artabazus had brought to be called together; but they replied that unless a pledge of safety was given also to the Lacedaemonians and to the men of Sinopê, they would consider what step they ought to take. These had been sent as envoys of the Lacedaemonians to Darius, and after the defeat of that king had attached themselves to the Greeks who were serving as mercenaries with [8] the Persians. The king, having given them no pledges of protection nor promises, ordered them to come to him and to accept such fortune as he himself would give them. After long hesitation and many changes of mind, they finally promised that they [9] would come. But Démocrates, an Athenian, who had always been prominent in opposing the Macedonian power, despairing of pardon, fell upon his sword. All the rest, as they had decided, surrendered [10] at discretion to Alexander. They numbered 1500 soldiers, and

besides these, ninety who had been sent as envoys to Darius. The soldiers were distributed as additions to the king's troops, the rest were sent home except the Lacedaemonians whom he ordered to be held under guard.

[11] The Mardi were a race bordering on Hyrcania, a people of rude habits of life and accustomed to brigandage; they alone had neither sent envoys, nor seemed likely to be obedient to orders. Hence the king, piqued by the thought that one race might prevent him from having been "invincible," having left the baggage with a guard, went on, accompanied [12] by a strong force. He had made the march by night, and at daybreak the enemy was in sight; it was rather a tumult than a battle. Dislodged from the hills of which they had taken possession, the barbarians fled, and the nearest villages, deserted by their inhabitants, [13] were taken. The interior parts of that region, however, could not be approached without greatly fatiguing the army; ranges of mountains, lofty forests, and impassable rocks shut them in, and such parts as are level the barbarians had obstructed by a novel kind of fortification. Trees are purposely planted close together; while their branches are still tender, they bend them down with their hands, twist them together, and again insert them in the earth; then, as if from another root, more vigorous trunks spring.

[15] They do not allow these to grow in the direction which Nature carries them, but they join them together, as if interlacing them. When they are clad in abundant foliage, they hide the ground; and so the secret snares, so to speak, of the branches [16] shut in the road by a continuous hedge. The only expedient was to cut an opening into the woods, but this too was a task of great difficulty. For the many knots had hardened the trunks, and the interlaced branches of the trees, like so many suspended festoons, by their tough interwoven shoots would bring to naught the strokes of the axe. The natives, however, being accustomed to crawl under the thickets like wild beasts, then also had entered the woods and from concealment were assailing their enemy with weapons. Alexander, tracing them to their lairs as hunters do, slew many of them, and finally ordered the soldiers to encircle the forest, and to rush in if they could find an opening anywhere; but in the unknown country many of them strayed and lost their way, and some were captured, among them the king's horse — they called him Bucephalas — which Alexander valued more highly than all other animals. For he would not allow anyone else to sit upon his back, and when the king wished to mount him, he knelt down of its own accord to receive him, and seemed to know whom he was carrying. Therefore aroused with greater anger than was seemly and at the same time with grief, the king gave orders that the horse should be traced, and that proclamation should be made through an interpreter, that unless it should be returned, not a man would be left alive. Terrified by this threat, along with other gifts they brought the horse. But not even by this made milder, the king ordered the woods to be cut down and earth to be brought from the mountains and heaped upon the plain which was made impassable by

the branches. And this work had already risen to a considerable height, when the barbarians, despairing of being able to hold the region which they had occupied, surrendered their nation. The king, after having received hostages, ordered them to submit to Phradates.

Then, four days later, the king returned to his permanent camp. From there he sent Artabazus home, after conferring on him double the honour which Darius had paid him. Now they had come to the city of Hyrcania in which the palace of Darius had been; there Nabarzanes, having received a safe ^[23] conduct, met him, bringing great gifts. Among these was Bagoas, a eunuch of remarkable beauty and in the very flower of boyhood, who had been loved by Darius and was afterwards to be loved by Alexander; and it was especially because of the boy's entreaties that he was led to pardon Nabarzanes.

^[24] There was, as was said before, neighbouring on Hyrcania, a race of Amazons, inhabiting the plains of ^[25] Themiscyra, about the river Thermodon. They had a queen, Thalestris, who ruled all who dwelt between the Caucasus mountains and the river Phasis. She, fired with a desire to visit the king, came forth from the boundaries of her kingdom, and when she was not far away sent messenger's to give notice that a queen had come who was eager to meet him and to become acquainted with him. She was at once given permission ^[26] to come. Having ordered the rest of her escort to halt, she came forward attended by three hundred women, and as soon as the king was in sight, she herself leaped down from her horse, carrying two ^[27] lances in her right hand. The clothing of the Amazons does not wholly cover the body; for the left side is nude as far as the breast, then the other parts of the body are veiled. However, the fold of the robe, which they gather in a knot, does not ^[28] reach below the knee. One nipple is left untouched, and with it they nourish their female children; the right is seared, in order that they may more easily stretch their bows and hurl their spears.

^[29] With fearless expression Thalestris gazed at the king, carefully surveying his person, which did not by any means correspond to the fame of his exploits; for all the barbarians feel veneration for a majestic presence, and believe that only those are capable of great deeds whom nature has deigned to adorn with ^[30] extraordinary physical attractiveness. However, on being asked whether she wished to make any request, she did not hesitate to confess that she had come to share children with the king, being worthy that he should beget from her heirs to his kingdom; that she would retain any female offspring but would return ^[31] a male to his father. Alexander asked her whether she wished to serve in war with him; but she, giving as an excuse that she had left her realm without a guard, persisted in asking that he should not suffer ^[32] her to go away disappointed in her hope. The passion of the woman, being, as she was, more keen for love than the king, compelled him to remain there for a few days. Thirteen days were spent in satisfying her desire. Then

she went to her kingdom, and the king to Parthienê.

Iam nonum diem stativa erant, cum externa vi non tutus modo rex, [2] sed invictus intestino facinore petebatur. Dymnus, modicae apud regem auctoritatis et gratiae, exoleti, cui Nicomacho erat nomen, amore flagrabat obsequio uni sibi dediti corporis vinctus. [3] Is, quod ex vultu quoque perspicere poterat, similis attonito remotis arbitris cum iuvene secessit in templum arcana se [4] et silenda adferre praefatus suspensumque expectatione per mutuam caritatem et pignora utriusque animi rogat, ut adfirmet iureiurando, quae commisisset, silentio esse tecturum. [5] Et ille ratus nihil, quod etiam cum periurio detegendum foret, [6] indicaturum per praesentes deos iurat. Tum Dymnus aperit in tertium diem regi insidias comparatas seque eius consilii fortibus viris et inlustribus esse participem. [7] Quibus iuvenis auditis se vero fidem in parricidio dedisse constanter abnuit nec ulla religione, [8] ut scelus tegat, posse constringi. Dymnus et amore et metu amens dexteram exoleti complexus et lacrimans orare primum, ut particeps consilii operisque fieret: [9] si id sustinere non posset, attamen ne proderet se, cuius erga ipsum benivolentiae praeter alia hoc quoque haberet fortissimum pignus, quod caput suum permisisset fidei adhuc inexpertae. [10] Ad ultimum aversari scelus perseverantem mortis metu terret: ab illo capite coniuratos pulcherrimum facinus incohaturus. [11] Alias deinde effeminatum et muliebriter [p. 175] timidum, alias proditorem amatoris appellans, nunc ingenua promittens, interdumque regnum quoque, [12] versabat animum tanto facinore procul abhorrentem. Strictum deinde gladium modo illius, modo suo admovens iugulo, supplex idem et infestus, expressit tandem, ut non solum silentium, sed etiam operam polliceretur. [13] Namque abunde constantis animi et dignus, qui pudicus esset, nihil ex pristina voluntate mutaverat, sed captum Dymni amore simulabat nihil recusare. [14] Sciscitari inde pergit, cum quibus tantae rei societatem inisset: plurimum referre, quales viri tam memorabili operi admoturi manus essent. [15] Ille et amore et scelere male sanus simul gratias agit, simul gratulatur, quod fortissimis iuvenum non dubitasset se adiungere, Demetrio, corporis custodi, Peucolao, Nicanori: adicit his Aphobetum, Iolaum, Theoxenum, Archepolim, Amyntam. [16] Ab hoc sermone dimissus Nicomochus ad fratrem — Cebalino erat nomen — quae acceperat, defert. Placet ipsum subsistere in tabernaculo, ne, si regiam 30 intrasset non adsuetus adire regem, coniurati proditos se esse resciscerent. [17] Ipse Cebalinus ante vestibulum regiae — neque enim propius aditus ei patebat — consistit opperiens aliquem ex prima cohorte [p. 176] [18] amicorum, a quo introduceretur ad regem. Forte ceteris dimissis unus Philotas, Parmenionis filius — incertum quam ob causam — substiterat in regia: huic Cebalinas ore confuso magnae perturbationis notas prae se ferens aperit, [19] quae ex fratre conpererat, et sine dilatione nuntiari regi iubet. Philotas conlaudato eo protinus intrat ad Alexandrum multoque invicem de aliis rebus sermone consumpto nihil eorum, quae ex Cebalino cognoverat, nuntiat. [20] Sub vesperam eum prodeuntem in vestibulo regiae excipit iuvenis, [21] an mandatum executus foret, requirens.

Ille non vacasse sermoni suo regem causatus discessit. Postero die Cebalinus venienti in regiam praesto est intrantemque admonet pridie communicatae cum ipso rei. Ille curae sibi esse respondet: [22] ac ne tum quidem regi, quae audierat, aperit. Coeperat Cebalino esse suspectus: itaque non ultra interpellandum ratus nobili iuveni — Metron erat ei nomen — super armamentarium posito, quod scelus pararetur, indicat. [23] Ille Cebalino in armamentario abscondito protinus regi corpus forte curanti, [24] quid index detulisset, ostendit. Rex ad comprehendendum Dymnum missis satellitibus armamentarium intrat. Ibi Cebalinus gaudio elatus: ‘Habeo te,’ inquit, ‘incolumem ex inpiorum manibus ereptum.’ [25] Percontatus deinde Alexander, quae noscenda erant, ordine cuncta cognoscit. [26] Rursusque institit quaerere, quotus dies esset, ex quo Nicomachus ad eum detulisset indicium. Atque [p. 177] illo fatente iam tertium esse, existimans haud incorrupta fide tanto post deferre, quae audierat, vinciri eum iussit. [27] At ille clamitare coepit eodem temporis momento, quo audisset, ad Philotan decucurrisse: ab eo operiri conperta. [28] Rex identidem quaerens, an Philotan adisset, an institisset ei, ut pervenirent ad se, perseverante eo adfirmare, quae dixerat, manus ad caelum tendens manantibus lacrimis hanc sibi a carissimo quondam amicorum relatum gratiam querebatur. [29] Inter haec Dymnus haud ignaras, quam ob causam accerseretur a rege, gladio, quo forte erat cinctus, graviter se vulnerat occursuque satellitem inhibitus perfertur in regiam. [30] Quem intuens rex: ‘Quod,’ inquit, ‘in te, Dymne, tantum cogitavi nefas, ut tibi Macedonum regno dignior Philotas me quoque ipso videretur?’ Ilium iam defecerat vox: itaque edito gemitu vultuque a conspectu regis averso subinde conlapsus extinguitur. [31] Rex Philota venire in regiam iusso: ‘Cebalinus,’ inquit, ‘ultimum supplicium meritus, si in caput meum praeparatas insidias biduo textit: sed huius criminis Philotan reum substituit, ad quem protinus indicium detulisse se adfirmat. [32] Quo propiore gradu amicitiae me contingis, hoc maius est dissimulationis tuae facinus, et ego Cebalino magis quam Philotae id convenire [p. 178] fateor. Faventem habes iudicem, si, quod admitti non oportuit, saltem purgari potest.’ [33] Ad haec Philotas haud sane trepidus, si animus vultu aestimaretur, Cebalinum quidem scorti sermonem ad se detulisse, sed ipsum tam levi auctore nihil credidisse respondit, veritum, ne iurgium inter amatorem et exoletum non sine risu aliorum detulisset: [34] cum Dymnus semet interemerit, qualiacumque erant, non fuisse reticenda. Complexusque regem orare coepit, ut praeteritam vitam potius quam culpam, [35] silentii tamen, non facti ullius, intueretur. Haud facile dixerim, crediderintne ei rex an altius iram suppresserit: dexteram reconciliatae gratiae pignus obtulit et contemptum magis quam celatum indicium esse videri sibi dixit.

VI. It was in fact at this time that Alexander gave loose rein to his passions, and changed continence and self-control, eminent virtues in every exalted fortune, to haughtiness and wantonness.

[2] Regarding his native customs and the discipline of the Macedonian kings,

wholesomely restrained and democratic, as too low for his grandeur, he strove to rival the loftiness of the Persian court, equal to ^[3] the power of the gods; he demanded that the victors over so many nations in paying their respects to him should prostrate themselves upon the ground, and gradually sought to accustom them to servile ^[4] duties and to treat them like captives. Accordingly, he encircled his brow with a purple diadem, variegated with white such as Darius had worn, and assumed the Persian garb, not even fearing the omen of changing from the insignia of a victor to the ^[5] dress of the conquered. In fact, he used to say that he was wearing the spoils of the Persians; but with them he had assumed also their customs, and insolence of spirit accompanied the magnificence of his ^[6] attire. The letters also which were to be sent to Europe he sealed with the device of his former ring; on those which he wrote to Asia, the ring of Darius was impressed, so that it appeared that one mind was not equal to the fortune of the two realms.

^[7] Moreover, he compelled his friends, the cavalry, and with them the leaders of the soldiers, to wear the Persian dress, which was indeed repugnant to them, ^[8] but which they did not dare to refuse. Three hundred and sixty-five concubines, the same number that Darius had had, filled his palace, attended by herds of eunuchs, also accustomed to prostitute themselves.

^[9] These practices, corrupted by luxury and foreign customs, were openly detested by the veteran soldiers of Philip, a people novices in voluptuousness, and in the whole camp the feeling and the talk of all was the same, namely, that more had been lost by victory ^[10] than had been gained by war; that it was then above all that they themselves were conquered men, when they had surrendered themselves to alien and foreign habits. With what face, pray, would they return to their homes, as if in the attire of prisoners? The king was already ashamed of them since, resembling the vanquished rather than the victors, he had changed from a ruler of Macedonia to a satrap of ^[11] Darius. The king, not unaware that the chief of his friends, and the army as well, were grievously offended, tried to win back their favour by liberality and by bounty. But, in my opinion, the price of ^[12] slavery is hateful to free men. Therefore, that the situation might not result in mutiny, it was necessary to put an end to their leisure by war, the material for which was opportunely increasing.

^[13] For Bessus, having assumed regal attire, had given orders that he should be called Artaxerxes, and was assembling the Scythians and the rest of the peoples dwelling by the Tanais.

This was announced by Satibarzanes, whom Alexander had received under his protection and had made satrap of the region which he had formerly governed.

^[14] And since the army, laden with spoils and the equipment of luxury, could with difficulty be moved, he ordered first his own baggage, then that of the

whole army, to be gathered together in their midst, except 16 what was absolutely necessary. There was a spacious plain, into which they had driven the loaded wagons. When all were wondering what the king was going to order next, he commanded that the animals be led away, and, when he had first applied a torch to his ^[16] own pack, that the rest be burned. There were consumed, set on fire by their owners, the riches to save which unharmed from the cities of the enemy they had often extinguished flames, and no one dared to weep for the price of his blood, when the ^[17] same fire was consuming the king's wealth. Then in a short time reason soothed their grief, and, prepared for military service and ready for everything, they rejoiced that jettison had been made of their packs, and not of their discipline. —

[18] Therefore they were making for the region of Bactra But the carrying off of Nicanor, son of Parminion by a sudden death had been a cause of great grief to all. The king, saddened more than the others, desired to halt in order to be present at his funeral, but scarcity of supplies caused him to hasten; therefore, leaving Philotas with 2600 men to perform the due rites for his brother, he hurried on to meet Bessus.

[20] As he was on his way, letters were brought to him from the neighbouring satraps, from which he learned that Bessus was in fact coming to meet him with hostile intent with his army, but also that Satibarzanes, whom he himself had given charge of the ^[21] satrapy of the Arii, had revolted from him. Therefore, although eager to meet Bessus, yet thinking it best to make it his first business to crush Satibarzanes, he led out his light-armed troops and his cavalry forces, and marching swiftly all night, came ^[22] unexpectedly upon the enemy. On learning of his arrival Satibarzanes with 2000 horsemen — or he had not been able in his haste to muster more — fled for refuge to Bactra, the rest took possession of the ^[23] neighbouring mountains. There is a rock, very steep on its western side, but towards the east sinking with a gentler slope; covered with many trees, it has a perennial fount, from which there is an abundant flow of water. Its circuit covers thirty-two stadia. On its summit is a grass-covered plain; on this they ordered those who were not fit for war to take their places. They themselves piled tree-trunks and stones against the slope of the rock. They ^[28] numbered 13,000 armed men. Leaving Craterus to blockade these, he hastened in pursuit of Satibarzanes. But because he had learned that the barbarian was a long distance away, he returned to storm those who had taken possession of the mountain ^[26] heights. And first he ordered to be cleared whatever road they would be able to traverse; then, when impassable crags and precipices presented themselves, the labour seemed hopeless against the ^[27] opposition of Nature. But Alexander, being always of a mind to wrestle with difficulties, since to advance was a hard task and to return dangerous, considered all kinds of expedients as his mind suggested one after another — as is usual when we reject every first thought.

As he was at a loss, chance offered a plan which calculation could not suggest. There was a strong west wind, and the soldiers had cut a great amount of wood when trying to make an approach over the stones. This, dried by the heat, had caught fire; [29] therefore he ordered other trees to be piled on, and fuel to be given to the flames, and soon, as the trunks were heaped up, they equalled the height of [30] the mountain. Then fire was thrown upon it from every side and kindled the whole mass. The wind drove the flames into the faces of the enemy, a great [31] smoke had hidden the sky as if by a cloud. The woods roared from the conflagration, and those parts also to which the soldiers had not set fire, took fire themselves, and burned everything that was near them. The barbarians tried to escape the worst of torments, if the fire died down anywhere, but where the flames gave a passage the enemy awaited them.

[32] Hence they were destroyed by varied forms of death; some threw themselves into the midst of the flames, others down from the rocks, some offered themselves to the hands of the enemy, a few, half roasted, came into their power.

[33] From there he returned to Craterus, who was besieging Artacana. He, having prepared everything beforehand, was awaiting the coming of the king, leaving to him the honour of capturing the city, [34] as was right. Therefore Alexander ordered towers to be brought up; and at the mere sight the terrified barbarians on the walls, stretching out their hands, palms up, began to entreat him to reserve his anger for Satibarzanes, the ringleader of the revolt, and to spare the suppliants who surrendered themselves. The king pardoned them, and not only put an end to the siege, but returned all their property to the inhabitants.

[35] When he had left this city, a reserve of new soldiers met him; Zoilus had brought 500 soldiers from Greece, Antipater had sent 3000 from Illyrieum, with Philip there were 130 Thessalian cavalry, from Lydia 2600 foreign troops had come, and 300 horsemen of the same race followed. With the addition of these forces he entered the land of the Drangae, a warlike tribe. Their satrap was Barzaentes, an accomplice with Bessus in the crime against his king; he, fearing the punishment which he had deserved, fled to India.

Advocato tum consilio amicorum, cui tamen Philotas adhibitus non est, Nicomachum introduci iubet. [2] Is eadem, quae detulerat frater ad regem, ordine exposuit. [3] Erat Craterus regi carus in paucis et eo Philotae ob aemulationem dignitatis adversus neque ignorabat saepe Alexandri auribus nimia iactatione virtutis atque operae gravem fuisse et ob ea non quidem sceleris, sed contumaciae tamen esse suspectum. [4] Non aliam premendi inimici occasionem aptiorem futuram ratus odio suo pietatis praeferens speciem: ‘Utinam,’ [5] inquit, ‘in principio quoque huius rei nobiscum deliberasses! Suasissetus, si Philotae velles ignoscere, patereris potius

ignorare eum, quantum deberet tibi, [p. 179] quam usque ad mortis metum adductum saepius de periculo suo quam de tuo cogitare beneficio. Ille enim semper insidiari tibi poterit, tu non semper Philotae poteris ignoscere. [6] Nec est, quod existimes eum, qui tantum ausus est, venia posse mutari. Scit eos, qui misericordiam consumpserunt, amplius sperare non posse. [7] At ego, etiam si ipse vel paenitentia vel beneficio tuo victus quiescere volet, patrem eius Parmenionem, tanti ducem exercitus et inveterata apud milites suos auctoritate haud multum infra magnitudinis tuae fastigium positum, scio non aequo animo salutem filii sui debitum tibi. [8] Quaedam beneficia odimus. Meruisse mortem confiteri pudet: superest, ut malit videri iniuriam accepisse quam vitam. Proinde scito tibi cum illis de salute esse pugnandum. [9] Satis hostium superest, ad quos persequendos ituri sumus: latus a domesticis hostibus muni. Hos si summoves, nihil metuo ab externo.' Haec Craterus. [10] Nec ceteri dubitabant, quin coniurationis indicium suppressuras non fuisset nisi auctor aut particeps. Quem enim pium et bonae mentis, non amicum modo, sed ex ultima plebe, auditis, quae ad eum delata erant, non protinus ad regem fuisse cursum? ne Cebalini quidem exemplo, [11] qui ex fratre conperta ipsi nuntiasset, commotum esse Parmenionis filium, praefectum equitatus, omnium arcanorum regis arbitrum! Simulasse etiam, non vacasse sermoni suo regem, ne index alium internuntium [p. 180] [12] quaereret. Nicomachum religione quoque deum adstrictum conscientiam suam exonerare properasse: Philotam consumpto per ludum iocumque paene toto die gravatum esse pauca verba pertinentia ad caput regis tam longo et forsitan supervacuo inserere sermoni. [13] At eum non credidisse talia deferentibus pueris! Cur igitur extraxisset biduum, tamquam indicio haberet fidem? Dimittendum fuisse Cebalinum, si delationem eius damnabat. [14] In suo quemque periculo magnum animum habere: [15] cum de salute regis timeretur, credulos esse debere, vana quoque deferentis admittere. Omnes igitur quaestionem de eo, ut participes sceleris indicare cogeretur, habendam esse decernunt. Rex admonitos, uti consilium silentio premerent, dimittit. Pronuntiari deinde iter in posterum iubet, [16] ne qua noxiis initi consilii daretur nota. Invitatus est etiam Philotas ad ultimas ipsi epulas, et rex non cenare modo, sed etiam familiariter conloqui cum eo, quem damnaverat, sustinuit. [17] Secunda deinde vigilia luminibus extinctis cum paucis in regiam coeunt Hephaestion et Crateras et Coenus et Erigyus, hi ex amicis, ex armigeris autem Perdiccas et Leonnatus. Per hos imperatum, ut qui ad praetorium excubabant, armati vigilarent. [18] Iam ad omnes aditus dispositi erant equites, itinera quoque obsidere iussi, [19] ne quis ad Parmenionem, qui tum Mediae magnisque copiis praeerat, occultus evaderet. Atarrhias autem cum CCC armatis intraverat regiam: huic decem [p. 181] satellites adduntur, quorum singulos deni armigeri sequebantur. [20] Hi ad alios coniuratos comprehendendos distributi sunt, Atarrhias cum trecentis ad Philotam missus clausum aditum domus moliebatur L iuvenum promptissimis stipatus : nam ceteros cingere undique domum iusserat, ne occulto aditu Philotas posset elabi. [21] Illium sive securitate animi sive fatigatione resolutum

somnus opprresserat: quem Atarrhias torpentem adhuc occupat. [22] Tandem ei sopore discusso cum inicerentur catenae: ‘Vicit,’ inquit, ‘bonitatem tuam, rex, inimicorum meorum acerbitas.’ Nec plura elocutum capite velato in regiam adducunt. [23] Postero die rex edixit, omnes armati coirent. VI milia fere militum venerant, praeterea turba lixarum calorumque inpleverant regiam. [24] Philotan armigeri agmine suo tegebant, ne ante conspici posset a vulgo, quam rex adlocutus milites esset. [25] De capitalibus rebus vetusto Macedonum modo inquirebat rex, iudicabat exercitus — in pace erat vulgi — , et nihil potestas regum valebat, nisi prius valuisset auctoritas. [26] Igitur Dymni primum cadaver infertur plerisque, quid parasset quove casu extinctus esset, ignaris.

VII. Already Alexander had been encamped for nine days in the same place, when, being not only safe from force from without, but unconquered, he was attacked by a crime within his own household.

[2] Dymnus, a man of slight weight and favour with the king, burned with love for a catamite named Nicomachus, bound by the compliance of a body devoted [3] to him alone. He, as if in great alarm, as could clearly be seen also from his expression, without witnesses withdrew with the youth into a temple, first saying that he had something secret and confidential to communicate, and when the youth was on tiptoe [4] of expectation, he besought him by their affection for each other, and by the pledges which they had both exchanged, to declare under oath that he would keep silent about what Dymnus should reveal to him.

[5] Nicomachus, not supposing that he would tell him anything which it would be incumbent on him to disclose even at the cost of breaking his word, took oath by the gods in whose temple they were. Then Dymnus revealed that a plot against the king had been arranged for the third day thereafter, and that he shared in that design with some brave and distinguished men.

The youth, on hearing this, steadfastly denied that he had pledged his faith to take part in treason, and said that he could not be bound by any religious obligation to keep the crime secret. Dymnus, mad both with love and with fear, seizing the youth’s hand and weeping, begged first that he would take part in the design and its execution; if he could not bring himself to do that, at least he would not betray him, whose goodwill towards Nicomachus, besides all the rest, had this very evident proof, that he had trusted his life to his loyalty without previously testing it.

Finally, when the youth persisted in expressing abhorrence of the crime, Dymnus tried to terrify him by fear of death, saying that the conspirators would [11] begin their glorious deed by taking his life. Then calling him now effeminate and womanishly timid, and now the betrayer of his lover, now making vast promises, sometimes even royal power, he worked upon a mind to which such a deed was utterly abhorrent. Then applying a drawn sword,

now to Nicomachus' throat and now to his own, at the same time a suppliant and an enemy, Dymnus at last forced him to promise, not only silence, but even support.

[13] Yet the lad, being of a most steadfast spirit — indeed he should have been chaste — had made no change in his former resolution, but pretended that, overcome with [14] love for Dymnus, he could refuse him nothing. Then he went on to inquire with whom he had entered upon an association of so great importance; it made a great deal of difference, he said, what sort of men were going to put their hands to so memorable an [15] enterprise. Dymnus, almost crazed by love and guilt, at the same time thanked him, and also congratulated him that he had not hesitated to join with the bravest of men, Demetrius, one of the body-guard, Peucolaus, Nicanor; to these he added Aphobetus, Iolaüs, Theoxenus, Archepolis, Amyntas.

[16] On being dismissed from this conference, Nicomachus reported to his brother — his name was Cebalinus — what he had heard. They agreed that Nicomachus should stay in his brother's tent, for fear that, if he, who was not accustomed to approach the king, should enter the royal apartment, the conspirators might learn that they had been betrayed.

[17] Cebalinus himself stood before the vestibule of the tent — for nearer access was not allowed him — waiting for someone of the first rank of the king's friends, [18] to admit him to Alexander's presence. It happened that when the rest had been dismissed, Philotas, son of Parmenion, alone — it is not known for what reason — had remained in the royal apartment; to him Cebalinus, in confused words and showing signs of great perturbation, disclosed what he had learned from his brother, and asked that it be reported to the [19] king without delay. Philotas, after strongly commending him, at once went in to Alexander, and having talked with him for some time about other matters, reported nothing of what he had learned [20] from Cebalinus. Towards evening the young man met Philotas in the vestibule of the royal apartment, as he was coming out, and asked him whether he had done what he requested. Philotas alleged that the king had had no time to talk with him, [21] and went away. On the following day Cebalinus was on hand when Philotas came to the royal apartment, and reminded him, as he entered, of the matter which he had communicated to him the day before. Philotas replied that he was attending to it, but did not even then disclose to the king what he [22] had heard. Cebalinus began to suspect him, and so, thinking that there ought to be no further obstruction, he told a young nobleman — his name was Metron — who had charge of the armoury, of the [23] crime which was being planned. He, after having concealed Cebalinus in the armoury, at once revealed to the king, who chanced to be taking a bath, what [24] the informer had reported. The king sent his attend ants to arrest Dymnus, and entered the armoury. There Cebalinus, transported with joy, said: — I have you safe, snatched from the hands of

impious men.” Then Alexander, after inquiring about all the particulars, learned the whole matter in detail. And again the king went on to inquire how long it was since Nicomachus had given him the information. And when Cebalinus admitted that it was two days before, Alexander, thinking him of doubtful loyalty in reporting so long afterwards what he had ^[27] heard, ordered that he be put in fetters. But Cebalinus began to cry out that at the very moment that he had heard of it he had run to Philotas; that it was by him that what he had learned was concealed.

^[28] When the king asked again and again whether he had gone to Philotas, and whether he had urged him that they should go to Alexander and Cebalinus persisted in affirming what he had said, the king, raising his hands to heaven, with flowing tears began to lament that such requital had been made him by one who had formerly been the dearest of his friends.

^[29] In the meantime Dymnus, well aware why he was summoned by the king, gave himself a severe wound with a sword which he chanced to be wearing, and being stopped by the guards who ran up, was ^[30] brought into the royal apartment. The king, looking him in the eye, said: “What great wrong have I planned against you, Dymnus, that you should think Philotas more worthy to rule the Macedonians, than I am myself?” But speech had already failed Dymnus; and so, uttering a groan and averting his face from the king’s gaze, he forthwith swooned and died.

^[31] The king, having ordered Philotas to come to the royal tent, said: “Cebalinus deserved the extreme penalty, if he concealed for two days a plot aimed at my life; but he has substituted Philotas as the one guilty of that offence, since he declares that he immediately reported the information to him.

The closer the degree of friendship which you have with me, the greater is the crime of your secrecy, and I at any rate admit that such action becomes Cebalinus rather than Philotas. You have a favourable judge, if what ought not to have been done can at least be excused.”

^[33] To these words Philotas, in no wise disturbed, if his feelings were judged from his expression, replied that Cebalinus had, it was true, reported to him the talk of a wanton, but that he himself put no trust in an authority of so little weight, fearing besides lest he should be laughed at by the rest if he reported ^[34] a quarrel between a lover and his favourite; but since Dymnus had made away with himself, it ought not to have been passed over in silence, whatever its nature was. Then, throwing his arms about the king, he began to entreat him to have regard to his past life rather than to a fault which, after all, was only ^[35] one of silence, and not of any action. I could not readily say whether the king believed him, or suppressed his anger deep in his heart; he offered him his right hand as a pledge of renewed favour, saying that it appeared to

him that the information was scorned rather than concealed.

Rex deinde in contionem procedit vultu praeferens dolorem animi. Amicorum quoque maestitia expectationem haud parvam rei fecerat. [2] Diu rex demisso in terram vultu attonito stupentique similis stetit, tandem recepto animo: ‘Paene,’ inquit, ‘milites, hominum scelere vobis ereptus sum: deum Providentia et misericordia vivo. Conspectusque vestri [p. 182] venerabilis coegit, ut vehementius parricidis irascerer, quoniam is primus, immo unus vitae meae fructus est, tot fortissimis viris et de me optime meritis referre adhuc gratiam posse.’ [3] Interruptit orationem militum gemitus, obortaeque sunt omnibus lacrimae. Tum rex: ‘Quanto,’ inquit, ‘maiores in animis vestris motum excitabo, cum tanti sceleris auctores ostendero! Quorum mentionem adhuc reformido et, tamquam salvi esse possint, nominibus abstineo. [4] Sed vincenda est memoria pristinae caritatis et coniuratio impiorum civium detegenda. Quomodo autem tantum nefas sileam? Parmenio, illa aetate, tot meis, tot parentis mei meritis devinctus, omnium nobis amicorum vetustissimus, [5] ducem se sceleri tanto praebeuit. Minister eius Philotas Peucolaum et Demetrium et nunc Dymnum, cuius corpus aspicitis, ceterosque eiusdem amentiae in caput meum subornavit.’ [6] Fremitus undique indignantium querentiumque tota contione obstrepebat, qualis solet esse multitudinis et maxime militaris, ubi aut studio agitur aut ira. [7] Nicomachus deinde et Metron et Cebalinus producti, quae quisque detulerat, exponunt. Nullius eorum indicio Philotas ut particeps sceleris destinabatur. Itaque indignatione expressa vox invicem silentio excepta est. [8] Tum rex: ‘Qualis,’ inquit, ‘ergo animi vobis videtur, qui huius rei delatum indicium ad ipsum suppressit? Quod non fuisse vanum Dymni [p. 183] exitus declarat. [9] Incertam rem deferens tormenta non timuit Cebalinus, nee Metron ne momentum quidem temporis distulit exonerare se, ut eo, ubi lavabar, inrumperet: [10] Philotas solus nihil timuit, nihil credidit. O magni animi virum! Iste regis periculo commoveretur, vultum mutaret, indicem tantae rei sollicitus audiret! [11] Subest nimirum silentio facinus, et avida spes regni praecipitem animum ad ultimum nefas impulit. Pater Mediae praeest: ipse apud multos copiarum duces meis praepotens viribus maiora, quam capit, spirat. [12] Orbitas quoque mea, quod sine liberis sum, spernitur. Sed errat Philotas. In vobis liberos, parentes, consanguineos habeo: vobis salvus orbus esse non possum.’ Epistulam deinde Parmenionis interceptam, [13] quam ad filios Nicanorem et Philotan scripserat, recitat haud sane indicium gravioris consilii praeferentem. [14] Namque summa eius haec erat: ‘Primum vestri curam agite, deinde vestrorum: sic enim, quae destinavimus, [15] efficiemus.’ Adiecitque rex sic esse scriptam, ut, sive ad filios pervenisset, a consciis posset intellegi, sive intercepta esset, falleret ignaros. [16] ‘At enim Dymnus, cum ceteros participes sceleris indicaret, Philotan non nominavit! Hoc quidem illius non innocentiae, sed potentiae indicium est, quod sic ab iis timetur etiam, a quibus prodi potest, ut, cum de se fateantur, illum tamen celent. Ceterum Philotan ipsius indicat vita. [p. 184] [17] Hic Amyntae, qui mihi consobrinus fuit et in Macedonia capiti

meo impias conparavit insidias, socium se et conscium adiunxit. Hic Attalo, quo graviorem inimicum non habui, sororem suam in matrimonium dedit. [18] Hic, cum scripsissem ei pro iure tam familiaris usus atque amicitiae, qualis sors edita esset Iovis Hammonis oraculo, sustinuit rescribere, mihi se quidem gratulari, quod in numerum deorum receptus essem, ceterum misereri eorum, quibus vivendum esset sub eo, qui modum hominis excederet. [19] Haec sunt et iam pridem animi alienati a me et invidentis gloriae meae indicia. Quae equidem, milites, quamdiu licuit, in animo meo pressi. Videbar enim mihi partem viscerum meorum abrumpere, si, in quos tam magna contuleram viliores mihi facerem. [20] Sed iam non verba punienda sunt: linguae temeritas pervenit ad gladios. [21] Hos, si mihi creditis, Philotas in me acuit, si ipsi, admisit. Quo me conferam, milites? cui caput meum credam? Equitatu, optimae exercitus parti, principibus nobilissimae iuventutis, eum praefeci, salutem, spem, victoriam meam fidei eius tutelaeque commisi. [22] Patrem in idem fastigium, in quo me ipsi posuistis, admovi, Mediam, qua nulla opulentior regio est, et tot civium sociorumque milia imperio eius dicionique subieci. Unde praesidium petieram, periculum extitit. [23] Quam feliciter in acie occidissem, potius hostis praeda [p. 185] quam civis victima! Nunc servatus ex periculis, quae sola timui, [24] in haec incidi, quae timere non debui. Soletis identidem a me, milites, petere, ut saluti meae parcam. Ipsi mihi praestare potestis, quod suadetis, ut faciam. Ad vestras manus, ad vestra arma confugio: invitis vobis salvus esse nolo, volentibus non possum, [25] nisi vindicor.' Tum Philotan religatis post tergum manibus obsoleto amiculo velatum iussit induci. Facile adparebat, motos esse tam miserabili habitu non sine invidia paulo ante conspecti. [26] Ducem equitatus pridie viderant, sciebant regis interfuisse convivio : repente reum quidem, sed iam damnatum, immo vinctum intuebantur. [27] Subibat animos Parmenionis quoque, tanti ducis, tam clari civis, fortuna, qui quo modo duobus filiis, Hectore ac Nicanore, orbatus cum eo, quem reliquum calamitas fecerat, absens diceret causam. [28] Itaque Amyntas, regius praetor, inclinatam ad misericordiam contionem rursus aspera in Philotan oratione commovit: proditos eos esse barbaris: neminem ad coniugem suam in patriam et ad parentes suos esse rediturum, velut truncum corpus dempto capite sine spiritu, sine nomine aliena terra ludibrium hostis futuros. [29] Haudquaquam pro spe ipsius Amyntae oratio grata regi fuit, quod coniugum, quod patriae admonitos pignores ad cetera munia exequenda fecisset. [30] Tum Coenus, quamquam Philotae sororem matrimonio secum [p. 186] coniunxerat, tamen acrius quam quisquam in Philotan invectus est parricidam esse regis, patriae, exercitus clamitans saxumque, [31] quod forte ante pedes iacebat, corripuit emissurus in eum, ut plerique crediderunt, tormentis subtrahere cupiens. Sed rex manum eius inhibuit dicendae prius causae debere fieri potestatem reo nec aliter iudicari passurum se adfirmans. [32] Tum dicere iussus Philotas, sive conscientia sceleris sive periculi magnitudine amens et attonitus, non attollere oculus, non hiscere audebat. [33] Lacrimis deinde manantibus, linquente animo in eum, a quo tenebatur,

incubuit abstersisque amiculo eius oculis paulatim recipiens spiritum ac vocem dicturus videbatur. [34] Iamque rex intuens eum: ‘Macedones,’ inquit, ‘de te iudicaturi sunt: [35] quaero, an patrio sermone sis apud eos usus.’ Tum Philotas: ‘Praeter Macedonas,’ inquit, ‘plerique adsunt, quos facilius, quae dicam, perepturos arbitror, si eadem lingua fuero usus, qua tu egisti, non ob aliud, credo, quam ut oratio tua intellegi posset a pluribus.’ Tum rex: [36] ‘Ecquid videtis adeo etiam sermonis patrii Philotan taedere? Solus quippe fastidit eum discere. Sed dicat sane, utcumque ei cordi est, dum memineritis aequae illum a nostro more quam sermone abhorrere.’

VIII. Then, having called a council of his friends, to which however Philotas was not invited, he ordered [2] Nicomachus to be brought before it. The youth set forth in order the same information that his brother had given to the king. Craterus was dearer to Alexander than most of his friends, and for that reason less friendly to Philotas, as his rival in importance, he was well aware too that Philotas had often wearied the ears of Alexander by excessive vaunting of his valour and his services, and hence was suspected, not indeed of crime, but of arrogance. Thinking that there would be no more advantageous opportunity of ruining his enemy, disguising his hatred under a pretence of loyalty, he said: — I only wish that at the very beginning of this matter you [5] had deliberated with us! We should have persuaded you if you wished to pardon Philotas, to suffer him to be ignorant how much he was indebted to you, rather than, after he had been brought even to the very fear of death, to think more often of his own danger than of your kindness. For he will always be able to plot against you, you will not always be able to pardon [6] Philotas. There is no reason for you to think that one who has dared so much can be changed by a pardon. He knows that those who have exhausted [7] mercy can no longer hope for it. But even if he himself, either through change of heart or overcome by your kindness, shall wish to remain quiet, I at any rate know that his father Parmenion, the leader of so great an army, and because of his long-continued influence with his soldiers holding a position not much below the height of your greatness, will not with equanimity [8] owe his son’s life to you. There are some favours which we hate. One is ashamed to admit that one has deserved death; therefore, Philotas would prefer to seem to have suffered an injury rather than to have been granted his life. Therefore be sure that you will have to fight with those men for your life. There are enemies enough left, in pursuit of whom we are about to go; guard yourself against domestic foes. If you get rid of these, I fear nothing from without.

[10] Thus spoke Craterus. And the rest did not doubt that Philotas would not have suppressed the evidence of the conspiracy, unless he had been its ringleader or a participant in it. For who, if a loyal man, and of good intention, not to say a friend, but even one of the lowest condition, on hearing what had been revealed to Philotas, would not at once have hastened [11] to the king? To think that the son of Parmenion, as commander of the cavalry a confidant of

all the king's secrets, was not moved even by the example of Cebalinus, who had announced to him what he had learned from his brother! That he also pretended that the king had no time to talk with him, for fear that the informer might seek another intermediary!

[12] Nicomachus, even though bound by an oath to the gods, had hastened to unburden his conscience; Philotas, after spending the whole day in amusement and merriment, had found it difficult to find room, in so long and perhaps superfluous a talk, for a few words [13] relating to the life of his king! But, he says, he did not believe mere boys who brought such information. Why then did he prolong the time for two days, as if he had faith in their testimony? Cebalinus ought to have been dismissed, if Philotas rejected his information. In the time of his own danger everyone ought to have great courage; when fears were felt for the safety of their king, they ought to be credulous and to listen even to those who bring false information.

[15] All therefore decided that Philotas should be put to the torture, in order that he might be forced to name the participants in the crime. The king dismissed them, after admonishing them to keep silent about his plans. Then he ordered a march to be announced for the following day, lest any indication of the decisions entered on should be given to [16] the guilty parties. Philotas was even invited to a banquet, which was his last, and the king had the heart, not only to dine with him, but even to talk familiarly with the man whom he had condemned.

[17] Then in the second watch, when the lights had been put out, there came to the king's tent, with a few others, Hephaestion, Craterus, Coenus, and Erigyius, these from the number of his friends, and from the body-guard Perdiccas and Leonnatus. By these it was ordered that those who were on guard at the king's [18] tent should remain on watch and under arms. Already cavalry had been stationed at all the entrances, and they had been ordered also to beset the roads, in order that no one might secretly go out to Parmenion, who was then governing Media and was in command [19] of great forces. Atarrhias, moreover, with 300 armed men had entered the royal tent; to him were given besides ten attendants, each followed by ten men-at-arms. These were sent in different directions to arrest the other conspirators. Atarrhias was sent with 300 men to Philotas and set about breaking open the closed entrance to his house, attended by fifty of the bravest of his soldiers; for he had ordered the rest to surround the house on all sides, for fear that Philotas might be able to slip out by a secret [21] door. But he, either through absence of anxiety or worn out by fatigue, had been overcome by sleep: Atarrhias seized him while he was still drowsy.

[22] When at last he was fully awake and chains were put upon him, he said: "O Sire, the bitterness of my enemies has prevailed over your kindness." And without further words on his part they led him with veiled head into the king's

quarters.

[23] On the following day the king made proclamation that all should assemble under arms. About 6000 soldiers had come, besides these a crowd of camp-servants and batmen had filled the royal quarters.

[24] The men-at-arms covered Philotas with their troop, in order that he might not be seen by the general [25] throng until the king had addressed the soldiers. In accordance with the ancient custom of the Macedonians, the king conducted the inquiry into criminal cases, and the army passed judgement — in time of peace it was a duty of the common people — and the power of the king availed nothing, unless his influence [26] had earlier had weight with them. Accordingly, the corpse of Dymnus was first brought in, the greater number being ignorant what he had attempted or by what chance he had been killed.

Atque ita contione excessit. Tum Philotas: ‘Verba,’ inquit, ‘innocenti reperire facile est, [p. 187] modum verborum misero tenere difficile. [2] Itaque inter optimam conscientiam et iniquissimam fortunam destitutus ignoro, quomodo et animo meo et tempori paream. [3] Abest quidem optimus causae meae iudex: qui cur me ipse audire noluerit, non, mehercule, excogito, cum illi utrimque cognita causa tam damnare me liceat quam absolvere, non cognita vero liberari absenti non possum, qui a praesente damnatus sum. [4] Sed quamquam vincti hominis non supervacua solum, sed etiam invisa defensio est, qui iudicem non docere videtur, sed arguere, tamen, utcumque licet me dicere, memet ipse non deseram nec committam, ut damnatus etiam mea sententia videar. [5] Equidem, cuius criminis reus sim, non video: inter coniuratos nemo me nominat, de me Nicomachus nihil dixit, Cebalinus plus, quam audierat, scire non potuit. [6] Atqui coniurationis caput me fuisse credit rex! Potuit ergo Dymnus eum praeterire, quem sequebatur, praesertim cum quaerenti socios vel falso fuerim nominandus, quo facilius, qui temptabatur, posset inPELLI? [7] Non enim detecto facinore nomen meum praeteriit, ut possit videri socio pepercisse: Nicomacho, quem taciturnum arcana de semetipso credebat, confessus aliis nominatis me unum subtrahebat. [8] Quaeso, commilitones, si Cebalinus me non adisset, nihil me [p. 188] de coniuratis scire voluisset, num hodie dicerem causam nullo me nominante? [9] Dymnus sane ut vivat adhuc et velit mihi parcere, quid ceteri? Qui de se confitebuntur, me videlicet subtrahent! Maligna est calamitas, [10] et fere noxius, cum suo supplicio crucietur, adquiescit alieno. Tot conscii ne in eculeum quidem inpositi verum fatebuntur? Atqui nemo parcat morituro nec cuiquam moriturus, ut opinor. [11] Ad verum crimen et ad unum revertendum mihi est: cur rem delatam ad te tacuisti? cur tam securus audisti? Hoc, quaecumque est, confesso mihi, ubicumque es, Alexander, remisisti: dexteram tuam amplexus, reconciliati pignus animi, convivio quoque interfui. [12] Si credidisti mihi, absolutus sum, si pepercisti, dimissus: vel iudicium tuum serva. [13] Quid hac proxima nocte, qua digressus sum a mensa tua, feci? quod novum facinus delatum ad te

mutavit animum tuum? Gravi sopore adquiescebam, cum me malis indormientem mei inimici vinciendo excitaverunt. Unde et parricidae et prodito tam alti quies somni? Scelerati conscientia obstrepente condormire non possunt: [14] agitant eos Furiae non cogitato modo, nedum consummato parricidio. At mihi securitatem primum innocentia mea, deinde tua dextera obtul erat: non timui, ne plus alienae crudelitati apud [p. 189] te liceret quam clementiae tuae. [15] Sed ne te mihi credidisse paeniteat, res ad me deferebatur a puero, qui non testem, non pignus indicii exhibere poterat, inpleturus omnes metu, si coepisset audiri. [16] Amatoris et scorti iurgio interponi aures meas credidi infelix et fidem eius suspectam habui, quod non ipse deferret, sed fratrem potius subornaret. [17] Timui, ne negaret mandasse se Cebalino et ego viderer multis amicorum regis fuisse periculi causa. [18] Sic quoque, cum laeserim neminem, inveni, qui mallet perire me quam incolumem esse: quid inimicitiarum creditis excepturum fuisse, [19] si insontes lacesissem? At enim Dymnus se occidit! Num igitur facturum eum divinare potui? Minime. Ita, quod solum indicio fidem fecit, id me, cum a Cebalino interpellate sum, movere non poterat. [20] At heris cules, si conscius Dymno tanti sceleris fuissem, biduo illo, proditos esse nos, dissimulare non debui: [21] Cebalinus ipse tolli de medio nulloque negotio potuit. Denique post delatum indicium, quod operturus eram, cubiculum regis solus intravi, ferro quidem cinctus. Cur distuli facinus? [22] An sine Dymno non sum ausus? Ille igitur princeps coniurationis fuit! sub illius umbra Philotas latebam, qui regnum Macedonum adfecto! Ecquis e vobis corruptus est donis? Quem ducem, quem praefectum inpensius colui? Mihi quidem obicitur, [23] quod societatem patrii sermonis asperner, quod Macedonum mores fastidiam. Sic ego imperio, quod [p. 190] dedignor, immineo! Iam pridem natus ille sermo commercio aliarum gentium exolevit: tam victoriosus, quam victis peregrina lingua discenda est. [24] Non, mehercule, ista me magis laedunt, quam quod Amyntas, Perdiccae filius, insidiatus est regi. Cum quo quod amicitia fuerit mihi, non recuso defendere, si fratrem regis non oportuit diligi a nobis. [25] Sin autem in illo fortunae gradu positum etiam venerari necesse erat, utrum, quaeso, quod non divinavi, reus sum, an impiorum amicis insontibus quoque moriendum est? Quod si aequum est, cur tam diu vivo? si iniustum, cur nunc tamen occidor? [26] At enim scripsi misereri me eorum, quibus vivendum esset sub eo, qui se Iovis filium crederet. Fides amicitiae, veri consilii periculosa libertas, [27] vos me decepistis! vos, quae sentiebam, ne reticerem, impulistis! Scripsisse me haec fateor regi, non de rege scripsisse. Non enim faciebam invidiam, sed pro eo timebam. Dignior mihi Alexander videbatur, qui Iovis stirpem tacitus agnosceret, quam qui praedicatione iactaret. [28] Sed quoniam oraculi fides certa est, sit deus causae meae testis: retinete me in vinculis, dum consulitur Hammo, num arcanum et occultum scelus inierim. Qui regem nostrum dignatus est filium nominare, neminem eorum, qui stirpi suae insidiati sunt, latere patietur. [29] Si certiora oraculis creditis esse tormenta, ne hanc quidem exhibendae veritatis fidem deprecor. [30] Solent rei capitis adhibere vobis

parentes. Duos fratres ego nuper amisi, patrem nec ostendere possum nec invocare audeo, cum et ipse tanti criminis reus [p. 191] sit. [31] Parnm est enim tot modo liberum parentem, in unico filio adquiescentem, eo quoque orbari, nisi ipse in rogam meum inponitur. [32] Ergo, carissime pater, et propter me morieris et mecum: ego tibi vitam adimo, ego senectutem tuam extinguo. Quid enim me procreabas infelicem adversantibus diis? an, ut hos ex me fructus perciperes, [33] qui te manent? Nescio, adulescentia mea miserior sit an senectus tua: ego in ipso robore aetatis eripior, tibi carnifex spiritum adimet, quem, si fortuna expectare voluisset, natura poscebat. [34] Admonuit me patris mei mentio, quam timide et cunctanter, quae Cebalinus detulerat ad me, indicare debuerim. Parmenio enim, cum audisset venenum a Philippo medico regi parari, deterrere eum voluit epistula scripta, quo minus medicamentum biberet, quod medicus dare constitueret. Num creditum est patri meo? num ullam auctoritatem eius litterae habuerunt? [35] Ego ipse quotiens, quae audieram, detuli et cum ludibrio credulitatis repulsus sum! Si et, cum indicamus, invisi et, cum tacemus, suspecti sumus, quid facere nos oportet?’ [36] Cumque unus e circumstantium turba exclamasset: ‘Bene meritis non insidiari!’ [37] Philotas: ‘Recte,’ inquit, ‘quisquis es, dicis. Itaque si insidiatus sum, poenam non deprecor et finem facio dicendi, quoniam ultima verba gravia sunt visa auribus.’ Abducitur deinde ab iis, qui custodiebant eum.

IX. After this the king entered the assembly, manifesting his sorrow by his expression. The sadness of his friends also caused [2] no slight expectation of what was to take place. For a long time the king stood with his eyes fixed upon the ground, like one amazed and at a loss. At last, having recovered his spirits, he said:

“Almost, my soldiers, have I been wrested from you by the wickedness of certain men; for it is by the providence and mercy of the gods that I still live. And the sight of your revered assembly has forced me to be more violently angry with the traitors, since the first, nay, the sole enjoyment of my life is to be able still to requite so many valiant men who have the [3] highest claim upon my gratitude.” His speech was interrupted by the soldiers’ lamentations, and tears sprang to the eyes of all. Then the king continued:

“How much greater emotion shall I rouse in your minds, when I reveal the authors of so great a crime!

From the mention of these I still shrink, and I refrain from calling their names, as if they could be saved.

[4] But I must overcome the memory of my former affection, and the conspiracy of impious citizens must be brought to light. For how can I be silent about such an abomination? Parmenion, old as he is, bound by so many favours of mine, so many of my father’s, the eldest of all our friends, offered himself as the leader [6] in so great a crime. His tool, Philotas, has suborned

against my life Peucolaus, and Demetrius, and this Dymnus, whose body you see before you, and the [6] others infected by the same madness.” On all sides cries of indignation and lament broke out in the whole assembly, such as are wont to be uttered by a multitude, and especially one of soldiers, when they [7] are moved by devotion or by anger. Then Nicomachus and Metron and Cebalinus were brought forward, and set forth what each of them had reported. By the testimony of none of these was Philotas designated as a participant in the crime. Therefore after forceful expression of indignation the rest of the speech was heard in silence.

[8] The king continued: “What, then, seems to you to be the spirit of a man who suppressed the information which was brought to him about this matter — information which the death of Dymnus shows not [9] to have been unfounded? Cebalinus, when reporting an uncertain matter did not fear torture, and Metron was so far from putting off even for a single moment the freeing of his mind, that he even forced his way [10] into the place where I was bathing. Philotas alone had no fear, believed nothing. O the great courage of the man! Would such a man be moved by the danger to his king, would he change countenance, would he listen anxiously to the informer of so great [11] a matter? No doubt this silence conceals a purpose, and the eager hope for royal power drove his mind headlong to the worst of abominations. His father governs Media; he himself, because of the great power which through my influence he has with many leaders of our forces, aspires to greater things than [12] are within his capabilities. He scorns even my bereavement, in that I have no children. But Philotas is mistaken. In you I have children, relatives, kinsmen; while you live, I cannot be without off-

[13] spring.” Then he read an intercepted letter which Parmenion had written to his sons Nicanor and Philotas, which did not, it is true, furnish evidence of [14] any serious design. For this was its substance: “First, look out for yourselves, then for yours; for thus we shall accomplish what we have planned.”

[15] And the king added that the letter was written in such terms, in order that, if it should reach his sons, it could be understood by their accomplices, or if it should have been intercepted, it would deceive those who knew nothing of the plot. Then the king continued: [16] “But, it may be said, Dymnus, when he revealed the other participants in the crime, did not name Philotas. This, in fact, is a sign, not of his innocence, but of his authority, because he was so feared even by those by whom he could be betrayed, that when they confessed their own guilt, they nevertheless did not name him. Furthermore, his own life shows the [17] character of Philotas. He it was who, when Amyntas, my own cousin, in Macedonia made an impious plot against my life, joined with him as an ally and an [18] accomplice. He gave his sister in marriage to Attalus, than whom I had no more dangerous enemy. He, when I had written to him, by right of so close a familiarity and friendship, the nature of the reply which

had been given by the oracle of Jupiter Ammon, had the impudence to reply that he for his part congratulated me that I had been received into the number of the gods, but that he pitied those who would have to live under one who rose above the limitations of a man. These are tokens of a mind which is both long since alienated from me and is also envious of my glory. These things, soldiers, so long as it was possible, I buried in my own thoughts. For it seemed to me that I was tearing away a part of my own flesh, if I should make those upon whom I had conferred such great favours more worthless in my ^[20] sight. But it is no longer mere words that must be punished; rashness of language has passed on to swords. These, if you believe me, Philotas has whetted against me, if you believe him, he has allowed it.

“Whither shall I turn, soldiers? to whom shall I ^[21] trust my life? I have put him in command of the cavalry, the best part of my army, the elite of our noblest young men, I have entrusted to his loyalty and protection my life, my hope, my victory. His father I have raised to the same high rank as that in which you have placed me. I have put under his command and sway Media, than which no region is richer, and so many thousands of citizens and allies. Where I had looked for protection danger has arisen. How happily would I have fallen in battle, the prey of an enemy rather than the victim of a fellow-citizen! Now, saved from the only dangers which I feared, I have met with those which I ought not ^[24] to have feared. You are wont, soldiers, ever and anon to ask me to be careful of my life. You yourselves can furnish me with the means of doing what you advise. To your hands, to your weapons I flee for refuge; I do not wish to be safe, if you do not wish it, if you do wish it, I cannot be unless I am avenged.”

^[25] Then he ordered Philotas to be brought in with his hands bound behind his back and his head veiled in a worn-out cloak. It was readily apparent that men were touched by the wretched plight of one who shortly before had been looked upon with envy.

^[26] The day before they had seen him the commander of the cavalry, they knew that he had been present at a banquet with the king; suddenly they beheld him on trial, it is true, but already condemned, nay, ^[27] even in bonds. There entered their minds also the ill-fortune of Parmenion, so great a general, so distinguished a citizen, who, recently bereft of two sons, Hector and Nicanor, would, though absent, make his plea along with the only son whom ^[28] calamity had left him. Accordingly Amyntas, one of the king's generals, again aroused the assembly, which was inclined towards pity, by a harsh speech against Philotas, saying that they had been betrayed to the barbarians, that no one would return to his wife, to his native land, to his parents, but that like a body bereft of its head, without life, without name, in a foreign land they would be the sport of their ^[29] enemies. The speech of Amyntas was by no means so pleasing to the king as the author of it had hoped, since by

having reminded them of their wives and of their native land he had made them less alert for performing the tasks which remained.

Then Coenus, although he had joined Philotas sister to himself in marriage, inveighed against him more savagely than anyone else, shouting that he ^[31] was a traitor to king, to country, to the army, and catching up a stone which chanced to be lying at his feet, he was on the point of hurling it at him, as many thought because he desired to save him from torture. But the king stayed his hand, declaring that the accused ought to be given the opportunity of first pleading his cause, and that otherwise he would not allow him to be judged. Then Philotas, when ordered to speak, either through consciousness of guilt or beside himself and thunderstruck by the greatness of his peril, did not venture to lift his eyes ^[33] or to open his mouth. Then, with a flood of tears, he swooned and fell into the arms of the man who was holding him; and when his eyes had been dried with the cloak which he was wearing, he gradually recovered his breath and his voice and seemed about to ^[34] speak. And now the king, looking intently at him, said: "The Macedonians are about to pass judgement upon you; I wish to know whether you will use their native tongue in addressing them." ^[35] Thereupon Philotas replied: "Besides the Macedonians there are many present who, I think, will more easily understand what I shall say if I use the same language which you have employed, for no other reason, I suppose, than in order that your speech might be ^[36] understood by the greater number." Then said the king: "Do you not see how Philotas loathes even the language of his fatherland? For he alone disdains to learn it. But let him by all means speak in whatever way he desires, provided that you remember that he holds our customs in as much abhorrence as our language." And with these words he left the assembly.

Then Philotas said: "It is easy for an innocent man to find words, it is difficult for a wretched man to ^[2] keep his words within bounds. Therefore, abandoned between the best of consciences and the most unfavourable of fortunes, I do not know how to suit what I shall say both to my feelings and to the situation. In fact, the best judge of my cause is not present; why he should not wish to hear me himself, I cannot, by Heaven! imagine, since after having heard both sides of the case, he can as readily condemn me as acquit me, but if he has not heard both sides, I cannot be acquitted in his absence since I ^[4] was condemned by him when he was present. But although the defence of a man in fetters is not only superfluous but also odious, since he seems not to inform the judge but to accuse him, nevertheless, in whatever manner I am allowed to speak, I shall not myself fail, nor let myself seem to have been condemned ^[6] by my own voice as well. For my part, I do not see with what crime I am charged; no one among the conspirators names me, Nicomachus said nothing about me, Cebalinus could not know more than he ^[6] had heard. And yet the king believes me to have been the head of the conspiracy! Could Dymnus then fail to mention the one whose follower he was, especially when I ought

to have been named, even falsely, to Nicomachus, who asked who were his associates, in order that the man who was being ^[7] tempted might be more easily persuaded? For when the crime was disclosed, he did not leave out my name in order that he might seem to have spared an associate; for when he confessed to Nicomachus, who he believed would keep in silence the secrets about himself, having named others, me alone he left out. Pray, fellow-soldiers, if Cebalinus had not come to me, if he had wished me to know nothing about the conspirators, would I to-day be pleading my cause, when ^[9] no one named me? Suppose that Dymnus were still alive and wished to spare me, what of the rest? Those who will confess their own guilt will of course be silent about me! Calamity is malign, and as a rule a guilty person, when suffering his own torture, ^[10] assents to that of another. Will so many accomplices not confess the truth even when placed upon the rack? And yet no one spares one who is about to die, and in my opinion one who is about to die spares no one.

^[11] "I must return to the real and only accusation against me: 'Why did you keep silence about the matter which was reported to you? why did you hear it with so little concern?' This, such as it is, you, Alexander, wherever you are, pardoned when I confessed it; grasping your right hand, as a pledge of restored friendship, I even was present at your ^[12] banquet. If you believed me, I was acquitted, if you spared me, I was dismissed; pray abide by your decision. What have I done during this last night, when I left your table? what new crime has been reported ^[13] to you and changed your mind? I was resting in heavy sleep, when, as I had fallen asleep over my misfortunes, my enemies awakened me by binding me. Whence did such deep sleep come to a traitor and ^[14] one who had been betrayed? The wicked cannot sleep soundly because of the clamours of conscience; the Furies torment them when their treason is merely planned, much more when it has been accomplished. But to me, first my blamelessness, then your right hand, had brought freedom from care; I had no fear that more would be allowed on your part ^[15] to the cruelty of others than to your clemency. But to prevent you from regretting your belief in me, let me say that the matter was reported to me by a mere boy, who could show me no witness nor proof of his information, and who would fill all with fear if he should begin to be heard. Unhappily I believed that my ears had ^[16] been exposed to a quarrel of a wanton and his boy, and besides I suspected his truthfulness because he did not himself bring the report, but employed his ^[17] brother instead. I feared lest he should deny having given instructions to Cebalinus, and I should seem to have been the cause of danger to many of the king's ^[18] friends. Even as it is, although I have injured no one, I have found one who preferred that I should perish rather than be unharmed; what enmities do you think I should have incurred, if I had attacked blameless ^[19] persons? But, you will say, Dymnus killed himself! Could I have divined that he would do so? Certainly not. Hence the only thing which has given assurance to this information could not influence me when I was ^[20] accosted by Cebalinus.

But, by Heaven, if I had been an accomplice with Dymnus in so great a crime, I ought not to have concealed for those two days my knowledge that we had been betrayed; Cebalinus himself could have been put out of the ^[21] way, and with no trouble. Finally, after the information which I was going to conceal had been made known, I entered the king's bedroom alone, and wearing a sword. Why did I put off the deed? Was ^[22] it that I did not dare to do it without Dymnus? He then was the leader of the conspiracy and I, Philotas, who aspire to the throne of Macedonia was lurking-under his shadow! Has anyone of you been bribed by gifts? To what general, to what prefect did I show too marked attention?

^[23] "It is even charged against me that I scorn association with my native language, that I disdain the customs of the Macedonians. So then I aspire to the rule of something which I hold in contempt. It is long ago that that native tongue has gone out of use through intercourse with other nations; a foreign language has to be learned as well by the victors as by the vanquished. Those charges, by Heaven! are no more injurious to me than it is that Amyntas, son of Perdiccas, plotted against the king. The charge that I was on friendly terms with him I do not refuse to meet, provided it was our duty not to love the king's ^[25] brother." But if it was necessary even to venerate one in that lofty position, am I, pray, guilty because I did not have the power of divination, or must the innocent friends of guilty men also die? But if that is just, why have I lived so long? if unjust, why am ^[26] I nevertheless to die now? But, it may be said, I also wrote that I pitied those who had to live under a man who believed himself the son of Jupiter. O loyalty to friendship, O dangerous freedom in giving true counsel, it is you that played me false! It was you that impelled me not to keep silent about ^[27] what I thought. I confess that I wrote this to the king, but not about the king. For I did not seek to rouse ill-will against him, but I feared for him. It seemed to me more worthy of Alexander to recognize in silence the parentage of Jupiter, than ^[28] to boast of it publicly. But since the truth of the oracle is sure, let the god bear witness in my case; keep me in fetters while Hammon is asked whether I planned a secret and hidden crime. He who has recognized our king as son will not suffer those who have plotted against his stock to be concealed.

^[29] If you believe tortures to be more trustworthy than oracles, I do not refuse even that testimony for bringing the truth to light.

^[30] "Those who are charged with a capital offence are accustomed to bring their relatives before you. I have recently lost two brothers, my father I cannot bring before you, nor do I dare to appeal to him, since ^[31] he himself is accused of this great crime. For it is not enough that he who was lately the father of so many sons, and now takes comfort in but one, should be bereft of him too, unless he himself is placed upon ^[32] my funeral pyre. Therefore, dearest father, you will die both because of me and with me; it is I who am

taking your life from you, I who am extinguishing you in your old age. Why, pray, did you beget unhappy me under adverse gods? Was it that you might reap [33] from me these fruits which await you? I know not whether my youth or your old age is the more wretched. I am taken off in the very flower of my strength, from you the executioner will take the life which, if Fortune had been willing to wait, Nature was demanding. The mention of my father has reminded me how timidly and hesitatingly I ought to have revealed what Cebalinus had reported to me. For Parmenion, when he had heard that poison was being prepared for the king by his physician Philip, wrote him a letter and tried to prevent him from drinking the potion which the physician had decided [35] to give him. Was my father believed? His letter had no weight, had it? As for myself, how often have I reported what I had heard and been repulsed with mockery of my credulity! If we are both disliked when we report anything, and suspected when [36] we keep silence, what are we to do?" And when one of the throng of bystanders had exclaimed "not plot against your benefactors!", Philotas replied: [37] "You speak rightly, whoever you are. Hence, if I have so plotted, I do not beg for immunity from punishment, and I make an end of speaking, since my last words have seemed to displease your ears." Philotas was then led away by the men who were guarding him.

Erat inter duces manu strenuus Bolon quidam, pacis artium et civilis habitus rudis, vetus miles, ab [p. 192] humili ordine ad eum gradum, in quo tunc erat, promotus: [2] qui tacentibus ceteris stolidam audaciam ferox admonere eos coepit, quotiens suis quisque deversoriis, quae occupassent, proturbatus esset, ut purgamenta servorum Philotae reciperentur eo, [3] unde commilitones expulissent. Auro argentoque vehicula eius onusta totis vicis stetisse, ac ne in viciniam quidem deversorii quemquam commilitonum receptum esse, sed per dispositos, quos supra somnum habebat, omnis procul relegatos, [4] ne femina illa murmurantium inter se silentio verius quam sono excitaretur. Ludibrio ei fuisse rusticos homines Phrygasque et Paphlagonas appellatos, qui non erubesceret, Macedo natus, homines linguae suae per interpretem audire. [5] Nunc eum Hammonem consuli velle: at eundem Iovis arguisse mendacium Alexandrum filium agnoscentis, scilicet veritatem, ne invidiosum esset, quod dii offerrent. [6] Cum insidiaretur capiti regis et amici, non consuluisse eum Iovem: nunc ad oraculum mittere, dum pater eius sollicitet, quibus praesit in Media, et pecunia, cuius custodia commissa sit, perditos homines ad societatem sceleris impellat. [7] Ipsos missuros ad oraculum, non qui Iovem interrogent, quod ex rege cognoverint, sed qui gratias agant, [p. 193] qui vota pro incolumitate regis optimi persolvant. [8] Tum vero universa contio accensa est, et a corporis custodibus initium factum clamantibus, discernendum esse parricidam manibus eorum. Id quidem Philotas, qui graviora supplicia metueret, haud sane iniquo animo audiebat: [9] at rex in contionem reversus, sive ut in custodia quoque torqueret, sive ut diligentius cuncta cognosceret, concilium in posterum diem distulit et, quamquam in vesperam inclinabat dies, tamen amicos convocari iubet. [10] Et ceteris quidem placebat,

Macedonum more obrui saxis, Hephaestio autem et Craterus et Coenos tormentis veritatem exprimendam esse dixerunt: et illi quoque, qui aliud suaserant, in horum sententiam transeunt. [11] Consilio ergo dimisso Hephaestion cum Cratero et Coeno ad quaestionem de Philota habendam consurgunt. [12] Rex Cratero accersito et sermone habito, cuius summa non edita est, in intimam deversorii partem secessit et remotis arbitris in multam noctem quaestionis expectavit eventum. [13] Tortores in conspectum Philotae omnia crudelitatis instrumenta proponunt. [14] Et ille ultro: 'Quid cessatis,' inquit, 'regis inimicum, interfectorem confitentem occidere? Quid quaestione opus est? cogitavi, volui.' Craterus exigere, ut, quae confiteretur, in tormentis quoque diceret. [15] Tum corripitur et, dum obligantur oculi, dum vestis exuitur, deos patrios, gentium iura nequiquam apud [p. 194] surdas aures invocabat. Per ultimos deinde cruciatus, utpote et damnatus et inimicis in gratiam regis torquentibus, [16] laceratur. Ac primo, quamquam hinc ignis, illinc verbera iam non ad quaestionem, sed ad poenam ingerebantur, [17] non vocem modo, sed etiam gemitus habuit in potestate: sed postquam intumescens corpus ulceribus flagellorum ictus nudis ossibus incussos ferre non poterat, si tormentis adhibitori modum essent, [18] dicturum se, quae scire expeterent, pollicetur. Sed finem quaestioni fore, iurare eos per Alexandri salutem volebat removerique tortores. [19] Et utroque inpetrato: 'Cratere,' inquit, 'dic, quid me velis dicere.' Illo indignante ludificari eum rursusque revocante tortores tempus petere coepit, dum reciperet spiritum, cuncta, [20] quae sciret, indicaturus. Interim equites, nobilissimus quisque et ii maxime, qui Parmenionem propinqua cognatione contingebant, postquam Philotan torqueri fama vulgaverat, legem Macedonum veriti, qua cautum erat, ut propinqueorum, qui regi insidiati essent, cum ipsis necarentur, alii se interficiunt, alii in devios montes vastasque solitudines fugiuntingenti per tota castra terrore diffuso, donec rex tumultu cognito legem se de supplicio coniunctorum sontibus remittere edixit. [21] Philotas verone an mendacio liberare se a cruciatu voluerit, [22] anceps coniectura est, quoniam et vera confessis et falsa dicentibus idem doloris finis ostenditur. Ceterum: [p. 195] 'Pater,' inquit, 'meus Hegelochus quam familiariter usus sit, non ignoratis: illum dico Hegelochum, qui in acie cecidit: [23] omnium malorum nobis is fuit causa. Nam cum primum Iovis filium se salutari iussit rex, id indigne ferens ille: 'Hunc igitur regem agnoscimus,' inquit, 'qui Philippum dedignatur patrem? Actum est de nobis, si ista perpeti possumus. [24] Non homines solum, sed etiam deos despicit, qui postulat deus credi. Amisimus Alexandrum, amisimus regem : incidimus in superbiam nec dis, quibus se exaequat, nec hominibus, quibus se eximit, tolerabilem. [25] Nostrone sanguine deum fecimus, qui nos fastidiat? qui gravetur mortalium adire concilium? Credite mihi, et nos, si viri sumus, a dis adoptabimur. [26] Quis proavum huius Alexandrum, quis deinde Archelaum, quis Perdiccan occisos ultus est? [27] Hic quidem interfectorebus patris ignovit.' Haec Hegelochus dixit super cenam: et postero die prima luce a patre accersor. Tristis erat et me maestum videbat:

audieramus enim, quae sollicitudinem incuterent. [28] Itaque, ut experiremur, utrumne vino gravatus effudisset illa an altiore concepta consilio, accersi eum placuit. Advenit ille eodemque sermone ultro repetito adiecit, se, sive auderemus duces esse, proximas a nobis partes vindicaturum, sive deesset animus, consilium lentio esse tecturum. [29] Parmenioni vivo adhuc Dareo [p. 196] intempestiva res videbatur: non enim sibi, sed hosti esse occisuros Alexandrum, Dareo vero sublato praemium regis occisi Asiam et totum Orientem interfectoribus esse cessura. Adprobatoque consilio in haec fides et data est et accepta. [30] Quod ad Dymnum pertinet, nihil scio et haec confessus intellego non prodesse mihi, [31] quod praesentis sceleris expers sum.' Illi rursus tormentis admotis, cum ipsis quoque hastis os oculosque eius everberarent, expressere, ut hoc quoque crimen confiteretur. [32] Exigentibus deinde, ut ordinem cogitati sceleris exponeret, cum diu Bactra retentura regem viderentur, timuisse respondit, ne pater LXX natus annos, tanti exercitus dux tantus, tantae pecuniae custos, interim extingueretur, ipsique spoliato tantis viribus occidendi regis causa non esset. [33] Festinasse ergo se, dum praemium in manibus haberet, repraesentare consilium: cui patrem afuisse nisi crederent, tormenta, quamquam iam tolerare non posset, tamen non recusare. [34] Illi conlocuti satis quaesitum videri ad regem revertuntur, qui postero die et, quae confessus erat Philotas, recitari et ipsum, quia ingredi non poterat, [35] iussit adferri. Omnia agnoscente eo Demetrius, qui proximi sceleris particeps esse arguebatur, producitur. Multa adfirmatione animique pariter et constantia et vultus abnuens, [36] quicquam sibi in regem cogitatum esse, tormenta etiam deposcebat in semetipsum : cum [p. 197] Philotas circumlatis oculis, ut incidere in Calan quendam haud procul stantem, propius eum iussit accedere. Illo perturbato et recusante transire ad eum: 'Patieris,' inquit, 'Demetrium mentiri rursusque me excruciar?' Calan vox sanguisque defecerant, [37] et Macedones Philotan inquinare innoxios velle suspicabantur, quia nec a Nicomacho nec ab ipso Philota, cum torqueretur, nominatus esset adulescens: qui ut praefectos regis circumstantes se vidit, Demetrium et semetipsum id facinus cogitasse confessus est. [38] Omnes ergo a Nicomacho nominati more patrio dato signo saxis obruti sunt. [39] Magno non salutis, sed etiam invidiae periculo liberatus erat Alexander: quippe Parmenio et Philotas, principes amicorum, nisi palam sotes sine indignatione totius exercitus non potuissent damnari. [40] Itaque dum anceps quaestio fuit, dum infitatus est facinus, crudeliter torqueri videbatur: post confessionem etiam Philotae amicorum misericordia vana erat.

XI. There was among the generals one Bolon, valiant in deeds of arms, but unacquainted with the arts of peace and with civil manners, an old soldier, who had risen from a humble rank to the position [2] which he then held; he, when the rest were silent, rudely and with coarse audacity began to remind them how often they had been put out of the quarters which they had occupied in order that the offscourings of Philotas' slaves might be received in the places from which they had driven out his [3] fellowsoldiers. That his wagons laden with gold and silver had stood in whole sections of the city, and that not

one of his fellow-soldiers was admitted even to the neighbourhood of his lodging, but they were all removed to a distance by those whom he had placed in their positions to watch over his sleep, lest that she-man might be disturbed by what is more truly described as the silence than the sound of those who [4] whispered together. That the rustic men had always been objects of his mockery, and were called Phrygians and Paphlagonians by one who, though born a Macedonian, did not blush that men of his own language heard his words through an interpreter.

[5] Now he wished Hammon to be consulted; but that same man accused Jupiter of lying when he acknowledged Alexander as his son, fearing, forsooth, lest what the gods offered should be an object of envy!

[6] When he was plotting against the life of his king and his friend, he did not consult Jupiter; now he would send to the oracle, in order that in the meantime his father may arouse those whom he governs in Media, and with the money entrusted to his charge may [7] induce abandoned men to share in his crime. They themselves would send to the oracle, not to ask Jupiter what they had learned from the king, but to thank him, and pay the vows which they had made for the safety of the best of kings.

[8] Then truly the whole assembly was inflamed, and a beginning was made by the body-guards, who shouted that the traitor ought to be torn to pieces by their own hands. This indeed Philotas, who feared severer tortures, heard by no means reluctantly; [9] but the king, having returned to the assembly, either that he might also “torture him in prison, or that he might investigate the whole matter more carefully, adjourned the council to the following day, and although the time was approaching evening, he nevertheless ordered his friends to be called together.

[10] And the rest for their part recommended that Philotas be stoned to death, according to the ancient custom of the Macedonians, but Hephaestion and Craterus and Coenus said that the truth ought to be forced from him by torments; and those also who had recommended the other course went over to their [11] opinion. Therefore the council was dismissed, and Hephaestion with Craterus and Coenus arose to put [12] Philotas to the question. The king, having summoned Craterus and had a talk with him, the subject of which has not been made public, withdrew into the inner part of his quarters, and dismissing all witnesses awaited until late at night the result of the inquisition.

[13] The torturers laid out all their instruments of [14] cruelty before the eyes of Philotas. And he, of his own accord, said: “Why do you delay to kill the king’s enemy, the murderer who confesses that he wished to kill him? What is the need of an inquisition? I planned it, I wished it.” Craterus demanded that what he confessed he should also say under torture.

[15] Then he was seized, and while his eyes were being bound, while his clothing was being taken off, he called upon his country's gods and on the law of nations, but vainly to deaf ears. Then he was torn by the utmost torments, inasmuch as he had been condemned and his personal enemies were torturing [16] him to gratify the king. And at first, although now fire, and now the lash was used upon him, no longer for the purpose of seeking the truth, but as a punishment, he kept not only words but even groans under [17] control; but when his body, swollen with wounds, could no longer endure the blows of the scourges upon his bare bones, he promised that if they would moderate his tortures, he would tell them what they [18] wished to know. But he wished them to swear by Alexander's life that there would be an end to the torments, and the torturers removed. And when both things were granted, he said: "Tell me, Craterus, what you wish me to say." And when Craterus was indignant that Philotas was mocking him, and was calling the torturers back again, Philotas began to ask for time until he could recover his breath, after which he would tell everything which he knew.

[20] Meanwhile the cavalry, all those of the noblest birth and especially such as were nearly related to Parmenion, after the report had spread abroad that Philotas was being tortured, fearing the law of the Macedonians by which it was provided that the relatives of those who had plotted against the king should be put to death with the guilty parties, some killed themselves, others fled to out-of-the-way mountains and to lonely desert places, while great terror spread through the entire camp, until the king, learning of the tumult, made proclamation that he remitted the law providing for the punishment of those related to the guilty parties.

[21] Whether Philotas wished to free himself from further torture by telling the truth or by a falsehood, it is difficult to divine, since the same end to suffering is offered to those who have confessed the truth and [22] to those who say what is false. At any rate, Philotas said: "How intimate my father was with Hegelochus you know well; I mean the Hegelochus who fell in battle; he was the cause of all our misfortunes.

[23] For as soon as the king gave orders that he should be saluted as the son of Jupiter, Hegelochus, indignant at that, said: 'Are we then to recognize this king, who disdains Philip as his father? It is all over with [24] us if we can endure that. He scorns, not only men, but even the gods, who demands to be believed a god. We have lost Alexander, we have lost our king; we have fallen under a tyranny endurable neither to the gods, to whom he makes himself equal, nor to men, [26] from whom he separates himself. Have we at the price of our blood created a god who disdains us, who is reluctant to enter into council with mortals? Believe me, we too, if we are men, shall be adopted by [26] the gods. Who avenged the death of Alexander, the ancestor of this one, who afterwards that of Archelaus, who of Perdiccas? He himself pardoned the

murderers of his father.

[27] “These were the words of Hegelochus at dinner; and on the dawn of the following day I was summoned by my father. He was troubled and saw that I was sad; for we had heard what struck anxiety [28] into our hearts. Therefore, in order to learn whether Hegelochus had blurted out those words when heavy with wine, or whether they were inspired by some deeper design, we decided to have him summoned. He came, and after repeating the same sentiments of his own accord, he added that if we dared to take the lead, he would claim from us the honour of seconding our plan, or if we lacked the courage, he would bury [29] the plan in silence. To Parmenion the plan seemed premature while Darius still lived: for they would be killing Alexander, not for themselves, but for the enemy; but if Darius were out of the way, as a reward for killing the king Asia and the entire Orient would fall to his slayers. This advice was approved, and a pledge to that end was given and received.

[30] So far as Dymnus is concerned, I know nothing, but I know that after this confession it does not avail me that I have no part in the present crime.”

[31] They again applied tortures, and striking at his face and eyes with their own spears as well, they forced him to plead guilty to that crime also.

[32] Then, when they required him to set forth the order of the proposed deed, he replied that since it seemed that Bactra would detain the king for a long time, they feared that his father,” being seventy years old, the leader of so great an army and custodian of so great a treasure, might meanwhile die, and that he himself, robbed of so great strength, would have [33] no reason for killing the king. That therefore he had hastened to carry out promptly the design while he had the prize in his hands; unless they believed that his father had no part in the present design, although he could no longer endure tortures, yet he did not [34] refuse them. They, after talking together, thinking that sufficient question had been made, returned to the king, who gave orders that on the following day what Philotas had confessed should be read, and that he himself should be carried in, since he could not walk.

[35] When he had acknowledged everything, Demetrius, who was accused of sharing in the latest conspiracy, was led in. He stoutly denied, with equal assurance of mind and of countenance, that he had formed any design against the king, and even demanded that he [36] himself should be put to the question; when Philotas, turning his eyes on all sides, as they fell upon a certain Calas, standing near by, bade him approach nearer. When he was troubled and refused to cross over to him, Philotas said: “Will you allow Demetrius [37] to lie, and me to be tortured again?” Calas turned pale and lost the power of speech, and the Macedonians suspected that Philotas wished to besmirch the innocent with guilt, since the youth had not been named by Nicomachus nor by Philotas when he was being tortured; but when he saw himself surrounded

by the king's prefects, he confessed that Demetrius ^[38] and he himself had planned that crime. Therefore all who had been named by Nicomachus were stoned to death on a given signal, after the usage of their country.

^[39] Alexander had been freed from great danger, not indeed of death, but of hatred; for Parmenion and Philotas, the chief men among his friends, unless clearly shown to be guilty, could not have been condemned without exciting the indignation of the ^[40] whole army. Thus the issue of the case was doubtful as long as he denied the crime; that his torture was continued after the confession was considered an act of cruelty; and now Philotas merited the compassion of his friends.

BOOK VII.

Philotan sicut recentibus sceleris eius vestigiis iure adfectum supplicio censuerant milites, ita, postquam desierat esse, quem odissent, invidia in misericordiam vertit. [2] Moverat et claritas iuvenis et patris eius senectus atque orbitas. [3] Primus Asiam aperuerat regi, omnium periculorum eius particeps semper alterum in acie cornu defenderat, Philippo quoque ante omnes amicus et ipsi Alexandrotam fidus, ut occidendi Attalum non alio ministro uti mallet. [4] Horum cogitatio subibat exercitum, seditiosaeque voces referebantur ad regem. Quis ille haud sane motus satiusque prudens, otii vitia negotio discuti, edicit, ut omnes in vestibulo regiae praesto sint. [5] Quos ubi frequentes adesse cognovit, in contionem processit. Haud dubie ex [p. 199] composito Atarrhias postulare coepit, ut Lyncestes Alexander, qui multo ante quam Philotas regem voluisset occidere, exhiberetur. [6] A duobus indicibus, sicut supra diximus, delatus tertium iam annum custodiebatur in vinculis. Eundem in Philippi quoque caedem coniurasse cum Pausania pro conperto fuit, sed quia primus Alexandrum regem salutaverat, supplicio magis quam crimini fuerat exemptus: [7] tum quoque Antipatri soceri eius preces iustam regis iram morabantur. Ceterum recruduit suppuratus dolor: quippe veteris periculi memoriam praesentis cura renovabat. [8] Igitur Alexander ex custodia educitur iussusque dicere, quamquam toto triennio meditatus erat defensionem, tamen haesitans et trepidus pauca ex his, quae composuerat, protulit, ad ultimum non memoria solum, sed etiam mens eum destituit. [9] Nulli erat dubium, quin trepidatio conscientiae indicium esset, non memoriae vitium. Itaque ex iis, qui proximi adstiterant, obluctantem adhuc oblivioni lanceis confoderunt. [10] Cuius corpore ablato rex introduci iussit Amyntam et Simian: nam Polemon, minimus ex fratribus, cum Philotan torqueri conperisset, profugerat. [11] Omnium Philotae amicorum hi carissimi fuerant, ad magna et honorata ministeria illius maxime suffragatione producti, memineratque rex, summo studio ab eo [p. 200] conciliatos sibi, nec dubitabat huius quoque ultimi consilii fuisse participes. [12] Igitur queritur olim sibi esse suspectas matris suae litteris, quibus esset admonitus, ut ab his salutem suam tueretur: ceterum se invitum deteriora credentem nunc manifestis indiciis victum iussisse vinciri. [13] Nam pridie, quam detegeretur Philotae scelus, quin in secreto cum eo fuissent, non posse dubitari. Fratrem vero, qui profugerit, cum de Philota quaereretur, aperuisse fugae causam. [14] Nuper praeter consuetudinem officii specie amotis longius ceteris admovisse semctipsos lateri suo nulla probabili causa, seque mirantem, quod non vice sua tali fungerentur officio, et ipsa trepidatione eorum perterritum strenue ad armigeros, qui proxime sequebantur, recessisse. [15] Ad haec accedere, quod, cum Antiphanes, scribe equitum, Amyntac denuntiasset, pridie quam Philotae scelus deprehensum esset, ut ex suis equis more solito daret iis, qui amisissent equos, superbe respondisset, nisi incepto desisteret, brevi sciturum, quis ipse esset. [16] Iam linguae violentiam temeritatemque verborum, quae in

semetipsum iacularentur, nihil aliud esse quam scelesti animi indicem ac testem. Quae si vera essent, idem meruisse eos, quod Philotan, si falsa, exigere ipsum, [17] ut refellant. Productus deinde Antiphanes de equis [p. 201] non traditis et adiectis etiam superbe minis indicat. [18] Tum Amyntas facta dicendi potestate : ‘Si nihil,’ inquit, ‘interest regis, peto, ut, dum dico, vinculis liberer.’ Rex solvi utrumque iubet desiderantique Amyntae, ut habitus quoque redderetur armigeri, lanceam dari iussit. [19] Quam ut laeva comprehendit, evitato eo loco, in quo Alexandri corpus paulo ante iacuerat: ‘Qualiscumque,’ inquit, ‘exitus nos manet, rex, confitemur prosperum tibi debituros, tristiores fortunae inputaturos. [20] putaturos. Sine praeiudicio dicimus causam liberis corporibus animisque: habitum etiam, in quote comitari solemus, reddidisti. Causam non possum us, fortunam timere desinemus. [21] Et, quaeso, permittas mihi id primum defendere, quod a te ultimum obiectum est. Nos, rex, sermonis adversus maiestatem tuam habiti nullius conscii sumus nobis. Dicerem iam pridem vicisse te invidiam, nisi periculum esset, ne alia malignius dicta crederes blanda oratione purgari. [22] Ceterum etiam si militis tui vel in agmine deficientis et fatigati vel in acie periclitantis vel in tabernaculo aegri et vulnera curantis aliqua vox asperior esset accepta, merueramus fortibus factis, ut mallet ea tempori nostro imputare quam animo. [23] Cum quid accidit tristius, omnes rei sumus: corporibus nostris, quae utique non odimus, infestas admovemus manus: parentes, liberi si occurrant, et ingrati et invisus sunt. Contra cum donis honoramur, cum praemiis onusti revertimur, [p. 202] quis ferre nos potest? [24] quis illam animorum alacritatem continere? Militantium nec indignatio nec laetitia moderata est: ad omnes adfectus impetu rapimur. Vituperamus laudamus, miseremur irascimur, utcumque praesens movit adfectio: modo Indiam adire et Oceanum libet, modo coniugum et liberorum patriaeque memoria occurrit. [25] Sed has cogitationes, has inter se conloquentium voces signum tuba datum finit: in suos quisque ordines currimus, et, quidquid irarum in tabernaculo conceptum est, in hostium effunditur capita. [26] Utinam Philotas quoque intra verba peccasset! Proinde ad id revertar, propter quod rei sumus. Amicitiam, quae nobis cum Philota fuit, adeo non eo infitias, ut expetisse quoque nos magnosque ex ea fructus percepisse confitear. [27] An vero Parmenionis, quem tibi proximum esse voluisti, filium omnes paene amicos tuos dignatione vincentem cultum a nobis esse miraris? [28] Tu, hercules, si verum audire vis, rex, huius nobis periculi es causa. Quis enim alius effecit, ut ad Philotan decurrerent, qui placere vellent tibi? Ab illo traditi ad hunc gradum amicitiae tuae ascendimus: is apud te fuit, cuius et gratiam expetere et iram timere possemus. [29] Si non propemodum in tua verba, at tui omnes te praeunte iuravimus, eosdem nos inimicos amicosque habituros esse, quos tu habe- [p. 203] res. Hoc sacramento pietatis obstricti aversaremur scilicet, [30] quem tu omnibus praeferebas ! Igitur, si hoc crimen est, paucos innocentes habes, immo, hercules, neminem. Omnes enim Philotae amici esse voluerunt, sed totidem, quot volebant esse, non poterant. Ita, si a consciis amicos non dividis,

ne ab amicis quidem separabis illos, qui idem esse voluerunt. [31] Quod igitur conscientiae adfertur indicium? Ut opinor, quia pridie familiariter et sine arbitris locutus est nobiscum. At ego purgare non possem, si pridie quicquam ex vetere vita ac more mutassem. Nunc vero, si, ut omnibus diebus, illo quoque, qui suspectus est, fecimus, consuetudo diluet crimen. [32] Sed equos Antiphani non dedimus, et pridie, quam Philotas detectus est. Hie mihi cum Antiphane res erit. Qui si nos suspectus facere vult, quod illo die equos non dederimus, semetipsum, quod eos desideraverit, purgare non poterit. [33] Anceps enim crimen est inter retinentem et exigentem, nisi quod melior est causa suum non tradentis quam poscentis alienum. [34] Ceterum, rex, equos decem habui: e quibus Antiphanes octo iam distribuerat iis, qui amiserant suos, omnino duos ipse habebam: quos cum vellet abducere homo superbissimus, certe iniquissimus, nisi pedes militare vellem, retinere cogebar. [35] Nec infitias eo, liberi hominis animo locu- [p. 204] tum esse me cum ignavissimo et hoc unum militiae ius usurpante, ut alienos equos pugnaturis distribuatur. Huc enim malorum ventum est, ut verba mea eodem tempore et Alexandro excuseam et Antiphani! [36] At, hercule, mater de nobis inimicis tuis scripsit. Utinam prudentius esset sollicita pro filio et non inanes quoque species anxio animo figuraret! Quare enim non ascribit metus sui causam? denique non ostendit auctorem? Quo facto dictove nostro mota tam trepidas tibi litteras scripsit? O miseram condicionem meam, [37] quia forsitan non periculosius est tacere quam dicere! Sed utcumque cessura res est, malo tibi defensionem meam displicere quam causam. Agnosces autem, quae dicturus sum: quippe meministi, cum me ad perducendos ex Macedonia milites mitteres, dixisse te, multos integros iuvenes in domo tuae matris abscondi. [38] Praecepisti igitur mihi, ne quem praeter te intuerer, sed detrectantes militiam perducerem ad te. Quod equidem feci et liberius, quam expediebat mihi, executus sum tuum imperium. [39] Gorgiam et Hecataeum et Gorgidan, quorum bona opera uteris, inde perduxisti. Quid igitur iniquius est quam me, qui, si tibi non paruissem, iure daturus fui poenas, nunc perire, quia parui? Neque enim ulla alia matri tuae persequendi nos causa est, quam quod utilitatem tuam muliebri prae- [p. 205] posuimus gratiae. [40] vi milia Macedonum peditum et DC equites adduxi: quorum pars secutura me non erat, si militiam detrectantibus indulgere voluissem. Sequitur ergo, ut, quia illa propter hanc causam irascitur nobis, tu mitiges matrem, qui irae eius nos obtulisti.’

I. ALTHOUGH while the traces of his crime were fresh, the soldiers believed that Philotas had been justly punished, yet after the man whom they hated had [2] ceased to live, hatred changed to pity. The distinction of the young Philotas affected them, and the old bereavement of his father. Parmenion had been the first to open Asia to the king and as his partner in all dangers had had charge of one wing of the army in battle; he had also been first of Philip's friends, and was so faithful to Alexander himself that Alexander preferred to use no other emissary in killing Attalus. The thought of these things occurred to the army and mutinous words were reported to the king. He, being not greatly

disturbed by these, and well aware that the faults idleness are dispelled by activity, made proclamation for all to appear at the entrance of his head [5] quarters. When he learned that they were present there in great numbers, he entered the assembly.

Atarrhias, undoubtedly by previous arrangement, began by asking that Lyncestes Alexander, long before Philotas had wished to kill the king, should be brought before them. He had been — , with this by two informers, as we have said above, and was now spending the third year of his imprisonment in fetters. It was regarded as certain that he had also with Pausanias, conspired to kill Philip, but because he had been the first to hail Alexander as king, he was exempted from punishment rather than [7] from guilt; then too the prayers of his father-in-law Antipater were delaying the king's just anger. However, the resentment which had been coming to a head broke out anew, since anxiety from the present danger revived the memory of the one of long standing Therefore Alexander (Lyncestes) was brought out of prison and when ordered to speak, although for three whole years he had practised a defence, yet hesitating and trembling he presented only a few words of what he had composed, and finally, not [9] only his memory, but his thoughts failed him. No one doubted that his alarm was an indication of a guilty conscience and not of a failure of memory. Accordingly, some of those who stood nearest to him ran him through with their lances as he was still struggling with forgetfulness. —

[10] When his body had been taken away, the king ordered Amyntas and Simias to be brought in, for Polemon, the youngest of the brothers, had fled when he heard that Philotas was being tortured.

[11] These had been the dearest of all Philotas friends, and had been advanced to important and honourable positions mainly through his influence, and the king remembered that Philotas had recommended them to him with the greatest urgency, and did not doubt that they had been participants also in this last design [12] of his. Therefore he complained that they had long since been objects of his suspicion because of letters of his mother, in which he had been warned to protect his life against them; but that although he had been unwilling to believe unfavourable reports, now forced by clear proofs, he had ordered them to be imprisoned. For it could not be doubted that the day before the crime of Philotas was revealed they had been with him in secret. Moreover, their brother who had run away during the inquisition of Philotas [14] had made clear the reason for his flight. Lately, under the pretence of rendering service, they had removed all other persons to a distance, and contrary to custom had attached themselves to his side without any plausible reason, and because he was surprised that they performed such service out of their turn, and alarmed by their very confusion, he had quickly taken refuge with his guards who were following close after him.

[15] It was added to this, that when Antiphanes, commissary of the cavalry, had

given orders to Amyntas, the day before the crime of Philotas had been discovered, that, as was usual, he should turn over some of his horses to those who had lost theirs, Amyntas had replied insolently, that unless Antiphanes gave up his attempt, he would soon know who Amyntas was. That now his violent tongue and the rash words that were hurled at the king himself were nothing other than an indication of, and testimony to, an evil design. If these charges were true, those men deserved the same treatment as Philotas, if false, he himself demanded that they should refute them.

[17] Then Antiphanes, being brought forward, gave testimony about the failure to deliver the horses and also [18] that Amyntas had arrogantly added threats. Then Amyntas, on being given permission to speak, said: "If it makes no difference to the king, I ask that, while I am speaking I may be freed from fetters." The king ordered both to be released, and when Amyntas desired that the apparel of a guard also be restored to him, he ordered that a lance be given him.

[19] When he took this in his left hand, shunning the place in which the body of Alexander Lyncestes had lain a short time before, Amyntas said: "Whatever outcome awaits us, Sire, we confess that if it is favourable, we shall owe it to you; that if it is less so, we [20] shall attribute it to ill-fortune. We plead our cause without prejudice, bodies and minds both free; you have also even restored the apparel in which we are accustomed to attend you. We cannot distrust our cause, we shall cease to fear ill-fortune.

[21] "And, I pray you, allow me to meet first the charge which you last made against me. We, Sire, are conscious of no language directed against your majesty. I would say that you have long since risen superior to ill-will, if there were not danger lest you might believe that other more malicious words were [22] being purged away by flattering language. But even if some harsher speech had been heard from a soldier of yours, either when wearied and worn out on the march or encountering danger in battle, or in his tent when ailing and attending to his wounds, we have deserved by brave deeds that you should prefer to impute it to our exigency rather than to ill-will.

[23] Whenever anything especially sad happens, we are all criminals; we turn hostile hands against our own bodies, which we in no way hate; parents, if they oppose their children, become disliked and hated. On the other hand, when we are honoured by gifts, when we return loaded with prizes, who can endure us? who can master that enthusiasm of spirit? With soldiers neither their indignation nor their joy is restrained; we are carried away with violence to all emotions. We blame, we praise; we pity, we show anger, just as the present emotion affects us; now it pleases us to go to India and the Ocean, now the memory of wives and children and of fatherland causes opposition.

[25] "But to these thoughts, these words of those who talk together, the signal

given by the trumpet puts an end; we hasten each to his own place in the ranks, and whatever anger had been conceived in the tent is discharged upon the heads of the enemy. Would that Philotas also had confined his wrongdoing to [26] words! Therefore let me return to the matter about which we are being accused. The friendship that we had with Philotas I am so far from denying, that I admit that we both sought from it and gained from it [27] great fruitage. Or indeed do you wonder that the son of Parmenion, whom you have been pleased to have next in rank to yourself, surpassing almost all [28] your friends in distinction, was courted by us? You, by Heaven!, if you are willing to listen to the truth, Sire, are the cause of our present jeopardy. For who else brought it about that those who wished to please you should run to Philotas? It is because we were recommended by him that we have mounted to our present rank in your friendship; he held such a place in your estimation, that we might seek his [29] favour and fear his anger. Have we not, all of us soldiers, sworn, if not almost in your own words, at least in the form dictated by you, that we would regard the same men as enemies and friends as yourself? Bound as we were by this oath of loyalty, we were, forsooth, to be unfriendly to one [30] whom you preferred to all others! Therefore, if this is a crime, you have few who are blameless, nay, by Heaven, not one. For all wished to be friends of Philotas, but not all those who wished to be could be. So, if you do not distinguish his friends from the guilty, you will not separate, either, from his friends those who have wished to be such.

[31] “What evidence of guilty knowledge, then, is brought against us? I suppose it is because the day before he talked with us familiarly and without witnesses. But I could not excuse myself, if on that, day I had made any change in my former life and custom. So, now that on that day also which is the object of suspicion we did what we did every day, adherence to custom will free us from guilt.

[32] “But we did not hand over the horses to Antiphanes, and that too on the day before Philotas was unmasked. This will be a matter between me and Antiphanes. If he wished to expose us to suspicion because on that day we did not give him the horses, he will not be able to justify himself because he asked [33] for them then. For the guilt is in doubt as between him who retained them and him who demanded them, except that the cause of one who did not give up what was his own is better than that of one who [31] demanded what belonged to another. As a matter of fact, Sire, I had ten horses, of which Antiphanes had already distributed eight to those who had lost their own and I myself had left but two in all; when that most insolent man, at any rate the most unfair, wished to lead away these, I was forced to retain [35] them unless I wished to fight on foot. And I do not deny that I spoke to him in the spirit of a free man, addressing one of the basest and one who enjoyed only this privilege of military service, of distributing the horses of others to those who were going to fight. For it has come to this condition of evils, that I must

excuse my words at the same time both to Alexander and to Antiphanes!

[36] “But, by Heaven! your mother has written that we are your enemies. Would that her solicitude for her son had been accompanied by more prudence, and that she had not through anxiety of mind pictured vain phantoms! For why does she not add the reason for her fear? finally, why does she not reveal the authority for it? By what deed or word of ours was [37] she moved to write you so agitated a letter? O wretched fortune of mine, since perhaps it is not more dangerous to be silent than to speak! But whatever the result may be, I prefer that it should be my manner of defence rather than my cause that displeases you. But you will admit what I am about to say; for you remember that when you sent me to bring soldiers from Macedonia, you said that there were many young men fit for service who were hidden [38] away in your mother’s palace. Therefore you instructed me that I should regard no one except you, but should bring to you those who declined military service. This I did, and I executed your order with more zeal than was expedient for me. I brought from there Gorgias, Hecataeus, and Gorgidas, who [39] are rendering you good service. What, then, is more unjust than that I, who, if I had not obeyed you, would justly have suffered punishment, should now die because I did obey? For your mother has no other reason for persecuting us than that we preferred [40] your advantage to a woman’s favour. I brought 6000 Macedonian infantry and 600 horsemen; a part of these would not have followed me, if I had been willing to show indulgence to those who shrank from military service. Therefore it follows that, because it is for that reason that she is angry with us, you should soothe your mother, since it is you who have exposed us to her anger.”

Dum haec Amyntas agit, forte supervenerunt, qui fratrem eius Polemonem, de quo ante est dictum, fugientem consecuti vinctum reducebant. Infesta contio vix inhiberi potuit, quin protinus suo more saxa in eum iaceret. [2] Atque ille sane interritus: ‘Nihil,’ inquit, ‘pro me deprecor, modo ne fratrum innocentiae fuga inputetur mea. Haec si defendi non potest, meum crimen sit. Horum ob id ipsum melior est causa, [3] quod ego, quia profugi, suspectus sum.’ At haec elocuto universa contio adsensa est: lacrimae deinde omnibus manare coeperunt adeo in contrarium repente mutatis, ut solum pro eo esset, quod maxime laeserat. [4] Iuvenis erat primo aetatis flore pubescens, quem inter equites tormentis Philotae conturbatos alienus terror abstulerat: desertum eum a comitibus et haesitantem inter revertendi fugiendique consilium, qui secuti erant, occupaverunt. [5] Is tum flere coepit et os suum converberare, maestus non suam vicem, sed propter ipsum periclitantium fratrum. [6] Moveratque iam [p. 206] regem quoque, non contionem modo, sed unus erat inplacabilis frater, qui terribili vultu intuens eum: ‘Tum,’ exclamat, ‘demens, lacrimare debueras, cum equo calcaria subderes, fratrum desertor et desertorum comes. [7] Miser, quo et unde fugiebas? Effecisti, ut reus capitis accusatoris uterer verbis.’ Ille peccasse sese gravius in fratres quam in semetipsum fatebatur. Tum vero

neque lacrimis neque adclamationibus, quibus studia sua multitudo proficitur, temperaverunt. Una vox erat pari emissa consensu, ut insontibus et fortibus viris parceret. Amici quoque data misericordiae occasione consurgunt flentesque regem deprecantur. [8] Ille silentio facto: 'Et ipse,' inquit, 'Amyntan mea sententia fratresque eius absolve Vos autem, iuvenes, malo beneficii mei oblivisci quam periculi vestri meminisse. Eadem fide redite in gratiam mecum, qua ipse vobiscum revertor. [9] Nisi, quae delata essent, excussissem, aliquid de dissimulatione mea suspicari potuissetis: satius est purgatos esse quam suspectos. Cogitate neminem absolvi posse, nisi qui dixerit causam. [10] Tu, Amynta, ignosce fratri tuo. Erit hoc simpliciter etiam mihi reconciliati animi tui pignus.' [11] Contione deinde dimissa Polydamanta vocari iubet. Longe acceptissimus Parmenioni erat, proximus lateri [p. 207] in acie stare solitus. [12] Et quam quam conscientia fretus in regiam venerat, tamen, ut iussus est fratres suos exhibere admodum iuvenes et regi ignotos ob aetatem, fiducia in sollicitudinem versa trepidare coepit, saepius, quae nocere possent, quam, quibus eluderet, reputans. [13] Iam armigeri, quibus imperatum erat, produxerant eos, cum exanguem metu Polydamanta propius accedere iubet summotisque omnibus: 'Scelere,' inquit, 'Parmenionis omnes pariter adpetiti sumus, maxime ego ac tu, quos amicitiae specie fefellit. [14] Ad quem persequendum puniendumque — vide, quantum fidei tuae credam — te ministro uti statui. Obsides, dum hoc peragis, erunt fratres tui. [15] Proficiscere in Mediam et ad praefectos meos litteras scriptas manu mea perfer. Velocitate opus est, qua celeritatem famae antecedas. Noctu pervenire illuc te volo, postero die, quae scripta erunt, exequi. [16] Ad Parmeniona quoque epistulas feres, unam a me, alteram Philotae nomine scriptam. Signum anuli eius in mea potestate est. Si pater credit a filio impressum, [17] cum te viderit, nihil metuet.' Polydamas tanto liberatus metu impensius etiam, quam exigebatur, promittit operam conlaudatusque et promissis oneratus deposita veste, quam habebat, Arabica indultur. [18] Duo Arabes, quorum interim coniuges ac [p. 208] liberi, vinculum fidei, obsides apud regem erant, dati comites. Per deserta etiam ob siccitatem loca camelis undecimo die, quo destinaverat, perveniunt. [19] Et priusquam ipse nuntiaretur adventus, rursus Polydamas vestem Macedonicam sumit et in tabernaculum Cleandri — [20] praetor hic regius erat — quarta vigilia pervenit. Redditis deinde litteris constituerunt prima luce ad Parmenionem coire. Iamque ceteris quoque litteras regis attulerat, iam ad eum venturi erant, cum Parmenioni Polydamanta venisse nuntiaverunt. [21] Qui dum laetatur adventu amici, simulque noscendi, quae rex ageret, avidus — quippe longo intervallo nullam ab eo epistulam acceperat — [22] Polydamanta requiri iubet. Deversoria regionis illius magnos recessus habent amoenosque nemoribus manu consitis: [23] ea praecipue regum satraparumque voluptas erat. Spatiabatur in nemore Parmenion medius inter duces, quibus erat imperatum litteris regis, ut occiderent. Agenda autem rei constituerant tempus, cum Parmenion a Polydamante litteras traditas legere coepisset. [24] Polydamas procul veniens ut a Parmenione conspectus est vultu [p. 209] laetitiae speciem

praeferente, ad conplectendum eum cucurrit mutuaque salutatione facta Polydamas epistulam a rege scriptam ei tradidit. [25] Parmenion vinculum epistulae solvens, quidnam rex ageret, requirebat. Ille ex ipsis litteris cogniturum esse respondit. [26] Quibus Parmenion lectis: ‘Rex,’ inquit, ‘expeditionem parat in Arachosios. Strenuum hominem et numquam cessantem! Sed tempus saluti suae tanta iam parta gloria parcere.’ [27] Alteram deinde epistulam Philotae nomine scriptam laetus, quod ex vultu notari poterat, legebat: tum eius latus gladio haurit Cleander, deinde iugulum ferit, ceteri exanimum quoque confodiunt. [28] Et armigeri, qui ad primum aditum nemoris adstiterant, cognita caede, cuius causa ignorabatur, in castra perveniunt et tumultuoso nuntio milites concitant. [29] Illi armati ad nemus, in quo perpetrata caedes erat, coeunt et, ni Polydamas ceterique eiusdem noxae participes dedantur, murum circumdatum nemori eversuros denuntiant omniumque sanguine duci parentaturos. [30] Cleander primores eorum intromitti iubet litterasque regis scriptas ad milites recitat, quibus insidiae Parmenionis in regem precesque, ut ipsum vindicarent, continebantur. [31] Igitur cognita regis voluntate non quidem indignatio, sed tamen seditio compressa est. Dilapsis [p. 210] pluribus pauci remanserunt, qui, saltem ut corpus ipsis sepelire permetterent, precabantur. [32] Diu id negatum est Cleandri metu, ne offenderet regem. Pertinacius deinde precantibus materiem consternationis subtrahendam ratus capite deciso truncum humare permisit: [33] ad regem caput missum est. Hic exitus Parmenionis fuit, militiae domique clari viri. Multa sine rege prospere, rex sine illo nihil magnae rei gesserat. Felicissimo regi et ad omnia ad fortunae suae exigenti modum satisfecit. LXX natus annos iuvenis ducis et saepe etiam gregarii militis munia explevit: acer consilio, manu strenuus, carus principibus, vulgo militum acceptior. [34] Haec inpulerint illum ad regni cupiditatem an tantum suspectum fecerint, ambigi potest, quia, Philotas ultimis cruciatibus victus verane dixerit, quae facta probari non poterant, an falsis tormentorum petierit finem, re quoque recenti, cum magis posset liquere, dubitatum est. [35] Alexander, quos libere mortem Parmenionis conquestos esse conpererat, separandos a cetero exercitu ratus in unam cohortem secrevit ducemque his Leonidam dedit, et ipsum Parmenioni quondam intima familiaritate coniunctum. [36] Fere idem erant, quos alioqui rex habuerat invisos. Nam cum experiri vellet militum animos, admonuit, qui litteras in Macedoniam ad suos scripsisset, iis, quos ipse mittebat, perlaturis cum [p. 211] fide traderet. Simpliciter ad necessarios suos quisque scripserat, quae sentiebat: aliis gravis erat, plerisque non ingrata militia. [37] Ita et agentium gratias et querentium litterae exceptae sunt. Et, qui forte taedium laboris per litteras erant questi, hanc seorsus cohortem a ceteris tendere ignominiae causa iubet, fortitudine usus in bello, libertatem linguae ab auribus credulis remoturus. Id consilium, temerarium forsitan — quippe fortissimi iuvenes contumelia inritati erant —, sicut omnia alia felicitas regis excepit. [38] Nihil illis ad bella promptius fuit: incitabat virtutem et ignominiae demendae cupido et, quia fortia facta in paucis latere non poterant.

II. While Amyntas was making this plea, those chanced to arrive who had pursued his brother Polemon, of whom mention has been made before, and whom, being in flight, they were bringing back in bonds. The incensed assembly could hardly be restrained from at once stoning him to death, according to their custom. But he, quite unterrified, said: ^[2] "I ask no mercy for myself, provided my flight be not prejudicial to the innocence of my brothers. If this cannot be defended, let the guilt be mine. Their cause is the better for the very reason that I was ^[3] suspected because I took flight." But when he had said this, the whole assembly sympathized; now they all began to shed tears, and were suddenly so changed to the opposite opinion that what had especially damaged his cause was the only thing that was ^[4] in his favour. He was a young man just come to maturity and in the first bloom of his youth, one of the horsemen who had been terrified by the torture of Philotas and whom the alarm of others had led to flee; deserted by his companions, and wavering between the purpose of returning and of fleeing, he was overtaken by those who had followed him.

^[5] He then began to weep and to beat his face, not grieving on his own account, but on that of his brothers, who were endangered through him.

^[6] And now he had affected the king also, and not only the assembly, but his brother alone was inexorable, and gazing at him with a terrifying expression, exclaimed: "Then, madman, is when you ought to have wept, when you were applying spurs to your horse, a deserter of your brothers and a companion of deserters. Wretch, whither were you fleeing and from whom? You have forced me, on trial for my ^[7] life, to use the words of an accuser." Polemon confessed that he had sinned more grievously against his brothers than against himself. Then truly the soldiers did not moderate their tears and the acclamations by which a crowd expresses its favour. One cry was uttered by common consent, that the king should pardon these brave and blameless men. His friends also, when opportunity for mercy had been ^[8] given, arose and with tears appealed to the king. He, having silenced them, said: "I myself by my vote acquit Amyntas and his brothers. But as for you, young men, I prefer that you should forget my kindness rather than remember your danger. Return to favour with me with the same confidence with which ^[9] I myself return to favour with you. If I had not examined what had been reported to me, you might have been able to feel some suspicion of my silence; it is better to be justified than to be suspected. Remember that no one can be acquitted unless he has ^[10] pleaded his cause. Do you, Amyntas, pardon your brother. This will be a pledge that your feelings are sincerely reconciled with me also."

^[11] Then he dismissed the assembly and ordered Polydamas to be called. He was by far the dearest of Parmenion's friends, accustomed to stand by his side ^[12] in battle. And although, relying on a clear conscience, he had come into headquarters, yet when he was ordered to produce his brothers, who were very

young and unknown to the king because of their youth, his confidence changed to anxiety and he began to be afraid, considering more frequently what could harm them than by what means he could parry ^[13] such attacks.” And now the guards who had been ordered to do so had brought them in, when the king ordered Polydamas, deathly pale with fear, to draw nearer, and, removing all witnesses, said: — We have all alike been attacked by the crime of Parmenion, especially you and I, whom he has deceived by the ^[14] guise of friendship. To pursue and punish him — see how much I trust to your loyalty — I have decided to use you as my instrument. While you are doing ^[16] this, your brothers will be hostages. Set out for Media and take letters, written in my own handwriting, to my prefects. There is need of great speed, in order to outstrip the swiftness of rumour. I wish you to arrive there by night, and on the following ^[16] day to carry out what has been written. You will also take letters to Parmenion, one from me, the other written in the name of Philotas. The seal of his ring is in my possession. If his father believes that this was impressed by his son, he will fear nothing when he sees you.” —

^[17] Polydamas, relieved from so great fear, promised his help even more earnestly than was demanded of him and after being highly commended and loaded with promises, he put off the dress which he was wearing and put on an Arab costume. Two Arabs, whose wives and children were meanwhile as a pledge of loyalty held as hostages with the king, were given him as companions. They arrived at the designated place on the eleventh day, traversing on camels places which were even made desert by ^[19] dryness. And before his arrival could be reported, Polydamas again assumed Macedonian dress and went to the tent of Cleander — he was one of the ^[20] king’s generals — in the fourth watch. Then, having delivered the letter, they decided to go together to Parmenion at daybreak. And now Polydamas had delivered the king’s letters to the others as well, and already they were on the point of going to Parmenion, when it was announced to him that Polydamas ^[21] had come. He, rejoicing in the arrival of his friend, and at the same time being eager to have news of what the king was doing — for he had received no letter from him for a long time — ordered that Polydamas be looked for.

^[22] The residences in that region have extensive, charming, and secluded parks with groves artificially planted; these were the special delight of both kings ^[23] and satraps. Parmenion was walking about in a grove, surrounded by his officers, who had been ordered by the king’s letters to kill him. And they had arranged to do the deed at the time when Parmenion had begun to read the letters delivered by Polydamas.

^[24] As Polydamas came near and was seen by Parmenion to have an expression presenting the appearance of joy, he ran to embrace him, and after they had exchanged greetings, Polydamas handed him the letter ^[25] written to him by the king. Parmenion, as he loosed the fastening “of the letter, asked

what the king was doing. Polydamas replied that he would learn from ^[26] the letter itself. Parmenion, after reading the letter, said: "The king is preparing an expedition against the Arachosii. An active man, who never rests! But it is time for him to show consideration for his own welfare, after having already gained so much glory."

^[27] Afterwards he was reading the second letter, written in the name of Philotas, with pleasure, as could be seen from his expression; then Cleander plunged his sword into his side and struck him again in the throat, and the others stabbed him even after he was lifeless.

^[29] And the guards, who were posted at the entrance of the grove, on learning of the murder, the cause of which was unknown to them, came into the camp and aroused the soldiers with the alarming message.

^[29] They armed themselves and went in a body to the grove in which the murder had been committed, threatening that unless Polydamas and the rest who had shared in the same outrage were delivered to them, they would throw down the wall surrounding the grove and offer expiation for the death of their ^[30] leader with the blood of all. Cleander ordered their leaders to be admitted, and read to the soldiers the letters which the king had written, in which were contained an account of the plots of Parmenion against the king and Alexander's prayers that they ^[31] should avenge him. Accordingly, when the wish of the king was known, the mutiny of the troops was checked, but nevertheless not their indignation.

When many of them had slipped away, a few remained, who prayed that at least they might be ^[32] permitted by them to bury the body. This was for a long time refused through Cleander's fear that he might thus offend the king. Then, when they besought more persistently, thinking that occasion for disturbance ought to be removed, Cleander cut off the head and allowed them to bury the body; the head was sent to the king.

^[33] Such was the end of Parmenion, a man illustrious in war and in peace. He had achieved many successes without the king, the king had done no great deed without him. He satisfied a king who was most fortunate and who required that all things should match the greatness of his good fortune. At the age of seventy he fulfilled the duties of a leader in the prime of life and often even those of a common soldier; keen in counsel, vigorous in action, he was dear to the leading men and still more so to the common soldiers.

^[34] Whether these qualities drove him to a desire for royal power, or merely made him suspected of such a design, may be doubted; for it was uncertain, even when the affair was recent and could more easily be made clear, whether Philotas, overcome by the violence of his tortures, told the truth about matters which could not be proved, or by a false confession sought an end to his

torments.

[35] Alexander, thinking that those who, as he had learned, had freely deplored the death of Parmenion ought to be separated from the rest of the army, put them apart in one cohort and gave them as their leader Leonidas, who had himself formerly [36] been an intimate friend of Parmenion. These were about the same as those whom he had for other reasons disliked. For once, when he wished to sound the feelings of the soldiers, he told any who had written letters to their people in Macedonia to hand them to the messengers whom he himself was sending, who would faithfully deliver them. Each man had written frankly to his relatives what he had thought; to some military service was burdensome, to most it was not disagreeable. In this way Alexander got hold of the letters of those who had written favourably and of those who complained.

[37] And he ordered a cohort of those who chanced in their letters to have complained of the irksome military service to encamp apart from the rest by way of disgrace, saying that he would use their bravery in war, but would remove loose talking from credulous ears. This plan, perhaps rash — for the bravest of men had been irritated by the insult — like everything else, the [38] good fortune of the king made successful. Nothing was more enthusiastic for war than those men; their valour was enhanced both from the desire of wiping out disgrace, and because brave deeds could not be concealed among a few.

His ita conpositis Alexander Arsame Drangarum satrape constituto iter pronuntiari iubet in Arimaspos, quos iam tunc mutato nomine Euergetas appellabant, ex quo frigore victusque penuria Cyri exercitum adfectum tectis et com meatibus iuverant. [2] Quintus dies erat, ut in eam regionem pervenerat. Cognoscit Satibarzanem, qui ad Bessum defecerat, cum equitum manu inrupisse rursus in Arios. Itaque contra eum misit Caranum et Erigyium cum Artabazo et Andronico: eos vi milia Graecorum peditum, DC equites sequebantur. [3] Ipse LX diebus gentem Euergetarum ordinavit magna pecunia ob egregiam in Cyrum fidem donata. [p. 212] [4] Relicto deinde, qui iis praeesset, Amedine — scriba is Darei fuerat — Arachosios, quorum regio ad Ponticum mare pertinet, subegit. Ibi exercitus, qui sub Parmenione fuerat, occurrit. Sex milia Macednum erant et CC nobiles et v milia Graecorum cum equitibus DC, haud dubie robur omnium virium regis. [5] Arachosiis datus Menon praetor nn milibus peditum et DC equitibus in praesidium relictis. Ipse rex nationem ne finitimis quidem satis notam, [6] quippe nullo commercio colentem mutuos usus, cum exercitu intravit. Parapanisadae appellantur, agreste hominum genus et inter barbaros maxime inconditum. [7] Locorum asperitas hominum quoque ingenia duraverat. Gelidissimum septentrionis axem ex magna parte spectant, [8] Bactrianis ab occidente coniuncti sunt, meridiana regio ad mare Indicum vergit. Tuguria latere crudo struunt et, quia sterilis est terra materia in nudo etiam montis dorso, usque ad summum aedificiorum fastigium eodem

laterculo utuntur. [9] Ceterum structura latior ab imo paulatim incremento operis in artius cogitur, ad ultimum in carinae maxime modum coit. [10] Ibi foramine relicto superne lumen admittunt. Vites [p. 213] et arbores, si quae in tanto terrae rigore durare potuerunt, obruunt penitus: hieme defossae latent, cum discussa aperire humum coepit, caelo solique redduntur. [11] Ceterum adeo altae nives premunt terram gelu et perpetuo paene rigore constrictae, ut ne avium quidem feraeve ullius vestigium extet. Obscura caeli verius umbra quam lux, nocti similis, premit terram, vix ut, quae prope sunt, conspici possint. [12] In hac tum omnis humani cultus solitudine destitutus exercitus, quidquid malorum tolerari potest, pertulit, inopiam, frigus, lassitudinem, desperationem. [13] Multos exanimavit rigor insolitus ni vis, multorum adussit pedes, plurimorum oculos. Praecipue perniciosus fuit fatigatis: quippe in ipso gelu deficientia corpora sternebant, quae cum moveri desissent, vis frigoris ita adstringebat, ut rursus ad surgendum coniti non possent. [14] A commilitonibus torpentes excitabantur, neque aliud remedium erat, quam ut ingredi cogerentur: tum demum vitali calore moto membrum aliquis redibat vigor. [15] Si qui tuguria barbarorum adire potuerunt, celeriter refecti sunt. Sed tanta caligo erat, ut aedificia nulla alia res quam fumus ostenderet. [16] Illi numquam ante in terris suis advena viso cum armatos repente conspicerent, exanimati metu, quidquid in tuguriis erat, adferebant, ut corporibus ipsorum parceretur, orantes. [17] Rex agmen circumibat pedes, iacentes quosdam erigens et alios, cum aegre sequerentur, adminiculo corporis sui excipiens. Nunc ad prima signa, nunc in medio, nunc in [p. 214] ultimo agmine itineris multiplicato labore aderat. [18] Tandem ad loca cultiora perventum est commeatuque largo recreatus exercitus: simul et, qui consequi non potuerant, in illa castra venerunt. [19] Inde agmen processit ad Caucasum montem, cuius dorsum Asiam perpetuo iugo dividit: hinc simul mare, quod Ciliciam subit, illinc Caspium fretum et amnem Araxen nobiliaque regionis Scythicae deserta spectat. [20] Taurus, secundae magnitudinis mons, committitur Caucaso: [21] a Cappadocia se attollens Ciliciam praeterit Armeniaeque montibus iungitur. Sic inter se iuga velut serie cohaerentia perpetuum habent dorsum, ex quo Asiae omnia fere flumina, alia in Rubrum, alia in Caspium mare, alia in Hyrcanium et Ponticum decidunt. [22] XVII dierum spatio Caucasum superavit exercitus. Rupes in eo x in circuitu stadia complectitur, IIII in altitudinem excedit, in qua vinctum Promethea fuisse antiquitas tradidit. [23] Condendae in radicibus montis urbi sedes electa est. VII milibus subactarum nationum et praeterea militibus, quorum opera uti desisset, permissum in nova urbe considerare. Haec quoque Alexandream incolae appellaverunt.

III. When these matters had been thus arranged, Alexander, having made Arsames satrap of the Drangae, ordered a march to be proclaimed against the Arimaspi, whom even at that time they called the Euergetae, having changed their name from the time when they had aided with shelter and supplies the army of Cyrus, when it was almost worn out by [2] cold and lack of food. It was the fifth day since he had come into that region. He learned that

Satibarzanes, who had revolted and gone over to Bessus, with a force of cavalry had again invaded Aria. Therefore he sent against him Caranus and Erigyus with Artabazus and Andronicus; they were followed ^[3] by 6000 Greek infantry and 600 cavalry. He himself set in order the race of the Euergetae within sixty days, and gave them a great sum of money because of their splendid loyalty to Cyrus. Then, after having left Amedines to govern them — he had been Darius' secretary — he subdued the Arachosii, whose territory extends to the Pontic Sea. There he met the army which had been commanded by Parmenion. It consisted of 6000 Macedonians, 200 nobles, 5000 Greeks, with 600 cavalry, beyond ^[5] doubt the flower of all the king's forces. Menon was made governor of the Arachosii, and 4000 infantry and 600 cavalry were left as a garrison.

The king himself with his army entered a nation not very well known even to their neighbours, since, having no commerce with them, they practised no borrowed customs. They are called the Parapanisadae, a rude race of men and especially uncultivated even among barbarians. The harshness of their climate had hardened the nature also of the inhabitants. They look in great part toward the very cold northern pole, on the west they are adjacent to the Bactriani, on the south their territory slopes toward ^[8] the Indian sea. They build huts of unbaked brick, and because the land is destitute of timber, since even the ridge of the mountain is bare, they use the same ^[9] brick up to the very top of their buildings. But their structure is broader at the base and gradually becomes narrower as the work grows, and finally it comes together very much like the keel of a ship. There they leave an opening and let in light from ^[10] above. Vines and trees, if any have been able to live in such a frozen soil, they bury deep in the ground; in winter these remain dug in, and when the end of winter begins to open the earth, they are ^[11] restored to the sky and to the sun. But such deep snows cover the ground and are bound so fast by ice and almost perpetual cold, that no trace is to be found even of birds or of any wild beast. What may be called a dim shadow of the sky rather than light, and resembling night, broods over the earth, so that objects which are near at hand can hardly be made ^[12] out. The army, then, abandoned in this absence of all human civilization, endured all the evils that could ^[13] be suffered, want, cold, fatigue, despair. The unusual cold of the snow caused the death of many, to many it brought frost-bite of the feet, to very many blindness of the eyes. It was especially harmful to those who were fatigued; for when their strength gave out, they stretched themselves on the very ice, and when they ceased to move, the force of the cold so bound them fast, that when they struggled to rise again, they could ^[14] not do so. But they were roused from their torpor by their fellow-soldiers, for there was no other cure than to be forced to go on; then only, when their natural warmth was aroused, did any strength return to their limbs.

^[16] If any could reach the huts of the barbarians, they were quickly restored.

But such was the darkness that the only thing which revealed the buildings was ^[16] their smoke. When the natives, who had never before seen a stranger in their country, suddenly caught sight of armed men, they were paralysed with fear and brought them whatever they had in their ^[17] huts, begging them to spare their lives. The king went about on foot among his troops, lifting up some who were lying prostrate, and, by the aid of his body, supporting those who were following with difficulty. Now in the van, now in the centre, now at the rear of the army he was everywhere present with manifold ^[18] toil. At length they came to more cultivated places and the army was revived by an abundance of supplies; at the same time also those who had not been able to keep up came into the camp which they had pitched.

^[19] From there the army proceeded to the Caucasus mountains, whose range divides Asia by a continuous ridge. It looks on one side to the sea which washes Cilicia, on the other to the Caspian Sea, the river Araxes, and the well-known deserts of the Scythian ^[20] region. Taurus, a mountain of second rank in height, joins the Caucasus; rising from Cappadocia, it passes by Cilicia, and unites itself with the Armenian mountains. Thus the ranges, as if connected in a series, form a continuous chain, from which almost all the rivers of Asia flow, some into the Red Sea, others into the Caspian, and still others into the Hyrcanian and Pontic. The army passed over Caucasus ^[22] in a space of seventeen days. There is a crag in the mountain, embracing ten stadia in circumference and rising to four stadia in height, on which ancient ^[23] fable reports that Prometheus was chained. A site for founding a city was chosen at the foot of the mountain and seven thousand from the subdued nations were permitted to settle in the new city, as well as those soldiers whose services the king had ceased to make use of. This city also its inhabitants called Alexandria.

At Bessus Alexandri celeritate perterritus dis patriis sacrificio rite facto, sicut illis gentibus mos est, cum ^[p. 215] amicis ducibusque copiarum inter epulas de bello consultabat. ^[2] Graves mero suas vires extollere, hostium nunc temeritatem, nunc paucitatem spernere incipiunt. ^[3] Praecipue Bessus ferox verbis et parto per scelus regno superbus ac vix potens mentis dicere orditur: ^[4] socordia Darei crevisse hostium famam. Occurrisse enim in Ciliciae angustissimis faucibus, cum retrocedendo posset perducere incautos in loca naturae situ tuta, tot fluminibus obiectis, tot montium latebris, inter quas deprehensus hostis ne fugae quidem, nedum resistendi occasionem fuerit habiturus. ^[5] Sibi placere in Sogdianos recedere: Oxum amnem velut murum obiecturum hosti, dum ex finitimis gentibus valida auxilia concurrerent. ^[6] Venturos autem Chorasmios et Dahas Sacasque et Indos et ultra Tanain amnem colentes Scythas: quorum neminem adeo humilem esse, ut humeri eius non possent Macedonis militis verticem aequare. ^[7] Conclamant temulenti unam hanc sententiam salubrem esse: et Bessus circumferri merum largius iubet debellaturus super mensam Alexandrum. ^[8] Erat in eo convivio Gobares,

natione Medus, sed magicae artis — si modo ars est, non vanissimi cuiusque ludibrium — magis professione quam scientia celebrer, alioqui moderatus et probus. [9] Is cum praefatus esset, [p. 216] scire servo utilius esse parere dicto quam adferre consilium, cum illos, qui pareant, idem quod ceteros maneat, qui vero suadeant, proprium subeant periculum: [10] Bessus eum dicere iussit intrepidum, poculum etiam, quod habebat in manu, tradidit. Quo accepto Gobares: ‘Natura,’ inquit, ‘mortalium hoc quoque nomine prava et sinistra dici potest, quod in suo quisque negotio hebetior est quam in alieno. [11] Turbida sunt consilia eorum, qui sibi suadent. Obstat metus, alias cupiditas, nonnumquam naturalis eorum, quae excogitaveris, amor: nam in te superbia non cadit. Expertus es utique, quod ipse reppereris, aut solum aut optimum ducere. [12] Magnum onus sustines capite, regium insigne: hoc aut moderate perferendum est, aut, quod abominor, in te ruet. [13] Consilio, non impetu, opus est.’ Adicit deinde, quod apud Bactrianos vulgo usurpabant, canem timidum vehementius latrare quam mordere altissimaque flumina minimo sono labi. Quae inserui, ut, qualiscumque inter barbaros potuit esse prudentia, traderetur. [14] in His audientium expectationem suspenderat. Tum consilium aperit utilius Besso quam gratius. ‘In vestibulo,’ inquit, ‘regiae tuae velocissimus consistit rex: [15] ante ille agmen quam tu mensam istam movebis. Nunc ab Tanai exercitum accerses et armis flumina oppones. Scilicet, qua tu fugiturus es, hostis sequi non potest. Iter utrique commune est, victori tutius. [p. 217] Licet strenuum metum putes esse, velocior tamen spes est. [16] Quin validioris occupas gratiam dedisque te, utcumque cesserit, meliorem fortunam deditus quam hostis habiturus? [17] Alienum habes regnum, quo facilius eo careas. Incipias forsitan iustus esse rex, cum ipse fecerit, [18] qui tibi et dare potest regnum et eripere. Consilium habes fidele, quod diutius exequi supervacuum est. Nobilis equus umbra quoque virgae regitur, [19] ignavus ne calcari quidem concitari potest.’ Bessus et ingenio et multo mero ferox adeo exarsit, ut vix ab amicis, quo minus occideret eum, — nam strinxerat quoque acinacem — contineretur. Certe convivio prosiluit haudquaquam potens mentis. Gobares inter tumultum elapsus ad Alexandrum transfugit. [20] VIII milia Bactrianorum habebat armata Bessus. Quae quamdiu propter caeli intemperiem Indiam potius Macedonas petituros crediderant, oboedienter imperata fecerunt: postquam adventare Alexandrum conpertum est, in suos quisque vicos dilapsi Bessum reliquerunt. [21] Ille cum clientium manu, qui non mutaverant fidem, Oxo amne superato exustisque navigiis, quibus transierat, ne isdem hostis uteretur, novas copias in Sogdianis contrahebat. [22] Alexander Caucasum quidem, ut supra dictum est, transierat, sed inopia frumenti quoque prope ad famem ventum erat. [23] Suco ex sesima expresso haud secus quam oleo artus perunguebant, sed huius suci ducenis quadragenis denariis amphorae singulae, mellis denariis [p. 218] trecenis nonagenis, trecenis vini aestimabantur: tritici nihil aut admodum exiguum reperiebatur. [24] Siros vocabant barbari, quos ita sedlerter abscondunt, ut, nisi qui defoderunt, invenire non possint: in his conditae fruges erant. [25] In quarum penuria milites fluviatili pisce et herbis

sustinebantur. Iamque haec ipsa alimenta defecerant, cum iumenta, quibus onera portabant, caedere iussi sunt: horum carne, dum in Bactrianos perventum est, traxere vitam. [26] Bactrianae terrae multiplex et varia natura est. Alibi multa arbor et vitis largos mitesque fructus alit, solum pingue crebri fontes rigant, quae mitiora sunt, frumento conseruntur, [27] cetera armentorum pabulo cedunt. Magnam deinde partem eiusdem terrae steriles harenae tenent: squalida siccitate regio non hominem, non frugem alit. Cum vero venti a Pontico mari spirant, quidquid sabuli in campis iacet, converrunt : quod ubi cumulatum est, magnorum collium procul species est, omniaque pristini itineris vestigia intereunt. [28] Itaque, qui transeunt campos, navigantium modo noctu sidera observant, ad quorum cursum iter dirigunt: et propemodum clarior est noctis umbra quam lux. [29] Ergo interdiu invia est regio, quia nec vestigium, quod sequantur, inveniunt et nitor siderum caligine absconditur. Ceterum si quos ille ventus, [30] qui a mari exoritur, deprehendit, harena obruit. Sed, qua mitior terra est, ingens [p. 219] hominum equorumque multitudo gignitur. Itaque Bactriani equites XXX milia expleverant. [31] Ipsa Bactra, regionis eius caput, sita sunt sub monte Parapaniso. Bactrus amnis praeterit moenia. Is urbi et regioni dedit nomen. [32] Hic regi stativa habenti nuntiatur ex Graecia Peloponnesiorum Laconumque defectio — nondum enim victi erant, cum proficiscerentur tumultus eius principia nuntiaturi — et alius praesens terror adfertur, Scythas, qui ultra Tanaim amnem colunt, adventare Besso ferentis opem. Eodem tempore, quae in gente Ariorum Caranus et Erigyus gesserant, perferuntur. Commissum erat proelium inter Macedonas Ariosque. [33] Transfuga Satibarzartes barbaris praeerat: qui cum pugnam segnem utrimque aequis viribus stare vidisset, in primos ordines adequitavit demptaque galea inhibitis, qui tela iaciebant, si quis viritim dimicare vellet, provocavit ad pugnam: nudum se caput in certamine habiturum. [34] Non tulit ferociam barbari ducis Erigyus, gravis quidem aetate, sed et animi et corporis robore nulli iuvenum postferendus. Is galea dempta canitiem ostentans: ‘Venit,’ inquit, ‘dies, quo aut victoria aut morte honestissima, quales amicos et milites Alexander habeat, ostendam.’ [35] Nec plura elocutus equum in hostem egit. Crederes imperatum, ut acies utraeque tela cohiberent: protinus certe recesserunt dato libero [p. 220] spatio, intenti in eventum non ducum modo, sed etiam suae sortis, quippe alienum discrimen secuturi. [36] Prior barbarus emisit hastam: quam Erigyus modica capitis declinatione evitavit atque ipse infestam sarisam equo calcaribus concitato in medio barbari gutture ita fixit, ut per cervicem emereret. [37] Praecipitatus ex equo barbarus adhuc tamen repugnabat. Sed ille extractam e vulnere hastam rursus in os dirigit. Satibarzanes manu complexus, quo maturius interiret, ictum hostis adiuvit. [38] Et barbari duce amisso, quem magis necessitate quam sponte secuti erant, tunc haud inmemores meritorum Alexandri arma Erigyio tradunt. [39] Rex his quidem laetus, de Spartanis haudquaquam securus magno tamen animo defectum eorum tulit, [40] dicens non ante ausos consilia nudare quam ipsum ad fines Indiae pervenisse cognossent. Ipse Bessum persequens copias movit :

cui Erigyius barbari caput, opimum belli decus, praeferens occurrit.

IV. But Bessus, greatly terrified by Alexander's speed, after having duly performed a sacrifice to the gods of the country, as is the custom with those nations, was feasting and holding council with his friends and with the leaders of his forces about the [2] war. Heavy with wine, they began to boast of their strength, and to express scorn, now of the rashness [3] of the enemy, now of their small numbers. In particular Bessus, in insolent language and so proud of a sovereignty gained by murder as hardly to be in his right mind, began by saying that the reputation of the enemy had increased through the incapacity *i* of Darius. For he had encountered them in the narrowest part of the passes of Cilicia, when by drawing back he might have taken them off their guard and led them into places which the nature of the country made safe, since so many rivers lay in the way and there were so many hiding-places in the mountains that if surprised among these the enemy would have had not even an opportunity for flight, [5] much less for resisting. That it was his intention to withdraw into the land of the Sogdiani; he would oppose the Oxus River like a wall to the enemy, until powerful auxiliaries should assemble from the [6] neighbouring nations; the Chorasmii would come to him and the Dahae and Sacae, and the Indians and the Scythians dwelling beyond the river Tanais, not one of whom was so short of stature that he was not a head taller than a Macedonian soldier.

[7] His drunken companions shouted in chorus that this plan alone was sound; and Bessus ordered wine to be served more abundantly, as if intending to [8] vanquish Alexander at the table. There was present at that banquet Gobares, a Mede by nationality, but a dabbler in the art of magic — if only that is an art, and not the illusion of all the greatest liars — more celebrated in his pretension than in his actual knowledge, but in other respects modest and upright.

[9] He, by way of preface, said that he knew that it was more expedient for a slave to obey orders than to offer counsel, since the same fate awaits those who obey which awaits the rest, but those who advise undergo a particular peril of their own. Bessus bade him speak fearlessly and even handed him the cup which he had [10] been holding in his hand. Having taken the cup, Gobares said: "The nature of mortal men may be called perverse and vicious under this head also, that each one is less keen-sighted in his own business than [11] in that of another. The counsels of those who advise themselves are confused. Fear opposes them, at another time their desire, sometimes the natural love of their own plans; for presumption does not apply to you. You have, in truth, learned by experience to consider as the only or the best plan [12] whatever you yourself have devised. You sustain a great burden on your head, a kingly crown; this must either be borne with moderation or, which I pray the gods to avert, it will fall in ruins upon you. There is need of prudence, not of

impetuosity.”

[13] Then he added a proverb in common use among the Bactriani, that a timid dog barks more violently than it bites, and that the deepest rivers flow with the least sound. This I have quoted, in order that whatever wisdom could exist among barbarians” might be recorded.

[14] By these words Gobares had left in suspense the expectation of his hearers; then he disclosed his advice, which was more expedient for Bessus than pleasing to him. “At the entrance” of your kingdom,” said he, “stands the swiftest of kings; he will advance his army before you put away that table of yours.

Now you will summon an army from the Tanais, and you will oppose rivers to his arms. Of course the enemy cannot follow to whatever place you shall flee! The route is common to both, safer for the victor. Although you may think that fear is swift, yet hope is more rapid. Why do you not hasten to gain the favour of the stronger and give yourself up, since however it may turn out, you will have better fortune in having surrendered than you will have as his [17] enemy? You are holding the kingdom of another, hence it will be easier to do without it. You would perhaps begin to be a legitimate king when he himself has made you one who can give you royal power, or [18] wrest it from you. You have faithful advice, which it would be superfluous to set forth at greater length. A noble horse is guided by the mere shadow of the whip, a worthless one cannot be aroused even by [19] the spur.” Bessus, headstrong by nature, and made still more so by much wine, so burned with anger that he was with difficulty restrained by his friends from killing the speaker — for he had even drawn his scimitar. At any rate, he leaped up from the banquet-table, quite beside himself. Gobares escaped amid the confusion and deserted to Alexander.

[20] Bessus had 8000 Bactriani under arms. These, so long as they believed that the Macedonians because of the rigour of the climate would be more likely to go to India, carried out his orders obediently; after they learned that Alexander was coming against them, they slipped away each to his own village and [21] deserted Bessus. He with a band of his clients who had not changed their allegiance passed over the river Oxus, and after burning the boats in which he had crossed, in order that the enemy might not use them, was levying fresh forces among the Sogdiani.

[22] Alexander had crossed the Caucasus, as was said above, but had almost been reduced to starvation [23] through lack of grain. With the juice pressed from sesame they anointed their bodies in lieu of oil, but each amphora of this juice was valued at 240 denarii, an amphora of honey at 390, and of wine at 300; of [24] wheat very little or nothing was found. For the barbarians had pits which they call *siri*, which they conceal so skilfully, that only those who dug

them can find them; in these their crops were stored away. In lack of these supplies the soldiers lived on fish from ^[25] the river and on herbs. And now even these foods had failed them, whereupon they were ordered to kill the pack-animals which carried their baggage; on the flesh of these they managed to exist until they reached the Bactriani.

The land of the Bactriani is of a manifold and varied nature. In one part many trees and vines produce plentiful and mellow fruits, frequent brooks irrigate the rich soil, the milder parts of this they sow with grain, the rest they leave for pasture for the flocks, farther on a great part of the same land is occupied by sterile sands; because of its frightful dryness the region is uninhabited and produces no fruit. Indeed, when the winds blow from the Pontic sea, they sweep together whatever sand lies on the plains; when this is piled up, it looks from a distance like great hills, and all traces of the former road disappear. Accordingly, those who cross the plains watch the stars and direct their course by them, as do those who sail the sea; and the shade of night is almost brighter than daylight. Therefore the region is impassable in the daytime, because they find no traces to follow, and the light of the stars is hidden in darkness. Moreover, if the wind which arises from the sea overtakes any, it buries them in the sand. But where the land is milder it breeds a great multitude of men and horses. Therefore the cavalry of the Bactriani had amounted to 30,000. Bactra itself, the capital of the region, is situated at the foot of Mount Parapanisus. The Bactrus River flows at the foot of its walls. The river gave its name to the city and to the region.

While the king was holding a stationary camp there, news came from Greece of the revolt of the Peloponnesians and the Laconians — for they had not yet been vanquished when those who were to report the beginnings of that uprising set forth — and another cause of alarm near at hand was reported, namely, that the Scythians who dwell beyond the river Tanais were coming and bringing aid to Bessus. At the same time news was brought of what Caranus and Erigyius ^[33] had accomplished in the land of the Arii. A battle had been fought between the Macedonians and the Arii. The traitor Satibarzanes commanded the barbarians; when he saw that the battle was almost at a standstill with the forces equal on both sides, he rode into the foremost ranks, and taking off his helmet and checking those who were hurling weapons, he challenged to battle anyone who wished to fight in single combat; he said that he would fight ^[34] bareheaded. Erigyius, advanced in years, it is true, but in vigour of both mind and body not to be deemed inferior to any of the young men, could not endure the bravado of the barbarian. He, having taken off his helmet and displaying his white hair, said: “The time has come for me to show either by victory or by a glorious death what sort of friends and soldiers ^[35] Alexander has.” Without more words he drove his horse against the foe.

You would believe that the order had been given for both armies to cease fighting; certain it is that they at once drew back and left a free space, intent upon the fate, not only of the leaders, but their own also, since they were bound to share the outcome of ^[36] another's fight. The barbarian was the first to hurl his spear. Erigyus avoided it by a slight movement of his head, and putting spurs to his horse, drove his lance straight into the middle of the barbarian's throat, so that it came out at the back of his neck.

^[37] The barbarian, though thrown from his horse, yet still continued to fight. But Erigyus, drawing the spear from the wound, directed it again at his face. Satibarzanes seized it with his hand, in order to die more ^[38] quickly, and aided the enemy's stroke. The barbarians, having lost their leader, whom they had followed rather on compulsion than voluntarily, and then not unmindful of the merits of Alexander, ^[30] surrendered to Erigyus. The king, rejoicing in this success, although by no means free from anxiety about the Spartans, yet bore their revolt with great courage, saying that they had not dared to reveal their design until they knew that he had come to 40 the confines of India. He himself moved his forces in pursuit of Bessus; Erigyus met him, displaying the head of the barbarian, as a glorious spoil of war.

Igitur Bactrianorum regione Artabazo tradita sarcinas et impedimenta ibi cum praesidio relinquit, ipse cum expedito agmine loca deserta Sogdianorum intrat ^[p. 221] nocturno itinere exercitum ducens. ^[2] Aquarium, ut ante dictum est, penuria prius desperatione quam desiderio bibendi sitim accendit. Per CCCC stadia ne modicus quidem humor existit. ^[3] Harenas vapor aestivi solis accendit: quae ubi flagrare coeperunt, haud secus quam continenti incendio cuncta torrentur. ^[4] Caligo deinde inmodico terrae fervore excitata lucem tegit, camporumque non alia quam vasti et profundi aequoris species est. ^[5] Nocturnum iter tolerabile videbatur, quia rore et matutino frigore corpora levabantur. Ceterum cum ipsa luce aestus oritur, omnemque naturalem absorbet humorem siccitas: ^[6] ora visceraque penitus uruntur. Itaque primum animi, deinde corpora deficere coeperunt: ^[7] pigebat et consistere et progredi. Pauci a peritis regionis admoniti praepararant aquam: haec paulisper repressit sitim, deinde crescente aestu rursus desiderium humoris accensum est. Ergo, quidquid vini oleique erat omnibus, ingerebatur, tantaque dulcedo bibendi fuit, ut in posterum sitis non timeretur. ^[8] Graves deinde avide hausto humore non sustinere arma, non ingredi poterant, et feliciores videbantur, quos aqua defecerat, cum ipsi sine modo infusam vomitu cogerentur egerere. ^[9] Anxium regem tantis malis circumfusi amici, ut meminisset, orabant, animi sui magnitudinem unicum remedium deficientis exercitus esse: ^[10] cum ex iis, qui praecesserant ad capiendum locum castris, duo occurrunt utribus aquam gestantes, ut filiis suis, ^[p. 222] quos in eodem agmine esse et aegre pati sitim non ignorabant, succurrerent. ^[11] Qui cum in regem incidissent, alter ex his utre resoluta vas, quod simul ferebat, inplet porrigens regi. Ille accipit: percontatus, quibus aquam portaret, filiis ferre cognoscit. ^[12] Tunc poculo

pleno, sicut oblatum est, reddito : ‘Nec solus,’ inquit, ‘bibere sustineo nec tam exiguum dividere omnibus possum: vos currite et liberis vestris, quod propter illos attulistis, date.’ [13] Tandem ad flumen Oxum ipse pervenit prima fere vespera. Sed exercitus magna pars non potuerat consequi: in edito monte ignes iubet fieri, ut ii, qui aegre sequebantur, haud procul castris ipsos abesse cognoscerent, [14] cos autem, qui primi agminis erant, mature cibo ac potione firmatos implere alios utres, alios vasa, is quibuscumque aqua portari posset, ac suis opem ferre. [15] Sed qui intemperantius hauserant, intercluso spiritu extincti sunt, multoque maior horum numerus fuit, [16] quam ullo amiserat proelio. At ille thoracem adhuc indutus nec aut cibo refectus aut potu, qua veniebat exercitus, constitit nec ante ad curandum corpus recessit, quam praeterierat omne agmen, totamque eam noctem cum magno animi motu perpetuis vigilas egit. [17] Nec postero die laetior erat, quia nec navigia habebat nec pons erigi poterat terra circum amnem nuda et materia maxime sterili. Consilium igitur, quod unum necessitas subiecerat, init: utres quam plurimos [p. 223] stramentis refertos dividit. [18] His incubantes transnavere amnem, quique primi transierant, in statione erant, dum traicerent ceteri. Hoc modo sexto demum die in ulteriore ripa totum exercitum exposuit. [19] Iamque ad persequendum Bessum statuerat progredi, cum ea, quae in Sogdianis eveniant, cognoscit. Spitamenes erat inter omnes amicos praecipuo honore cultus a Besso, sed nullis mentis perfidia mitigari potest: [20] quae tamen iam minus in eo invisae esse poterat, quia nihil ulli nefastum in Bessum, interfectorem regis sui, videbatur. Titulus facinorosi speciosus praeferebatur, vindicta Darei, sed fortunam, non scelus oderat Bessi. [21] Namque ut Alexandrum numen Oxum superasse cognovit, Dataphernem et Catanen, quibus a Besso maxima fides habebatur, in societatem cogitatae rei adsciscit. Illi promptius adnuunt, quam rogabantur, adsumptisque VIII fortissimis iuvenibus talem dolum intendunt. [22] Spitamenes pergit ad Bessum et remotis arbitris conperisse ait se, insidiari ei Dataphernem et Catanen, ut vivum Alexandro traderent, agitantes : a semet occupatos esse et vinctos teneri. [23] Bessus tanto merito, ut credebat, obligatus partim gratias agit, partim avidus expetendi supplicii adduci eos iubet. [24] Illi manibus sua sponte religatis a participibus consilii trahebantur: quos Bessus truci vultu intuens consurgit manibus non temperaturus. Atque illi simulatione omissa circumstant eum et frustra repugnantem [p. 224] vinciunt derepto ex capite regni insigni lacerataque veste, [25] quam e spoliis occisi regis induerat. Ille deos sui sceleris ultores adesse confessus adiecit non Dareo iniquos fuisse, quem sic ulciscerentur, sed Alexandro propitios, [26] cuius victoriam semper etiam hostes adiuvisent. Multitudo an vindicatura Bessum fuerit, incertum est, nisi illi, qui vinxerant, iussu Alexandri fecisse ipsos ementiti dubios adhuc animi terruissent. In equum inpositum Alexandro tradituri ducunt. [27] Inter haec rex, quibus matura erat missio, electis nongentis fere bina talenta equiti dedit, pediti terna denarium milia monitosque, ut liberos generarent, remisit domum. Ceteris gratiae actae, quod ad reliqua belli navaturos operam pollicebantur. [28] Dum

Bessum persequitur, perventum erat in parvulum oppidum. Branchidae eius incolae erant: Mileto quondam iussu Xerxis, cum e Graecia rediret, transierant et in ea sede constiterant, quia templum, quod Didymeon appellatur, in gratiam Xerxis violaverant. [29] Mores patrii nondum exoleverant, sed iam bilingues erant paulatim a domestico externo sermone degeneres. Magno igitur gaudio regem excipiunt [p. 225] urbem seque dedentes. Ille Milesios, qui apud ipsum militarent, convocari iubet. [30] Vetus odium Milesii gerebant in Branchidarum gentem. Proditis ergo, sive iniuriae sive originis meminisse mallent, liberum de Branchidis permittit arbitrium. [31] Variantibus deinde sentiis se ipsum consideraturum, quid optimum factu esset, ostendit. Postero die occurrentibus Branchidis secum procedere iubet, cumque ad urbem ventum esset, ipse cum expedita manu portam intrat: [32] phalanx moenia oppidi circumire iussa et dato signo diripere urbem, proditorum receptaculum, ipsosque ad unum cadere. [33] Illi inermes passim trucidantur, nec aut commercio linguae aut supplicum velamentis precibusque inhiberi crudelitas potest. Tandem, ut deicerent, fundamenta murorum ab imo moliantur, ne quod urbis vestigium extaret. [34] Nemora quoque et lucos sacros non caedunt modo, sed etiam extirpant, ut vasta solitudo et sterilis humus exustis etiam radicibus linqueretur. [35] Quae si in ipsos prodicionis auctores excogitata essent, iusta ultio esse, non crudelitas videretur: nunc culpam maiorum posterius luere, qui ne viderant quidem Mileto, adeo et Xerxi non potuerant prodere. [36] Inde processit ad Tanain amnem. Quo perductus est Bessus non vinctus modo, sed etiam omni [p. 226] velamento corporis spoliatus. Spitamenes eum tenebat collo inserta catena, tam barbaris quam Macedonibus gratum spectaculum. [37] Tum Spitamenes: ‘Et te,’ inquit, ‘et Dareum, reges meos, ultus interfectorem domini sui adduxi, eo modo captum, cuius ipse fecit exemplum. Aperiat ad hoc spectaculum oculos Dareus!’ [38] existat ab inferis, qui illo supplicio indignus fuit et hoc solacio dignus est!’ Alexander multum conlaudato Spitamene conversus ad Bessum: ‘Cuius,’ inquit, ‘ferae rabies occupavit animum tuum, cum regem de te optime meritum prius vincere, deinde occidere sustinuisti?’ [39] Sed huius parricidi i mercedem falso regis nomine persolvisti tibi.’ Ille facinus purgare non ausus regis titulum se usurpare dixit, ut gentem suam tradere ipsi posset: [40] quippe, si cessasset, alium fuisse regnum occupaturum. Et Alexander Oxathren, fratrem Darei, quem inter corporis custodes habebat, propius iussit accedere tradique Bessum ei, ut cruci adfixum mutilatis auribus naribusque sagittis configerent barbari adservarentque corpus, [41] ut ne aves quidem contingerent. Oxathres cetera sibi curae fore pollicetur: aves non ab alio quam a Catane posse prohiberi adicit eximiam eius artem cupiens ostendere: namque adeo certo ictu destinata feriebat, ut aves quoque exciperet. [42] Nunc forsitan sagittarum celebri usu minus admirabilis videri ars haec possit: tum ingens [p. 227] visentibus miraculum magnoque honori Catani fuit. [43] Dona deinde omnibus, qui Bessum adduxerant, data sunt. Ceterum supplicium eius distulit, ut eo loco, in quo Dareum occiderat, ipse necaretur.

V. Therefore having entrusted the region of the Bactriani to Artabazus, he left there the packs and baggage with a garrison, and himself with a lightarmed force entered the desert places of the Sogdiani [2] leading his army by night. The scarcity of water, mentioned above, sets up a burning thirst through despair of finding it, before it does so by desire for drinking. For 400 stadia not even a drop of water [3] is to be found. The heat of the summer sun makes the sands hot, and when they began to glow, everything is burned as if by a continuous conflagration.

Then too a mist, aroused by the excessive warmth of the ground, obscures the light, and the aspect of the plain is not unlike that of a vast and deep sea.”

By night the march seemed endurable, since their bodies were relieved by the dew and by the early morning coolness. But with the very daylight the heat returns, and dryness consumes all their natural moisture; mouths and innermost vitals are [6] parched. As a result, first their courage and then their strength began to give out, they were [7] reluctant either to stand still or to go on. A few, advised by those who knew the region, had provided themselves with water beforehand; this for a time appeased their thirst, then, as the heat increased, the desire for water was kindled again. Therefore what wine and oil there was lavished upon all, and so great was the pleasure of drinking, that they [8] did not fear thirst for the future. Later, heavy from drinking greedily, they could not carry their arms nor march, and those seemed more fortunate who had had nothing to drink, since those who had were forced to get rid of by vomiting up what they had poured down without moderation.

[9] The king, worried by such troubles, was surrounded by his friends, who begged him to remember that the greatness of his own courage was the sole remedy for [10] the weakness of the army; when two of those who had gone ahead to choose a place for a camp met them, bringing water in skins, in order to aid their sons who were in that same army and whom they [11] knew to be suffering severely from thirst. When they met Alexander, one of them opened one of the skins, filled a cup which he was carrying with him, and offered it to the king. He took it; then, having asked for whom he was bringing the water, he learned [12] that he was bringing it for his sons. Thereupon, returning the full cup, just as it had been offered to him, the king said: “I cannot endure to drink alone, and I cannot distribute so little among all; do you hasten and give to your children what you have brought for them.” [13] At length Alexander came to the river Oxus at about sunset. But the great part of the army had been unable to keep up with him; hence he ordered fires to be lighted on a high hill, in order that those who were following with difficulty might know that [14] they were not far from the camp, but that of those who were in the front of the army, after speedily refreshing themselves with food and drink, some should fill skins, others whatever other vessels could [15] hold water, and bring aid to his men. But those who had drunk too intemperately, had a

choking fit and died, and the number of these was much greater ^[16] than the king had lost in any battle. But he, still wearing his cuirass and refreshed neither with food nor drink, stood on the road by which the army was coming, nor did he retire to refresh himself until the whole army had passed by, and he spent that whole ^[17] night without sleep in great trouble of mind. Nor was he more cheerful on the following day, because he had no boats, nor could a bridge be set up, since all the land around the river was bare and especially lacking in timber. Therefore he adopted the only ^[18] expedient that necessity had suggested; he distributed as many skins stuffed with straw as possible; lying upon these, they swam across the river, and those who had crossed first remained on guard until the rest had passed over. In this way he brought his whole army on the farther bank after five days.

^[19] And now he had decided to go on in pursuit of Bessus, when he learned what had happened in the country of the Sogdiani. Spitamenes was most ^[20] highly honoured by Bessus among all his friends, but treachery cannot be tamed by any services, a thing which nevertheless might have been less odious in his case, since it seemed that no wrong could be done by anyone to Bessus, the murderer of his king. A specious pretext for his crime was offered, namely, the avenging of Darius, but it was the fortune, not the evil ^[21] deed, of Bessus that he hated. For when he learned that Alexander had crossed the river Oxus, he enrolled Dataphernes and Catanes, in whom Bessus had the greatest confidence, as accomplices in the conspiracy which he had planned. They consented more promptly than they were asked, and taking with them eight very strong young men, they laid the ^[22] following snare. Spitamenes went to Bessus and in a private conference said that he had learned that Dataphernes and Catanes were plotting against him, in order to deliver him alive to Alexander; that he had anticipated their conspiracy and was holding them in fetters.

^[23] Bessus, under obligation for this great service, as he thought it, both thanked them and, eager to inflict punishment, ordered the two men to be brought ^[24] to him. They, with their arms voluntarily bound, were dragged in by the accomplices in the plot; Bessus, gazing fiercely at them, arose, evidently unable to refrain from laying hands upon them. Then they, laying aside pretence, surrounded him, and in spite of his vain attempts at resistance bound him, tearing from his head the royal tiara and rending the clothes which he had put on from the spoils of the murdered ^[25] king. Bessus, confessing that the gods had come as avengers of his crime, added that they had not been unfavourable to Darius, whom they thus avenged, but propitious to Alexander, since even his enemies ^[26] always aided his victory. Whether the populace would have rescued Bessus is uncertain, had not those who had bound him, by falsely saying that they had done so by order of Alexander," terrified them while their minds were still wavering. The conspirators placed him on a horse and took him to be delivered to Alexander.

[27] Meanwhile the king, having selected about 900 of those whose discharge was due, gave two talents to each of the cavalry and to each of the infantry 3000 denarii, and sent them home after exhorting them to beget children. To the rest he gave thanks, because they promised to render good service for the remainder of the war.

[28] While the king was pursuing Bessus, they arrived at a little town. It was inhabited by the Branchidae; they had in former days migrated from Miletus by order of Xerxes, when he was returning from Greece, and had settled in that place, because to gratify Xerxes they had violated the temple which is [29] called the Didymaeon. They had not ceased to follow the customs of their native land, but they were already bilingual, having gradually degenerated from their original language through the influence of a foreign tongue. Therefore they received Alexander with great joy and surrendered their city and themselves. He ordered the Milesians who were serving [30] with him to be called together. They cherished a hatred of long standing against the race of the Branchidae. Therefore the king allowed to those who had been betrayed free discretion as to the Branchidae, whether they preferred to remember [31] the injury or their common origin. Then, since their opinions varied, he made known to them that he himself would consider what was best to be done.

On the following day when the Branchidae met him, he ordered them to come along with him, and when they had reached the city, he himself entered [32] the gate with a light-armed company; the phalanx he ordered to surround the walls of the town and at a given signal to pillage the city, which was a haunt of traitors, and to kill the inhabitants to a man.

[33] The unarmed wretches were butchered everywhere, and the cruelty could not be checked either by community of language or by the draped olive branches and prayers of the suppliants. At last, in order that the walls might be thrown down, their foundations were undermined, so that no vestige of the city might [34] survive. As for their woods also and their sacred groves, they not only cut them down, but even pulled out the stumps, to the end that, since even the roots were burned out, nothing but a desert waste [35] and sterile ground might be left. If this had been designed against the actual authors of the treason, it would seem to have been a just vengeance and not cruelty; as it was, their descendants expiated the guilt of their forefathers, although they themselves had never seen Miletus, and so could not have betrayed it to Xerxes. — [36] Then Alexander advanced to the river Tanais. Thither Bessus was brought, not only bound, but stripped of all his clothing. Spitamenes held him with a chain placed about his neck, a sight as pleasing to the barbarians as to the Macedonians. Then Spitamenes said: “Avenging both you and Darius, my kings, I have brought you the slayer of his lord, captured in the manner of which he himself set the example. Would that Darius might open his eyes to behold the spectacle. Would that he might rise from the lower world, since he

did not deserve such a [38] fate and merits this consolation.” Alexander, after having highly praised Spitamenes, turned to Bessus and said: “Of what wild beast did the frenzy enter your mind when you had the heart, first to bind, and then to kill the king who was your greatest benefactor? But the reward for this parricide you have [39] paid yourself by the false name of king.” Bessus, not daring to deny his crime, said that he had used the title of king in order that he might be able to hand over his nation to him; for if he had delayed, another would have seized the rule.

[40] But Alexander ordered Oxathres, the brother of Darius, whom he had among his body-guard, to come nearer, and that Bessus be delivered to him, in order that, bound to a cross after his ears and his nose had been cut off, the barbarians might pierce him with arrows and so guard his body that not even the birds [41] could touch it. Oxathres answered that he would take care of the rest; he added that the birds could not be kept off by anyone else than Catanes, desiring to show the man’s remarkable skill; for he struck his mark with so sure an aim that he even brought down birds. Nowadays perhaps, when the use of arrows is frequent, such skill may seem less wonderful, but at that time it was a great wonder to those who saw it [43] and gained Catanes great repute. Gifts were given to all who had brought in Bessus. But Alexander postponed his execution, in order that he might be slain in that very place where he had killed Darius.

Interea Macedones ad petendum pabulum inconposito agmine egressi a barbaris, qui de proximis montibus decurrerunt, opprimuntur pluresque capti sunt quam occisi: [2] barbari autem captivos prae se agentes rursus in montem recesserunt. XX milia latronum erant : fundis sagittisque pugnam invadunt. [3] Quos dum obsidet rex, inter promptissimos dimicans sagitta ictus est, quae in medio crure fixa reliquerat spiculum. [4] Illum quidem maesti et attoniti Macedones in castra referebant, sed nec barbaros fefellit subductus ex acie — quippe ex edito monte cuncta prospexerant — : [5] itaque postero die misere legatos ad regem. Quos ille protinus iussit admitti solutisque fasciis magnitudinem vulneris dissimulans crus barbaris ostendit. [6] Illi iussi considerare adfirmant non Macedonas quam ipsos tristiores fuisse cognito vulnere ipsius : cuius si auctorem repperissent, dedituros fuisse: cum dis enim pugnare sacrilegos tantum. [7] Ceterum se gentem in fidem dedere superatos vulnere illius. Rex fide data et captivis receptis gentem in deditionem accepit. [8] Castris inde motis lectica militari ferebatur. Quam pro se quisque eques pedesque subire certabant: equites, cum quibus rex proelia inire solitus erat, sui muneris id esse censebant, pedites contra, cum saucios commilitones ipsi gestare adsuevissent, eripi sibi [p. 228] proprium officium tum potissimum, cum rex gestandus esset, querebantur. [9] Rex in tanto utriusque partis certamine et sibi difficilem et praeteritis gravem electionem futuram ratus invicem subire eos iussit. [10] Hinc quarto die ad urbem Maracanda perventum est: LXX stadia murus urbis amplectitur, arx alio cingitur muro. Mille praesidio urbis relictis

proximos vicos depopulatur atque urit. [11] Legati deinde Abiorum Scytharum superveniunt, liberi, ex quo decesserat Cyrus, tum imperata facturi. Iustissimos barbarorum constabat: amis abstinebant nisi lacessiti, libertatis modico et aequali usu principibus humiliores pares fecerant. [12] Hos benigne adlocutus ad eos Scythas, qui Europam incolunt, Derdam quendam misit ex amicis, qui denuntiaret his, ne Tanain amnem regionis iniussu regis transirent. Eidem mandatum, ut contemplaretur locorum situm et illos quoque Scythas, qui super Bosphorum colunt, viseret. [13] Condendae urbi sedem super ripam Tanais elegerat, claustrum et iam perdomitorum et, quot deinde adire decreverat: sed consilium distulit Sogdianorum nuntiata defectio, quae Bactrianos quoque traxit. [14] milia equitum erant, quorum auctoritatem ceteri sequebantur. Alexander Spitamenen et Catanen, a quibus ei traditus erat Bessus, haud dubius, quin eorum opera a [p. 229] redigi possent in potestatem, coercendo qui novaverant res, iussit accersi. [15] At illi, defectionis, ad quam coercendam evocabantur, auctores, vulgaverant fama Bactrianos equites a rege omnes, ut occiderentur, accersi, idque imperatum ipsis non sustinuisse tamen exequi, ne inexpressibile in populares facinus admitterent. Non magis Alexandri saevitiam quam Bessi parricidium ferre potuisse. Itaque sua sponte iam motos metu poenae haud difficulter ad arma concitaverunt. [16] Alexander transfugarum defectione conperta Craterum obsidere Cyropolim iubet: ipse aliam urbem regionis eiusdem corona capit, signoque, ut puberes interficerentur, dato reliqui in praedam cessare victoris. Urbs diruta est, ut ceteri cladis eius exemplo continerentur. [17] Memaceni, valida gens, obsidionem non ut honestiorem modo, sed etiam ut tutiorem ferre decreverant: ad quorum pertinaciam mitigandam rex L equites praemisit, qui clementiam ipsius in deditos simulque inexorabilem animum in devictos ostenderent. [18] Illi nec de fide nec de dementia regis ipsos dubitare respondent equitesque tendere extra munimenta urbis iubent : hospitaliter deinde exceptos gravesque epulis et somno intempesta nocte adorti interfecerunt. [19] Alexander haud secus, quam par erat, motus urbem corona circumdedit, munitiorem, quam ut primo impetu capi posset. [p. 230] Itaque Meleagrum et Perdiccan in obsidionem iungit: [20] ipse ad Craterum pergit Cyropolim, ut ante dictum est, obsidentem. Statuerat autem parcere urbi conditae a Cyro : quippe non alium gentium illarum magis admiratus est quam hunc regem et Samiramin, quos et magnitudine animi et claritate rerum longe emicuisse credebat. [21] Ceterum pertinacia oppidanorum iram eius accendit: itaque captam urbem diripi iussit. Deleta ea Memacenis haud iniuria infestus ad Meleagrum et Perdiccam redit. [22] Sed non alia urbs fortius obsidionem tulit: quippe et militum promptissimi cecidere et ipse rex ad ultimum periculum venit. Namque cervix eius saxo ita icta est, ut oculis caligine offusa conlaberetur, ne mentis quidem compos: exercitus certe velut erepto iam eo ingemuit. [23] Sed invictus adversus ea, quae ceteros terrent, non dum percurato vulnere acrius obsidioni institit naturalem celeritatem ira concitante. Cuniculo ergo suffossa moenia ingens nudavere spatium, per quod inrupit, victorque

urbem dirui iussit. [24] Hinc Menedemum cum tribus milibus peditum et DCCC equitibus ad urbem Maracanda misit. Spitamenes transfuga praesidio Macedonum inde deiecto muris urbis eius incluserat se non adeo oppidanis consilium [p. 231] defectionis adprobantibus: sequi tamen videbantur, quia prohibere non poterant. [25] Interim Alexander ad Tanain amnem redit et, quantum soli occupaverat castris, muro circumdedit: LX stadiorum urbis murus fuit. Hanc quoque urbem Alexandriam appellari iussit. [26] Opus tanta celeritate perfectum est, ut XVII die, quam munimenta excitata erant, tecta quoque urbis absolverentur. Ingens militum certamen inter ipsos fuerat, ut suum quisque munus — nam divisum erat — primus ostenderet. [27] Incolae novae urbi dati captivi, quos reddito pretio dominis liberavit: quorum posterius nunc quoque non apud eos tam longa aetate propter memoriam Alexandri exoleverunt.

VI. Meanwhile some of the Macedonians, who had gone forth in a disorderly band to forage, were fallen upon by the barbarians, who rushed down from the mountains near by, and more were captured than [2] were killed; but the barbarians, driving their prisoners before them, withdrew again to the mountains. The brigands numbered 20,000, and they [3] entered battle with slings and arrows. While the king was besieging them, as he fought among the foremost he was struck by an arrow, which had left its [4] point fixed in the middle of his leg. The sorrowing and amazed Macedonians carried him back into the camp, but it did not escape the barbarians that the king had been carried from the field — for from their lofty mountain they had seen everything [5] — and so on the following day they sent envoys to the king. He at once ordered them to be admitted, and taking off the bandages, but concealing the severity of the wound, showed his leg to the barbarians.

[8] The envoys, when bidden to be seated, declared that the Macedonians had not been more sorrowful than they themselves on hearing of the wound; that if they could have discovered who had inflicted it, they would have given him up; for that only the impious [7] warred with the gods. Furthermore, they said, that overcome by his wound, they surrendered their race into his protection. The king, having pledged his faith and recovered his men who had been taken [8] prisoner, received the race in surrender. Then camp was broken and he was carried in a soldier's litter. All the cavalry and the infantry vied with one another as to who should carry it; the cavalry, with whom the king had been wont to enter battle, thought that it was a part of their privilege, the infantry on the other hand, since they themselves had been accustomed to carry their injured comrades, complained that their proper duty was being taken from them just at the very time when the king had to be carried. Alexander, in so great a contention between the two parts of the army thinking that a choice would be difficult for him and displeasing to those who were passed over, ordered them to carry him by turns.

From there on the fourth day they came to the city of Maracanda; this city is begirt by a wall of seventy stadia, and the citadel is enclosed by another wall. Having left 1000 men as a guard of the city, he ravaged and burned the neighbouring villages.

Then envoys of the Abii, who are Scythians, arrived, who had been free since the death of Cyprus and were then ready to submit to Alexander. They were commonly regarded as the most just of the barbarians; they abstained from warfare except in self-defence, and because of their moderate and impartial practice of freedom they had made the ^[12] humblest equal to the chief men. Having addressed them courteously, Alexander sent one of his friends, Derdas, to those Scythians who dwell in Europe; he was to command them not to cross the Tanais river without the king's order. He charged the same messengers to reconnoitre the country and to visit those Scythians also who dwell above the Bosphorus.

^[13] He had chosen a site for founding a city on the bank of the Tanais, as a barrier both to those who had already been subdued and to those whom he had decided to attack later; but his design was put off by the reported revolt of the Sogdiani, which also ^[14] involved the Bactriani. These consisted of 7000 cavalry, whose authority the rest followed.

Alexander ordered Spitamenes and Catanes to be summoned, by whom Bessus had been delivered to him, not doubting that by their aid they could be reduced into his power by the suppression of those ^[16] who had stirred up a revolt. But they, being the ringleaders of the revolt to the suppression of which they were summoned, had spread abroad the report that all the Bactrian cavalry were being sent for by the king, in order that they might be slain, but that they however could not bring themselves to execute this order which had been given them, for fear of committing an inextinguishable crime against their countrymen. That they had been no more able to endure the savage cruelty of Alexander than the parricide of Bessus. Therefore they aroused to arms without difficulty those who were already of their own accord alarmed by fear of punishment.

^[16] Alexander, on learning of the rebellion of the deserters, ordered Craterus to besiege Cyropolis; he himself took another city of the same region by circumvallation, and when the order had been given that all the men fit for service should be killed, the rest became booty for the victor. The city was razed, in order that the rest might be held to their allegiance^[17] by the example of its destruction. The Memaceni, a powerful race, had decided to stand a siege, as not only more honourable, but also as safer; to tame their obstinacy, the king sent ahead fifty horsemen, to make known to them his clemency towards those who surrendered and his inexorable spirit towards ^[18] the vanquished. They replied that they did not doubt the good faith and clemency of the king and ordered the horsemen to encamp outside the fortifications of

the city; then, having entertained them hospitably, they attacked them in the dead of night, when they were heavy with feasting and sleep, [19] and slew them. Alexander, incensed as was quite natural, surrounded the city with a line of troops, since it was too well fortified to be taken at the first assault. Therefore he united Meleager and Perdiccas in its siege, and he himself rejoined Craterus, who was besieging Cyropolis, as was said before.

[20] However, he had decided to spare this city, since it was founded by Cyrus; for there were no other of those nations whom he admired more than that king and Semiramis, who he believed had far excelled all others in the greatness of their courage and the glory [21] of their deeds. But the obstinacy of the inhabitants so inflamed his anger, that, after taking the city, he ordered it to be ravaged. Having destroyed it, not unreasonably filled with indignation against the Memaceni, he returned to Meleager and Perdiccas.

[22] But no other city withstood siege more stoutly; for the bravest of his soldiers fell and the king himself was exposed to extreme danger. For his neck was struck with a stone with such force that darkness veiled his eyes and he fell and even lost consciousness; the army in fact lamented as if he had already [23] been taken from them. But unconquered in the face of what terrifies other men, he pressed on the siege before the wound had yet been wholly healed, anger spurring on his natural speed. Therefore, his men having undermined the walls and opened a great breach, he burst through it into the city, and when victor ordered it to be razed.

[24] Next he sent Menedemus with 3000 infantry and 800 cavalry to the city of Maracanda. Within the walls of this city the deserter Spitamenes, after driving out the Macedonian garrison, had shut himself, although the inhabitants did not fully approve of his design of revolt; yet they were thought to consent to [25] it, since they could not prevent it. Meanwhile Alexander returned to the Tanais and surrounded with a wall all the space which he had occupied with his camp; the wall of the city measured sixty stadia. This city also he ordered to be called Alexandria.

[26] The work was completed with such speed, that seventeen days after the fortifications were raised the buildings of the city also were finished. There had been great rivalry of the soldiers with one another, that each band — for the work was divided — might be [27] the first to show the completion of his task. As inhabitants for the new city prisoners were chosen, whom he freed by paying the masters their price; even now their posterity after so long a time have not ceased to enjoy consideration among those peoples because of the memory of Alexander.

At rex Scytharum, cuius tum ultra Tanaim imperium erat, ratus eam urbem, quam in ripa amnis Macedones condiderant, suis inpositam esse cervicibus, fratrem, Carthasim nomine, cum magna equitum manu misit ad diruendam

eam proculque amne submovendas Macedonum copias. [2] Bactrianos Tanais ab Scythis, quos Europaeos vocant, dividit, idem Asiam et Europam finis interfluit. [3] Ceterum Scytharum gens haud procul Thracia sita ab oriente ad septentrionem se vertit Sarmatarumque, ut quidam credidere, non finitima, sed pars est. [4] Recta deinde regione saltum ultra Istrum iacentem colit, ultima Asiae, qua Bactra sunt, stringit. Habitant, quae septentrioni propiora sunt: [p. 232] profundae inde silvae vastaeque solitudines excipiunt. Rursus quae Tanain et Bactra spectant, humano cultu haud disparia sunt primis. [5] Cum hac gente non provisum bellum Alexander gesturus, cum in conspectu eius obequicaret hostis, adhuc aeger ex vulnere, praecipue voce deficiens, quam et modicus cibus et cervicis extenuabat dolor, amicos in consilium advocari iubet. [6] Terrebat eum non hostis, sed iniquitas temporis: Bactriani defecerant, Scythae etiam lacescebant, [7] ipse non insistere in terra, non equo vehi, non docere, non hortari suos poterat. Ancipiti periculo implicitus deos quoque incusans querebatur, se iacere segnem, cuius velocitatem nemo antea valuisset effugere: vix suos credere non simulari validitatem. [8] Itaque, qui post Dareum victum hariolos et vates consulere desierat, rursus ad superstitionem, humanarum mentium ludibrium, revolutus Aristandrum, cui credulitatem suam addixerat, explorare eventum rerum sacrificiis iubet. Mos erat haruspicibus exta sine rege spectare et, quae portenderentur, referre. [9] Inter haec rex, dum fibris pecudum explorantur eventus latentium rerum, propius ipsum considerare de industria amicos iubet, ne contentione vocis cicatricem infirmam adhuc rumperet. Hephaestio et Craterus et Erigyus erant cum custodibus in tabernaculum admissi. [10] ‘Discrimen,’ inquit, ‘me occupavit [p. 233] meliore hostium quam meo tempore: sed necessitas ante rationem est, maxime in bello, quo raro permittitur tempora eligere. [11] Defecere Bactriani, in quorum cervicibus stamus, et, quantum in nobis animi sit, alieno Marte experiuntur. Haud dubia fortuna: si omiserimus Scythas ultro arma inferentes, contempti ad illos, qui defecerunt, revertemur: [12] si vero Tanaim transierimus et ubique invictos esse nos Scytharum pernicie ac sanguine ostenderimus, quis dubitabit parere etiam Europae victoribus? [13] Fallitur, qui terminos gloriae nostrae metitur spatio, quod transitori sumus. Unus amnis interfluit: quem si traicimus, in Europam arma proferimus. [14] Et quanti aestimandum est, dum Asiam subigimus, in alio quodammodo orbe tropaea statuere et, quae tam longo intervallo natura videtur diremisce, [15] una victoria subito committere? At, hercule, si paulum cessaverimus, in tergis nostris Scythae haerebunt. An soli sumus, qui flumina transnare possumus? Multa in nosmetipsos recident, quibus adhuc vicimus. [16] Fortuna belli artem victos quoque docet. Utribus amnem traiciendi exemplum fecimus nuper: hoc ut Scythae imitari nesciant, Bactriani docebunt. [17] Praeterea unus gentis huius exercitus adhuc venit, ceteri expectantur. Ita bellum vitando alemus et, quod inferre possumus, accipere cogemur. [18] Manifesta est consilii mei ratio: sed, an permissuri sint mihi Macedones [p. 234] animo uti meo, dubito, quia, ex quo hoc vulnus accepi, [19] non equo vectus sum, non pedibus ingressus. Sed si me sequi vultis, valeo,

amici. Satis virium est ad toleranda ista: [20] aut, si iam adest vitae meae finis, in quo tandem opere melius extinguar?’ Haec quassa adhuc voce subdeficiens vix proximis exaudientibus dixerat, cum omnes a tam praecipiti consilio regem detertere coeperunt, [21] Erigyus maxime, qui haud sane auctoritate proficiens apud obstinatum animum superstitionem, cuius potens non erat rex, incutere temptavit dicendo, deos quoque obstare consilio magnumque periculum, [22] si flumen transisset, ostendi. Intranti Erigyio tabernaculum regis Aristander occurrerat tristitia exta fuisse significans: [23] haec ex vate conperta Erigyus nuntiabat. Quo inhibito Alexander non ira solum, sed etiam pudore confusus, quod superstitio, quam celaverat, detegebatur, [24] Aristandrum vocari iubet. Qui ut venit, intuens eum: ‘Non rex,’ inquit, ‘sed privatus clam, sacrificium ut faceres, mandavi: quid eo portenderetur, cur apud alium quam apud me professus es? Erigyus arcana mea et secreta te prodente cognovit, quem certum, mehercule, habeo extorum interprete uti metu suo. [25] Tibi autem, qui sapis, quam potest, denuntio, ipsi mihi indices, quid ex eis cognoveris, ne possis infitiri dixisse, [26] quae dixeris.’ Ille exanguis attonitoque [p. 235] similis stabat per metum etiam voce suppressa tandemque eodem metu stimulante, ne regis expectationem moraretur: ‘Magni,’ inquit, ‘laboris, non inriti discrimen instare praedixi: [27] nec me tam ars mea quam benivolentia tua perturbat. Infirmitatem validitudinis tuae video et, quantum in uno te sit, scio: vereor, ne praesenti fortunae tu sufficere non possis.’ [28] Rex iussit eum confidere felicitati suae: ut alias sibi ait gloriam concedere deos. [29] Consultanti inde cum isdem, quonam modo flumen transirent, supervenit Aristander non alias laetiora exta vidisse se adfirmans, utique prioribus longe diversa: tum sollicitudinis causas adparuisse, nunc prorsus egregie litatum esse. [30] Ceterum, quae subinde nuntiata sunt regi, continua felicitati rerum eius inposuerant labem. [31] Menedemum, ut supra dictum est, miserat ad obsidendum Spitamenen, Bactrianae defectionis auctorem: qui conperto hostis adventu, ne muris urbis includeretur, simul fretus excipi posse, qua eum venturum sciebat, consedit occultus. [32] Silvestre iter aptum insidiis tegendis erat: ibi Dahas condidit. Equi binos armatos vehunt, quorum invicem singuli repente desiliunt et equestris pugnae ordinem turbant. [33] Equorum velocitati par est hominum pernicitas. Hos Spitamenes saltum circumire iussos pariter et a lateribus et a fronte et a tergo hosti ostendit. [34] Menedemus undique inclusus, ne nu- [p. 236] mero quidem par, diu tamen resistit clamitans nihil aliud superesse locorum fraude deceptis quam honestae mortis solacium ex hostium caede. [35] Ipsum praevalens equus vehebat, quo saepius in cuneos barbarorum effusis habenis evector magna strage eos fuderat. [36] Sed cum unum omnes peterent, multis vulneribus exanguis Hypsiclem quendam ex amicis hortatus est, ut in equum suum escenderet et se fuga eriperet. Haec agentem anima defecit, corpusque ex equo defluxit in terram. [37] Hypsicles poterat quidem effugere, sed amisso amico mori statuit. Una erat cura, ne inultus occideret: itaque subditis calcaribus equo in medios hostis se inmisit et memorabili edita pugna obrutus telis est. [38] Quod ubi videre, qui caedi supererant, tumulum

paulo quam cetera editiorem capiunt: [39] quos Spitamenes fame in deditionem subactus obsedit. Cecidere eo proelio peditum II milia, CCC equites. Quam cladem Alexander sollerti consilio texit, morte denunciata his, qui ex proelio advenerant, si acta vulgassent.

VII. But the king of the Scythians, whose rule at that time extended beyond the Tanais, thinking that this city which the Macedonians had founded on the bank of the river was a yoke upon their necks, sent his brother, Carthasis by name, with a large force of cavalry to demolish it and drive off the Macedonian [2] forces away from the river. The Tanais separates the Bactriani from the so-called European Scythians, and [3] is also the boundary between Asia and Europe. But the Scythian race which is situated not far from Thrace extends from the east towards the north, and is not a neighbour of the Sarmatians, as some have [4] believed, but a part of them. Then keeping straight on, it inhabits the forest lying beyond the Danube, and borders the extremity of Asia at Bactra. They inhabit the parts which are nearer to the north, then dense forests and desert wastes meet them. Again, the parts which look towards the Tanais and Bactra in human cultivation are not unlike the first.

[5] Alexander, about to wage an unforeseen war with this race, when the enemy rode up in sight of him, although still ailing from his wound, and especially feeble of voice, which both moderation in food and the pain in his neck had weakened, ordered his friends to [6] be called to a conference. It was not the enemy that alarmed him, but the unfavourable condition of the times; the Bactriani had revolted, the Scythians also were provoking him to battle, he himself could not stand on his feet, could not ride a horse, could not [7] instruct nor encourage his men. Involved as he was in a double danger, accusing even the gods, he complained that he, whose swiftness no one had before been able to escape, was lying idle; even his own men hardly believed that he was not feigning illness.

[8] Therefore he, who after vanquishing Darius had ceased to consult soothsayers and seers, lapsing again into superstition, that mocker of men's minds, ordered Aristander, to whom he had consigned his faith, to examine by sacrifices into the outcome of his affairs. It was the custom of the diviners to examine the entrails without the presence of the king, and to report what these portended.

[9] Meanwhile the king, while they were trying by inspection of the entrails of the victims to learn the result of hidden events, purposely bade his friends to sit very near him, in order that he might not, by exerting his voice, break the scab of his wound, which was still tender. Hephaestion, Craterus, and Erigyius, with his body-guard, had been admitted to his [10] tent. To them he said: "Danger has surprised me at a time better for the enemy than for myself; but necessity outstrips calculation, especially in war, where a man is seldom

allowed to choose his own times.

[11] The Bactriani have revolted, on whose necks we are standing, and are trying through a war waged by others to learn how much spirit we have. Our fortune is not doubtful; if we disregard the Scythians, who are attacking us without provocation, we shall return [12] an object of contempt to those who have revolted; if however we cross the Tanais and show by the defeat and slaughter of the Scythians that we are everywhere invincible, who will hesitate to obey those who [13] are victors even over Europe also? He is deceived who measures our glory by the space which we are about to cross. A single river flows between us; if we cross that, we carry our arms into Europe. And how highly must it be regarded, while we are subjugating Asia, to set up trophies in what might be called another world, and suddenly to join in one victory places which Nature seems to have separated by so [15] great a space? But, by Heaven! if we delay even a short time, the Scythians will be close at our backs. Are we the only ones that can swim across rivers? Many inventions will recoil upon us by which we have so far been victorious. The fortune of war teaches its art even to the vanquished. We have lately set them the example of crossing a river on skins; even if the Scythians do not know how to imitate this, the Bactriani will teach them. Besides, only one army of this nation has yet arrived, the rest are expected. Hence by avoiding war, we shall give it strength, and in a war in which we can take the offensive we shall be reduced to defence.

[18] “The reasonableness of my plan is clear; but I doubt whether the Macedonians will allow me to use my judgement, because, as the result of this wound which I have suffered, I have neither ridden nor gone on foot. But if you are willing to follow me, I am strong, my friends. I have sufficient strength to endure the dangers which I have suggested; or, if the end of my life is already at hand, in what exploit, [20] pray, shall I die more nobly?” So much had he spoken in a voice faltering, broken all the time and with difficulty to be heard by those who were beside him, when all began to deter the king from so rash a [21] plan, Erigyus especially, who, unable by his influence to check his obstinate purpose, tried to arouse his superstition, which was the king’s weak point, by saying that even the gods opposed his plan, and that great danger menaced him, if he should cross the [22] river. Erigyus, as he entered the king’s tent, had been met by Aristander, who told him that the signs of the victims had turned out unfavourable; this, which he had learned from the seer, Erigyus reported.

[23] Having silenced him, Alexander, confused, not by anger alone, but also by shame because the superstition which he had concealed was revealed, ordered [24] Aristander to be summoned. When he came, the king, gazing sternly at him, said: “Not as king, but secretly as a private person, I ordered you to offer a sacrifice. Why did you announce what was portended by it to another rather

than to me? Through your indiscretion Erigyus knew my private and secret affairs, and, by Heaven! I feel sure that he uses his own fear as an interpreter of the victim's vitals. But I give you, who know, a solemn warning to indicate to me personally what you have learned from those sacrifices, so that you may not be able to deny having ^[26] said what you shall tell me." Aristander stood pale and as if thunderstruck, and although through fear he lost his voice, at length, driven also by fear, lest he should keep the king waiting, he said: "I predicted that a contest of great, but not fruitless labour threatened; and it is not so much my art as affection for you that disturbs me. I see the weakness of your health, and I know how much depends on you alone. I fear that you cannot be equal to the present fortune." The king bade him have confidence in his good fortune; saving that, just as at other times, the gods granted him glory. Then as he was consulting with the same men as to what method they should use for crossing the river, Aristander appeared, declaring that at no other time had he seen more favourable entrails; especially were they very different from the former ones, that then causes for anxiety had appeared but that now the sacrifice had turned out exceptionally favourable.

^[30] But what was presently announced to the king had inflicted a stain on the continual good fortune of his enterprises. He had sent Menedemus, as was said before, to besiege Spitamenes, the author of the defection of the Bactriani; Spitamenes, having learned of the coming of the enemy, in order not to be shut within the walls of the city, and at the same time trusting that Menedemus could be taken unawares had secretly laid an ambuscade where he knew that ^[32] Menedemus would come. The road was covered with woods and adapted to conceal the ambush; there he hid the Dahae. Each of their horses carries two riders, of whom in turn one suddenly dismounts ^[33] and confuses the order of a cavalry battle. The speed of the men is equal to the swiftness of their horses. These, which had been ordered to surround the woods, Spitamenes showed at the same time on the flanks, ^[34] in front, and in the rear of the enemy. Menedemus hemmed in on all sides, although not even equal in numbers, yet resisted for a long time, crying that since they had been deceived by an ambuscade, no solace was left for them except that of an honourable death, a solace arising from the slaughter of the enemy. He himself rode a very powerful horse, by which often carried at full speed into solid blocks of barbarian ^[36] troops, he routed them with great carnage. But when they all attacked him alone, and he was drained of blood by many wounds, he urged Hypsicles, one of his friends, to mount his horse and save himself by flight. As he was saying this, life left him, and his body slipped down from his horse to the ground.

^[37] Hypsicles could in fact have escaped, but after losing his friend he resolved to die. His only care was, not to fall unavenged; therefore, spurring on his horse, he plunged into the midst of the enemy, and having fought a memorable fight, was overwhelmed by their — weapons. When those who

had survived the carnage saw that, they took position on an eminence a little higher than the rest of the field; there Spitamenes besieged them, hoping by starvation to drive [39] them to surrender. There fell in that battle 2000 foot and 300 horsemen. Alexander with crafty prudence concealed this disaster, threatening with death those who had returned from the battle, if they made public what had happened.

Ceterum cum animo disparem vultum diutius ferre non posset, in tabernaculum super ripam fluminis de industria locatum secessit. [2] Ibi sine arbitris singula animi consulta pensando noctem vigiliis extraxit saepe pellibus tabernaculi adlevatis, ut conspiceret hostium ignes, e quibus coniectare poterat, [3] quanta hominum multitudo esset. Iamque lux adpetebat, cum thoracem indutus procedit ad milites, tum primum post vulnus proxime acceptum. [4] Tanta erat apud eos veneratio regis, ut facile periculi, [p. 237] quod horrebant, cogitationem praesentia eius excuteret. [5] Laeti ergo et manantibus gaudio lacrimis consalutant eum et, quod ante recusaverant bellum, feroces deposcunt. [6] Ille se ratibus equitem phalangemque transportaturum esse pronuntiat, super utres iubet nare levius armatos. [7] Plura nec dici res desideravit nec rex dicere per valitudinem potuit. Ceterum tanta alacritate militum rates iunctae sunt, ut intra triduum ad xii milia effecta sint. [8] Iamque ad transeundum omnia aptaverant, cum legati Scytharum XX more gentis per castra equis vecti nuntiare iubent regi, velle ipsos ad eum mandata perferre. [9] Admissi in tabernaculum iussique considerare in vultu regis defixerant oculus: credo, quis magnitudine corporis animum aestimantibus moidicus habitus haudquaquam famae par videbatur. [10] Scythis autem non, ut ceteris barbaris, rudis et inconditus sensus est: quidam eorum sapientiam quoque capere dicuntur, quantamcumque gens capit semper armata. [11] Sic, quae locutos esse apud regem memoriae proditum est, abhorrent forsitan moribus oratoribusque nostris et tempora et ingenia cultiora sortitis. Sed, ut possit oratio eorum sperni, tamen fides nostra non debet : quae, utcumque sunt tradita, incorrupta proferemus. [12] Igitur unum ex his maximum natu locutum accepimus: ‘Si di habitum corporis tui aviditati animi parem esse voluissent, orbis te non caperet: altera manu Orientem, [p. 238] altera Occidentem contingeres et hoc adsecutus scire velles, ubi tanti numinis fulgor conderetur. Sic quoque concupiscis, quae non capis. [13] Ab Europa petis Asiam, ex Asia transis in Europam: deinde, si humanum genus omne superaveris, [14] cum silvis et nivibus et fluminibus ferisque bestiis gesturus es bellum. Quid? tu ignoras arbores magnas diu crescere, una hora extirpari? Stultus est, qui fructus earum spectat, altitudinem non metitur. Vide, ne, dum ad cacumen pervenire contendis, [15] cum ipsis ramis, quos comprehenderis, decidas. Leo quoque aliquando minimarum avium pabulum fuit, et ferrum robigo consumit. Nihil tam firmum est, cui periculum non sit etiam ab invalido. [16] Quid nobis tecum est? Numquam terram tuam attigimus. Quis sis, unde venias, licetne ignorare in vastis silvis viventibus? Nec servire ulli possumus nec imperare desideramus. [17] Dona nobis data sunt, ne Scytharum gentem ignores, iugum

boum et aratrum, sagitta, hasta, patera. His utimur et cum amicis et adversus inimicos. [18] Fruges amicis damus boum labore quaesitas, patera cum isdem vinum dis libamus, inimicos sagitta eminus, hasta comminus petimus. Sic Syriae regem et postea Persarum Medorumque superavimus, [19] patuitque nobis iter usque in Aegyptum. At tu, qui te gloriaris ad latrones persequendos venire, omnium gentium, quas adisti, latro es. Lydiam [p. 239] cepisti, Syriam occupasti, Persidem tenes, Bactrianos habes in potestate, Indos petisti: iam etiam ad pecora nostra avaras et insatiabiles manus porrigis. [20] Quid tibi divitiis opus est, quae esurire te cogunt? Primus omnium satietate parasti famem, ut, quo plura haberes, acrius, quae non habes, cuperes. [21] Non succurrit tibi, quam diu circum Bactra haereas? Dum illos subigis, Sogdiani bellare coeperunt. Bellum tibi ex victoria nascitur. Nam, ut maior fortiorque sis quam quisquam, tamen alienigenam dominum pati nemo vult. [22] Transi modo Tanain: scies, quam late pateant, numquam tamen consequeris Scythas. Paupertas nostra velocior erit quam exercitus tuus, qui praedam tot nationum vehit. Rursus, cum procul abesse nos credes, videbis in tuis castris. Eadem enim velocitate et sequimur et fugimus. [23] Scytharum solitudines Graecis etiam proverbiiis audio eludi: at nos deserta et humano cultu vacua magis quam urbes et opulentos agros sequimur. [24] Proinde fortunam tuam pressis manibus tene: lubrica est nec invita teneri potest. Salubre consilium sequens quam praesens tempus ostendit melius. Inpone felicitati tuae frenos: facilius illam reges. [25] Nostri sine pedibus dicunt esse Fortunam, quae manus et pinnae tantum habet: cum manus porrigit, pinnae quoque comprehendit. [26] Denique, si deus es, tribuere [p. 240] mortalibus beneficia debes, non sua eripere: sin autem homo es, id quod es, semper esse te cogita. Stultum est eorum meminisse, propter quae tui obliviscaris. [27] Quibus bellum non intuleris, bonis amicis poteris uti. [28] Nam et firmissima est inter pares amicitia, et videntur pares, qui non fecerunt inter se periculum virium. Quos viceris, amicos tibi esse, cave, credas. Inter dominum et servum nulla amicitia est: etiam in pace belli tamen iura servantur. [29] Iurando gratiam Scythas sancire ne credideris: colendo fidem iurant. Graecorum ista cautio est, qui pacta consignant et deos invocant: nos religionem in ipsa fide ponimus. Qui non reverentur homines, fallunt deos. Nec tibi amico opus est, de cuius benivolentia dubites. [30] Ceterum nos et Asiae et Europae custodes habebis: Bactra, nisi dividat Tanais, contingimus, ultra Tanain terras usque ad Thraciam colimus, Thraciae Macedoniam coniunctam esse fama fert. Utrumne imperio tuo finitimos hostes an amicos velis esse, considera.' Haec barbarus.

VIII. But when he could no longer bear an expression which belied his feelings, he withdrew to his tent, which he had purposely placed on the bank of the [2] river. There without witnesses, weighing his plans one by one, he spent the night sleepless, often raising the skins of the tent to look at the enemies' fires, from which he could calculate how great their number of [3] men was. And already daylight was at hand, when, putting on his cuirass, he

went out to the soldiers, for the first time since the recent wound which he had suffered. So great was their veneration for the king that his presence readily dispelled all thought ^[5] of the danger which they dreaded. Happy therefore and shedding tears of joy, they saluted him, and confidently demanded the battle which they had before ^[6] refused. He announced that he was going to transport the cavalry and the phalanx on rafts, and he ordered the lighter-armed troops to swim, ^[7] supported by inflated skins. The situation did not call for more words, nor could the king say more because of his illness. But the rafts were put together with such enthusiasm on the part of the soldiers, that within three days about 12,000 were finished.

^[8] And already they had prepared everything for crossing, when twenty envoys of the Scythians, according to the custom of their race riding through the camp on horseback, ordered announcement to be made to the king that they desired to deliver a ^[9] message to him. Being admitted to the tent and invited to be seated, they had fixed their eyes on the king's face, because, I suppose, to those who estimated spirit by bodily stature his moderate size ^[10] seemed by no means equal to his reputation. However, the comprehension of the Scythians is not so rude and untrained as that of the rest of the barbarians; in fact, some of them are even said to be capable of philosophy, so far as a race that is always ^[11] in arms is capable of such knowledge. Hence what they are reported to have said to the king is perhaps foreign to our customs and our orators, who have been allotted more cultivated times and intellects. But although their speech may be scorned, yet our fidelity ought not to be; and so we shall report their words without change, just as they have been handed down to us.

Well then, we have learned that one of them, the eldest said: "If the gods had willed that your bodily stature should be equal to your greed, the world not contain you, with one hand you would touch the rising, with the other the setting sun, and having reached the latter, you would wish to know where the brilliance of so great a god hides itself. So also you desire what you cannot attain. From Europe you pass to Asia, from Asia you cross into Europe; then, when you have subdued the whole human race, you will wage war with the woods and the snows, with rivers and wild beasts. Why, do you not know that great trees are long in growing, but are uprooted in a single hour? He is a fool who looks at their fruits, but does not scan their height. Beware lest, while you strive to reach the top, you fall with the very branches which you have grasped. Even the lion has sometimes been the food of the smallest of birds, and rust consumes iron. Nothing is so strong that it may not be in danger even from the weak. What have we to do with you? We have never set foot in your lands. Are not those who live in the solitary woods allowed to be ignorant who you are, whence come? We cannot obey any man, nor do we desire to rule any.

[17] That you may know the Scythian nation we have received as gifts a yoke of oxen and a plow, an arrow, a spear, and a bowl. These we use both with [18] our friends and against our foes. We give grain to our friends, acquired by the labour of our oxen, with them from the bowl we offer libation to the gods, we attack our foes from a distance with the arrow, with the spear hand to hand. —

“it is thus that we have conquered the king of Syria and later those of the Persians and the Medes, and that a way was opened for us even into Egypt.

But you, who boast that you are coming to attack robbers, are the robber of all the nations to which you have come. You have taken Lydia, you have seized Syria, you hold Persia you have the Bactriani in your power, you have aimed at India; already you are stretching your greedy and insatiable hands [20] for our flocks. What need have you for riches, which compel you to hunger for them? First of all men, you by a surfeit have produced a hunger wherein the more you have, the keener is your desire for [21] what you have not. Does it not occur to you how long you are delaying around Bactra? While you are subduing the Bactriani the Sogdiani have begun to make war. For you victory is a source of war. For although you may be the greatest and bravest of all men, yet no one is willing to endure a foreign lord. —

[22] “Only cross the Tanais; you will learn how far the Scythians extend, yet you will never overtake them. Our poverty will be swifter than your army, which carries the pillage of so many nations. Again, when you believe us afar off, you will see us in your camp. For we both pursue and flee with the same [23] swiftness. I hear that the solitudes of the Scythians are made fun of even in Greek proverbs, but we seek after places that are desert and free from human cultivation rather than cities and rich fields.

[24] Therefore hold your fortune with tight hands; she is slippery and cannot be held against her will. Wholesome advice will be better shown by the future than by the present. Put curbs upon your good fortune; [25] you will manage it the more easily. Our people say that Fortune is without feet, she has only hands and wings; when she stretches out her hands, grasp her wings also. —

[26] “Finally, if you are a god, you ought to confer benefits on mankind, not strip them of those they have; but if you are a mortal man, always remember that you are what you are. It is folly to remember [27] those things which make you forget yourself. Those on whom you have not made war you will be able to use as friends. For friendship is strongest among equals, and those are regarded as equals who have [28] not made trial of one another’s strength. Do not believe that those whom you have conquered are your friends. There is no friendship between master and slave; even in peace the laws of war are kept.

[29] Believe not that the Scythians ratify a friendship by taking oath; they take oath by keeping faith. The oath is a caution of the Greeks, who jointly seal

agreements and call upon the gods; our religion consists in good faith itself. Those who do not respect men ^[30] deceive the gods. And you have no need of a friend whose goodwill you may doubt. Moreover in us you will have guardians of both Asia and Europe; we touch upon Bactra, except that the river Tanais is between us. Beyond the Tanais we inhabit lands extending to Thrace, and report says that the Macedonians border upon Thrace. Consider whether you wish enemies or friends to be neighbours to your wish empire.” So spoke the barbarian.

Contra rex fortuna sua et consiliis eorum se usurum esse respondet: nam et fortunam, cui confidat, et consilium suadentium, ne quid temere et audacter faciat, ^[2] secuturum. Dimissisque legatis in praeparatas rates exercitum inposuit. In proris clipeatos locaverat iussos in genua subsidere, quo tutiores essent adversus ictus sa- ^[p. 241] gittarum. ^[3] Post hos, qui tormenta intenderent, stabant et ab utroque latere et a fronte circumdati armatis. Reliqui, qui post tormenta constiterant, remigem lorica non tutum scutorum testudine armati protegebant. ^[4] Idem ordo in illis quoque ratibus, quae equitem vehebant, servatus est. Maior pars a puppe nantes equos loris trahebat. At illos, quos utres stramento repleti vehebant, obiectae rates tuebantur. ^[5] Ipse rex cum delectis primus ratem solvit et in ripam dirigi iussit. Cui Scythae admotos ordines equitum in primo ripae margine opponunt, ut ne adplicari quidem terrae rates possent. ^[6] Ceterum praeter hanc speciem ripis praesidentis exercitus ingens navigantes terror invaserat: namque cursum gubernatores, cum obliquo flumine inpellerentur, regere non poterant, vacillantesque milites et, ne excuterentur, solliciti nautarum ministeria turbaverant. ^[7] Ne tela quidem conati nisu vibrare poterant, cum prior standi sine periculo quam hostem incessendi cura esset. Tormenta saluti fuerunt, quibus in confertos ac temere se offerentes haud frustra excussa sunt tela. ^[8] Barbari quoque ingentem vim sagittarum infudere ratibus, vixque ullum fuit scutum, quod non pluribus simul spiculis perfricaretur. ^[9] Iamque terrae rates adplicabantur, cum acies clipeata consurgit et hastas certo ictu, utpote libero nisu, mittit e ratibus. Et ut territores recipientesque equos videre, ^[10] alacres mutua adhortatione in terram desilire et turbatis ^[p. 242] acriter pedem inferre coeperunt. Equitum deinde turmae, quae frenatos habebant equos, perfregere barbarorum aciem. Interim ceteri agmine dimicantium tecti aptavere se pugnae. ^[11] Ipse rex, quod vigoris aegro adhuc corpori deerat, animi firmitate supplebat. Vox adhortantis non poterat audiri nondum bene obducta cicatrice cervicis, sed dimicantem cuncti videbant. ^[12] Itaque ipsi quidem ducum fungebantur officio aliusque alium adhortati in hostem salutis inmemores ruere coeperunt. ^[13] Tum vero non ora, non arma, non clamorem hostium barbari tolerare potuerunt omnesque effusis habenis — namque equestris acies erat — capessunt fugam. Quos rex, quamquam vexationem invalidi corporis pati non poterat, per LXXX tamen stadia insequi perseveravit. ^[14] Iamque linquente animo suis praecepit, ut, donec lucis aliquid superesset, fugientium tergis inhaerent: ipse exhaustis etiam animi viribus in castra se recepit ibique substitit. ^[15]

Transierant iam Liberi Patris terminos, quorum monumenta lapides erant crebris intervallis dispositi arboresque procerae, ^[16] quarum stipites hedera contexerat. Sed Macedonas ira longius provexit: quippe media fere nocte in castra redierunt multis interfectis, pluribus captis equosque M et DCCC abegere. Ceciderunt autem Macedonum equites LX, pedites C fere, M saucii fuerunt. ^[17] Haec expeditio deficientem magna ex parte Asiam fama tam opportuna victoriae domuit. Invictos Scythas esse crediderant: quibus fractis nullam gentem ^[p. 243] Macedonum armis parem fore confitebantur. Itaque Sacae misere legatos, qui pollicerentur gentem imperata facturam: ^[18] moverat eos regis non virtus magis, quam dementia in devictos Scythas. Quippe captivos omnes sine pretio remisera, ut fidem faceret sibi cum ferocissimis gentium de fortitudine, non de ira fuisse certamen. ^[19] Benigne igitur exceptis Sacarum legatis comitem Euxenippon dedit, adhuc admodum iuvenem, aetatis flore conciliatum sibi, qui cum specie corporis aequaret Hephaestionem, ei lepore haud sane virili par non erat. ^[20] Ipse Cratero cum maiore parte exercitus modicis itineribus sequi iusso adiit Maracanda urbem. Inde Spitamenes conperto eius adventu Bactra perfugerat. ^[21] Itaque quadriduo rex longum itineris spatium emensus pervenerat in eum locum, in quo Menedemo duce duo milia peditum et CCC equites amiserat. Horum ossa tumulo contegi iussit et inferias more patrio dedit. ^[22] Iam Craterus cum phalange subsequi iussus ad regem pervenerat: itaque, ut omnes, qui defecerant, pariter belli clade premerentur, copias dividit urique agros et interfici puberes iubet.

IX. In reply the king responded that he would make use of his own fortune and of their advice; for he would follow his fortune, in which he had confidence, and the advice of those who had persuaded him not to do anything rash and reckless. Having dismissed the envoys, he embarked his army on the rafts which he had prepared beforehand. On the prows he had stationed those who carried bucklers, with orders to sink upon their knees, in order that they might be safer against the shots of arrows. Behind these stood those who worked the hurling engines, surrounded both on each side and in front by armed men. The rest who were placed behind the artillery, were armed with shields in testudo-formation, defended the rowers, who were not protected by corselets. The same order was observed also on those rafts which carried the cavalry. The greater part of these let their horses swim astern, held by the reins. But the men who were carried on skins stuffed with straw were protected by the rafts that came between them and the foe.

The king himself with a select band of troops was the first to cast off a raft and to order it to be against the opposite bank. To him the Scythians opposed ranks of horsemen moved up to the very margin of the bank, that the rafts might not be able even to reach the land. Moreover, besides the sight of the army guarding the banks, great terror had seized those who were managing the rafts; for the steersmen could not direct their course, since they were driven in a aslanting direction, and the soldiers, who kept their feet with

difficulty and were worried by fear of being shaken overboard, threw into confusion the work of the boatmen. Although making every effort the soldiers could not even hurl their javelins, since they thought rather of keeping their footing without danger than of attacking the enemy. Their safety was the hurling-engines, from which bolts were hurled with effect against the enemy who were crowded together and recklessly exposed [8] themselves. The barbarians also poured such a great amount of arrows upon the rafts, that there was hardly a single shield that was not pierced by many of their [9] points at the same time. And now the rafts were being brought to land, when those who were armed with bucklers rose in a body and with sure aim, since they had firm footing, hurled their spears from the rafts. And as soon as they saw that the horses were terrified and drawing back, inspired by mutual encouragement, they began to leap to land and [10] vigorously to charge the disordered barbarians. Then the troops of horsemen, who had their horses bridled, broke through the enemies' line. In the meantime the rest, being covered by those who were fighting, [11] prepared themselves for battle. The king himself by the vigour of his courage made up for what he still lacked in bodily strength because of his illness. His words of encouragement could not be heard, since the old wound on his neck was not yet wholly healed, but [12] all saw him fighting. And so they themselves played the part of leaders, and urging one another against the enemy, they began to rush upon them, regardless of their lives. —

[13] Then truly the barbarians could not endure the faces, the arms, nor the shouts of the enemy, but all with loose rein -for it was an army of cavalry — took flight. The king, although he was unable to endure the tossing of his ailing body, yet persisted in pursuing [14] them for eighty stadia. And when finally his strength gave out, he ordered his men, so long as any light remained, to follow at the backs of the fugitives, he himself, having exhausted even his strength of mind, returned to the camp and remained there.

[15] Already they had passed the bounds of Father Bacchus, which were marked by stones set up at frequent intervals and by tall trees whose trunks [16] were covered with ivy. But the wrath of the Macedonians carried them still farther; for it was nearly midnight when they returned to camp, after having slain many and taken still more prisoners, and they drove off 1800 horses. But of the Macedonians there fell sixty horsemen and about one hundred foot-soldiers; 1000 were wounded.

[17] This campaign by the fame of so opportune a victory completely subdued Asia, which in great part was revolting. They had believed that the Scythians were invincible; after their defeat they confessed that no nation would be a match for the Macedonians. Accordingly the Sacae sent envoys [18] to promise that they would submit; the valour of the king had not influenced them more than his clemency towards the conquered Scythians. For he had sent back all

the prisoners without a ransom, in order to make it appear that his rivalry with the most warlike nations was in bravery and not in blind rage. Therefore he received the envoys of the Sacae courteously and gave them Euxenippus to accompany them; he was still very young and a favourite of the king because of his youthful beauty, but although in handsome appearance he was equal to Hephaestion, he was not his match in a charm which was indeed not manly.

[20] The king himself, having ordered Craterus with the greater part of the army to follow by moderate marches, went on to the city of Maracanda. From there Spitamenes, on learning of his coming, had [21] fled to Bactra. Accordingly the king, having in four days traversed a great extent of country, had reached the place where, under the lead of Menedemus, he had lost 2000 foot-soldiers and 300 cavalry. He ordered the bones of these to be covered with a mound and offered sacrifice to the spirits of the dead in the Macedonian fashion. Now Craterus, who had been ordered to follow with the phalanx, had rejoined the king; accordingly, in order that all who had revolted might alike be visited with the disasters of war, he divided his forces and gave orders that the fields should be set on fire and that all who were of military age should be killed.

Sogdiaua regio maiore ex parte deserta est: octingenta fere stadia in latitudinem vastae solitudines tenent. [2] Ingens spatium rectae regionis est, per quam amnis — Polytimeum vocant incolae — fertur. Torrentem eum ripae in tenuem alveum cogunt, deinde caverna accipit et sub terram rapit. [3] Cursus abscon- [p. 244] diti indicium est aquae meantis sonus, cum ipsum solum, sub quo tantus amnis fluit, ne modico quidem resudet humore. [4] Ex captivis Sogdianorum ad regem XXX nobilissimi corporum robore eximio perducti erant: qui ubi per interpretem cognoverunt iussu regis ipsos ad supplicium trahi, carmen laetantium modo canere tripudiisque et lasciviori corporis motu gaudium quoddam animi ostentare coeperunt. [5] Admiratus est rex tanta magnitudine animi oppetere mortem revocari eos iussit, [6] causam tam effusae laetitiae, cum supplicium ante oculos haberent, requirens. Illi, si ab alio occiderentur, tristes morituros fuisse respondent: nunc a tanto rege, victore omnium gentium, maioribus suis redditos honestam mortem, quam fortes viri voto quoque expeterent, [7] carminibus sui moris laetitiaque celebrare. Tantam rex admiratus magnitudinem animi: ‘Quaero,’ inquit, ‘an vivere velitis non inimici mihi, [8] cuius beneficio victuri estis?’ Illi numquam se inimicos ei, sed bello lacessitos se inimicos hosti fuisse respondent: si quis ipsos beneficio quam iniuria experiri maluisset, certaturos fuisse, ne vincerentur officio. [9] Interrogantique, quo pignore fidem obligaturi essent, vitam, quam acciperent, pignori futuram esse dixerunt: reddituros, quandoque repetisset. Nec promissum fefellerunt. Nam, qui remissi domos erant, fide continuere populares: quattuor inter custodes corporis retenti nulli Macedonum in regem caritate cesserunt. [p. 245] [10] In Sogdianis Peucolao cum III milibus peditum — neque enim maiore praesidio indigebat — relicto Bactra pervenit. Inde

Bessum Ecbatana duci iussit interfecto Dareo poenas capite persoluturum. [11] Isdem fere diebus Ptolomaeus et Melanidas peditum IIII milia et equites M adduxerunt mercede militaturos. [12] Asander quoque ex Lycia cum pari numero peditum et D equitibus venit. Totidem ex Syria Asclepiodorum sequebantur. Antipater Graecorum VIII milia, in quis DC equites erant, miserat. [13] Itaque exercitu aucto ad ea, quae defectione turbata erant, componenda processit, interfectisque consternationis auctoribus quarto die ad flumen Oxum perventum est. Hic, quia limum vehit, turbidus semper, insalubris est potui. [14] Itaque puteos miles coeperat fodere, nec tamen humo alte egesta existebat humor. Tandem in ipso tabernaculo regis conspectus est fons: quem quia tarde notaverant, subito extitisse finxerunt, rexque ipse credi voluit, deum donum id fuisse. [15] Superatis deinde omnibus Ocho et Oxo ad urbem Margianam pervenit. Circa eam VI oppidis condendis electa sedes est, duo ad meridiem versa, IIII spectantia orientem: modicis inter se spatiis distabant, ne procul repetendum esset mutuum auxilium. [16] Haec omnia sita sunt in editis collibus. Tunc [p. 246] velut freni domitarum gentium, nunc originis suae oblita serviunt, quibus imperaverunt.

X. The region of Sogdiana is for the greater part deserted; desert wastes occupy a width of 800 [2] stadia. It extends straight on for a vast distance, through which flows a river which the natives call the Polytimetus. This is at first a torrent, since its banks force it into a narrow channel, then a cavern [3] receives it, and hurries it off under the ground. Its hidden course is revealed only by the noise of the flowing waters, since the soil itself under which so great a river flows does not exude even a slight moisture. Of the prisoners of the Sogdiani thirty of the noblest born, men of extraordinary strength of body, had been brought in to the king; when these learned through an interpreter that they were being led to execution by order of the king, they began to sing a song as if rejoicing, and to show a kind of pleasure by dances and by wanton movements of their [5] bodies. The king, surprised at their facing death with such greatness of spirit, ordered them to be recalled, and inquired the reason for such transports of joy when they had execution before their eyes.

They replied that if they were to be killed by anyone else they would have died sorrowful; as it was, being restored to their ancestors by so great a king, conqueror of all nations, they were celebrating by their usual songs and with rejoicing a glorious death, which brave men might even pray for.

[7] Admiring such great courage, Alexander said:

“I ask you whether you would wish to live on condition of not being unfriendly to me to whose favour [8] you will owe your lives.” They replied that they had never been unfriendly to him, but that when provoked to war they were enemies of their foe. If one had preferred to try them with kindness rather than with injury, they would have striven not to be outdone in courtesy. And when asked by what pledge they would bind their loyalty, they said that

the life which was granted them would be their pledge; that they would pay it when he demanded it. And they kept their promise. For those who were then sent to their homes have by their good faith held their fellow-citizens together; four, who were retained as a part of his body-guard, yielded to none of the Macedonians in affection for the king.

[10] Having left Peucolaus among the Sogdiani with 3000 infantry — for he needed no larger force — Alexander came to Bactra. From there he ordered Bessus to be taken to Ecbatana, to expiate with [11] his life his murder of Darius. At about the same time Ptolemy and Melanidas brought the king 4000 infantry and 1000 horsemen, to serve as mercenaries. Asander also came from Lycia with an equal number of foot-soldiers and 500 horsemen. The same number followed Asclepiodorus from Syria. Antipater had sent 8000 Greeks, among whom were [13] 600 cavalry. With his army thus increased the king marched forth to set in order the provinces which had been disordered by the revolt; and after putting to death the ringleaders of the disturbance, he returned on the fourth day to the river Oxus. This river, because it carries silt, is always turbid and unwholesome [14] to drink. Therefore the soldiers had begun to dig wells; yet, although they excavated the soil to a great depth, they found no water. At length a spring was found right in the king's tent, and because they had been late in perceiving it, they spread the report that it had suddenly appeared, and the king himself wished it to be believed that it was a [15] gift of the gods. Then he crossed the rivers Ochus and Oxus and came to the city of Margiana. Round about it six sites were chosen for founding towns, two facing south and four east; they were distant from one another only a moderate space, so that they might be able to aid one another without seeking help from a distance. All these were situated on [16] high hills. At that time they served as curbs upon the conquered nations; to-day, forgetful of their origin, they serve those over whom they once ruled.

Et cetera quidem pacaverat rex. Una erat petra, quam Ariamazes Sogdianus cum XXX milibus armatorum obtinebat alimentis ante congestis, [2] quae tantae multitudini vel per biennium suppeterent. Petra in altitudinem XXX eminet stadia, circuitu C et L conplectitur: undique abscisa et abrupta semita perangusta aditur. [3] In medio altitudinis spatio habet specum, cuius os artum et obscurum est: paulatim deinde ulteriora panduntur, ultima etiam altos recessus habent. Fontes per totum fere specum manant, e quibus collatae aquae per prona montis flumen emittunt. [4] Rex loci difficultate spectata statuerat inde abire: cupido deinde incessit animo naturam quoque fatigandi. [5] Prius tamen quam fortunam obsidionis experiretur, Cophen — Artabazi hic filius erat — misit ad barbaros, qui suaderet, ut dederent rupem. Ariamazes loco fretus superbe multa respondit, ad ultimum, an Alexander etiam volare posset, interrogat. [6] Quae nuntiata regi sic accendere animum, ut adhibitis, cum quibus consultare erat solitus, indicaret insolentiam barbari eludentis ipsos, quia pinnas non haberent: se autem proxima nocte effecturum, ut

crederet Macedones etiam volare. [7] ‘CCC,’ inquit, ‘pernicissimos iuvenes ex suis quisque copiis perducite ad me, qui per calles et paene invias rupes domi pecora agere consueverant.’ [8] Illi praestantes et [p. 247] levitate corporum et ardore animorum strenue adducunt. Quos intuens rex: ‘Vobiscum,’ inquit, ‘o iuvenes et mei aequales, urbium invictarum ante me munimenta superavi, montium iuga perenni nive obruta emensus sum, angustias Ciliciae intravi, Indiae sine lassitudine vim frigoris sum perpessus. Et mei documenta vobis dedi et vestra habeo. [9] Petra, quam videtis, unum aditum habet, quem barbari obsident, cetera neglegunt: nullae vigiliae sunt, nisi quae castra nostra spectant. [10] Invenietis viam, si sollerter rimati fueritis aditus ferentis ad cacumen. Nihil tam alte natura constitua, quo virtus non possit eniti. Experiendo, quae ceteri desperaverunt, Asiam habemus in potestate. [11] Evadite in cacumen: quod cum ceperitis, candidis velis signum mihi dabit: ego copiis admotis hostem in nos a vobis convertam. [12] Praemium erit ei, qui primus occupaverit verticem, talenta x, uno minus accipiet, qui proximus ei venerit, eademque ad decem homines servabitur portio. Certum autem habeo vos non tam liberalitatem intueri meam quam voluntatem.’ [13] His animis regem audierunt, ut iam cepisse verticem viderentur: dimissique ferreos cuneos, quos inter saxa defigerent, validosque funes parabant. [14] Rex circumvectus petram, qua minime asper ac praeruptus aditus videbatur, secunda vigilia, quod bene verteret, ingredi iubet. Illi alimentis in biduum sumptis gladiis modo atque hastis armati subire coeperunt. [15] Ac primo pedibus ingressi sunt: deinde, ut in praerupta perventum est, alii manibus eminentia saxa complexi levare semet, [p. 248] alii adiectis funium laqueis evasere, quidam, cum cuneos inter saxa defigerent, gradus subdidere, quis insisterent. [16] Diem inter metum laboremque consumpserunt. Per aspera enisis duriora restabant, et crescere altitudo petrae videbatur. Illa vero miserabilis erat facies, cum ii, quos instabilis gradus fefellerat, ex praecipiti devolverentur: mox eadem in se patiendi alieni casus ostendebat exemplum. [17] Per has tamen difficultates enituntur in verticem montis, omnes fatigatione continuati laboris adfecti, quidam mulcati parte membrorum pariterque eos et nox et somnus oppressit. [18] Stratis passim corporibus in inviis et asperis saxorum periculi instantis obliti in lucem quieverunt: tandemque velut ex alto sopore excitati occultas subiectasque ipsis valles rimantes, ignari, in qua parte petrae tanta vis hostium condita esset, fumum specu infra se ipsos evolutum notaverunt. [19] Ex quo intellectum, illam hostium latebram esse. Itaque hastis inposuere, quod convenerat signum: totoque e numero II et XXX in ascensu interisse agnoscunt. [20] Rex non cupitline magis potiundi loci quam vice eorum, quos ad tam manifestum periculum miserat, sollicitas toto die cacumina montis intuens restitit: noctu demum, cum obscuritas conspectum oculorum ademisset, ad curandum corpus recessit. [21] Postero die nondum satis clara luce primus vela, signum capti verticis, conspexit. Sed, ne falleretur acies, dubitare cogebat varietas caeli nunc internitente lucis [p. 249] fulgore, nunc condito. Verum, ut liquidior lux adparuit caelo, dubitatio exempta est: [22]

vocatumque Cophen, per quem barbarorum animos temptaverat, mittit ad eos, qui moneret, nunc saltem salubrius consilium inirent: sin autem fiducia loci perseverarent, ostendi a tergo iussit, qui ceperant verticem. [23] Cophes admissus suadere coepit Ariamazi petram tradere, gratiam regis inituro, si tantas res molientem in unius rupis obsidione haerere non coegisset. Ille ferocius superbius que quam antea locutus abire Cophen iubet: [24] at is presum manu barbarum rogat, ut secum extra specum prodeat. Quo inpetrato iuvenes in cacumine ostendit et eius superbiae haud inmerito inludens pinnas habere ait milites Alexandri. [25] Iamque e Macedonum castris signorum concentus et totius exercitus clamor audiebatur. Ea res, sicut pleraque belli, vana et inanis barbaros ad deditionem traxit: quippe occupati metu paucitatem eorum, qui a tergo erant, aestimare non poterant. [26] Itaque Cophen — nam trepidantes reliquerat — strenue revocant et cum eo XXX principes mittunt, qui petram tradant et, ut incolumibus abire liceat, paciscantur. [27] Ille quamquam verebatur, ne conspecta iuvenum paucitate, deturbarent eos barbari, tamen et fortunae suae confisus et Ariamazi superbiae infensus, nullam se condicionem deditionis accipere respondit. [28] Ariamazes desperatis magis quam perditis rebus cum [p. 250] propinquis nobilissimisque gentis suae descendit in castra: quos omnis verberibus adfectos sub ipsis radicibus petrae crucibus iussit adfigi. [29] Multitudo deditorum incolis novarum urbium cum pecunia capta dono data est, Artabazus in petrae regionisque, quae adpo sita esset ei, tutelam relictus.

XI. And everything else the king had subdued.

There was one rock, which Ariamazes, a native of Sogdiana, was holding with 30,000 armed men, having previously stored there provisions sufficient [2] to support so great a force for fully two years. The rock rises to a height of 30 stadia, and embraces a circuit of 150; it is scarped on every side and [3] approached by a very steep and narrow path. In the middle of its ascent it has a cavern, the entrance of which is narrow and obscure; then farther in it gradually widens, and finally even contains deep recesses. Springs flow almost everywhere in the cavern, and the waters which gather in these send forth a river down the steep sides of the mountain.

[4] The king, having seen the difficulty of the place, had decided to leave it; then a desire entered his mind to wear out even Nature's strength. Nevertheless, before trying the fortune of a siege, he sent Cophes — he was a son of Artabazus — to the barbarians, to persuade them to surrender the rock. Ariamazes, trusting to his position, made several arrogant replies, and finally asked whether Alexander could even fly.

[8] When this was reported to the king, it so inflamed his mind, that summoning those with whom he was wont to consult, he told them of the insolence of the barbarian, who mocked at them because they did not have wings; but that he on the following night would make him believe that the

Macedonians [7] could even fly. "Let each of you," said he, "bring me 300 of the most active young men from your forces, who at home were accustomed to drive their flocks over mountain pastures and almost [8] impassable rocks." They quickly brought that number, who excelled in bodily agility and in ardour of courage. The king, looking them over, said: "It is with you, O youths, my comrades, that I have overcome the fortifications of cities that before now were unconquered, that I have traversed the heights of mountains buried in perpetual snow, that I entered the passes of Cilicia, and have endured the intense cold of India without fatigue. I have given you [9] proofs of myself, and I have had proofs of you. The rock which you see has only one approach, which the barbarians beset, they neglect the rest; they have no sentinels except those that are watching our [10] camp. You will find a way, if you seek carefully for paths leading to the top. Nature has placed nothing so high, that valour cannot overcome it. It is by trying what others have despaired of that we have [11] Asia in our power. Go up to the summit; when you have attained it, you will give me a signal with white cloths. I will bring up forces and divert the enemy [12] from you to us. The reward for him who first reaches the top will be ten talents; he who comes next will receive one less, and the same proportion will be maintained up to the number of ten men. But I am sure that you will have an eye, not so much to the reward, as to my desire."

[13] They heard the king with such alacrity, that it seemed that they had already attained the summit; and when dismissed they prepared iron wedges to insert between the stones and strong ropes. The king rode around the rock, and where the approach seemed least rough and steep he ordered them to set out in the second watch, uttering a prayer to the gods for success. They, taking food sufficient for two days, and armed only with swords and lances, began to climb up. And at first they advanced on foot; then, when they came to very steep places, some grasped projecting stones with their hands and pulled themselves up, others made their way by using nooses of rope, still others drove wedges between the stones and made steps on which to stand.

[16] They spent a day amid fear and toil. After having struggled over rough places, still harder ones awaited them, and the height of the rock seemed to grow. That indeed was a pitiful sight, when those whom their unsteady step had betrayed were hurled down a sheer drop; and the example of others' disaster showed that they must soon suffer the same fate.

[17] Nevertheless, through all these difficulties they mounted to the top of the mountain, all worn out by the fatigue of constant toil, some maimed in a part of their limbs, and night and sleep came upon them [18] together. With their bodies stretched here and there on the pathless and rough rocks, they forgot their dangerous situation and slept until daybreak; and when at last they awakened as from a deep slumber, examining the hidden valleys that lay

below them, and not knowing in what part of the rock so great a force of the enemy was hidden, they saw smoke rolling out from a cavern below them.

[19] From this they knew that it was the hiding place of the enemy. Therefore they raised on their spears the signal which had been agreed upon; and they found that out of their whole number thirty-two had perished during the ascent.

[20] The king, harassed not more from desire of taking the place than for the possible fate of those whom he had sent into such evident danger, stood during the looking at the summit of the mountain; not until night, when darkness prevented him from seeing did he repose for withdraw on the following day., he was the first to see the clothes that showed that the top was taken, But the changing sky where now a gleam of light shown through, which again was hidden, compelled him to doubt whether his eyes did not deceive him. But as a clearer light appeared in the heaven she was *the* first to see the cloths that showed that the top was taken. But the changing sky, where now a gleam of light shown through, which again was hidden, compelled him to doubt whether his eyes did not deceive him. But as a clearer light appeared in the heavens, his doubt was dispelled; and having summoned Cophes, through whom he had tested the feelings of the barbarians, he sent him to them, to warn them now at least to adopt a better purpose; but if they persisted through confidence in their situation, he ordered that those who had taken possession of the summit should be pointed out to them.

[23] Cophes, being admitted, began to urge Ariamazes to surrender the rock, saying that he would gain the king's favour if, while he was engaged in such great-enterprises, he should not delay him in the siege o a single rock. He, speaking more proudly and arrogantly than before, ordered Cophes to depart; but he took the barbarian by the hand and asked him to go with him outside the cave. When he had complied, Cophes showed him the young men on the summit, and with good reason mocking his arrogance, said that the soldiers of Alexander had wings.

[26] And now from the camp of the Macedonians the notes of the trumpets and the shouts of the whole army were heard. This, like many other things in war, although vain and empty, moved the barbarians to surrender; for seized with fear, they were unable to estimate rightly the small number of those who were 26 in their rear. Therefore they quickly recalled Cophes, who had left them in their confusion, and sent with him thirty of their leading men, to surrender the rock and to stipulate that they should be allowed to retire [27] unharmed. The king, although he feared that, seeing the fewness of the young men, the barbarians might dislodge them, yet trusting to his fortune and incensed by the arrogance of Ariamazes, replied that he would accept only an unconditional surrender.

[28] Ariamazes, believing that his situation was desperate, whereas it was in fact not hopeless, came down to the king's camp with his relatives and the principal nobles of his race; Alexander ordered all these to be scourged and crucified at the very foot of the rock.

[29] A multitude of those who had surrendered, together with the booty in money, was given to the settlers in the new cities. Artabazus was left to govern the rock and the region adjacent to it.

BOOK VIII.

Alexander maiore fama quam gloria in dicionem redacta petra, cum propter vagum hostem spargendae manus essent, in tres partes divisit exercitum. Hephæstionem uni, Coenon alteri duces dederat, ipse ceteris praeerat. [2] Sed non eadem mens omnibus barbaris fuit: armis quidam subacti, plures ante certamen imperata fecerunt. Quibus eorum, qui in defectione perseveraverant, urbes agrosque iussit attribui. [3] At exules Bactriani cum DCCC Massagetarum equitibus proximos vicos vastaverunt. Ad quos coercendos Attinas, regionis eius praefectus, CCC equites insidiarum, quae parabantur, ignarus eduxit. [4] Namque hostis in silvis — et erant forte campo iunctae — armatum [p. 252] militem condidit paucis propellentibus pecora, ut improvidum ad insidias praeda perduceret. [5] Itaque inconposito agmine solutisque ordinibus Attinas praedabundus sequebatur: quem praetergressum silvam, qui in ea consederant, [6] ex improviso adorti cum omnibus interemerunt. Celeriter ad Craterum huius cladis fama perlata est, qui cum omni equitatu supervenit. Et Massagetae quidem iam refugerant, Dahae M oppressi sunt: quorum clade totius regionis finita defectio est. [7] Alexander quoque Sogdianis rursus subactis Maracanda repetit. Ibi Derdas, quem ad Scythas super Bosphorum colentes miserat, cum legatis gentis occurrit. [8] Phrataphernes quoque, qui Chorasmiis praeerat, Massagetis et Dahis regionum confinio adiunctus miserat, qui facturum imperata pollicerentur. [9] Scythae petebant, ut regis sui filiam matrimonio sibi iungeret: si dedignaretur adfinitatem, principes Macedonum cum primoribus suae gentis conubio coire pateretur: ipsum regem quoque regem venturum ad eum pollicebantur. [10] Utraque legatione benigne audita Hephæstionem et Artabazum opperiens stativa habuit: quibus adiunctis in regionem, quae appellatur Bazaira, pervenit. [11] Barbarae opulentiae in illis locis haud ulla sunt maiora indicia quam magnis nemoribus saltibusque nobilium ferarum greges clusi. [12] Spatiosas ad hoc eligunt silvas crebris perenuium aquarum fontibus amoenas: muris nemora cinguntur turreaque habent venantium [p. 253] receptacula. [13] Quattuor continuis aetatibus intactum saltum fuisse constabat, cum Alexander cum toto exercitu ingressus agitari undique feras iussit. [14] Inter quas cum leo magnitudinis raræ ipsum regem invasurus incurreret, forte Lysimachus, qui postea regnavit, proximus Alexandro venabulum obicere ferae coeperat: quo rex repulso et abire iusso adiecit tam a semet uno quam a Lysimacho leonem interfici posse. [15] Lysimachus enim quondam, cum venarentur in Syria, occiderat quidem eximiae magnitudinis feram solus, sed laevo humero usque ad ossa lacerato ad ultimum periculi pervenerat. [16] Id ipsum exprobrans ei rex fortius, quam locutus est, fecit: nam feram non excepit modo, sed etiam uno vulnere occidit. [17] Fabulam, quae obiectum leoni a rege Lysimachum temere vulgavit, ab eo casu, quem supra) diximus, ortam esse crediderim. [18] Ceterum Macedones, quamquam prospero eventu defunctus erat Alexander, tamen scivere gentis suae more, ne aut pedes venaretur aut sine delectis principum atque

amicorum. [19] Ille IIII milibus ferarum deiectis in eodem saltu cum toto exercitu epulatus est. Inde Maracanda redi tum est: acceptaque aetatis excusatione ab Artabazo provinciam eius destinat Clito. [20] Hic erat, qui apud Granicum amnem nudo capite regem dimicantem clipeo suo texit et Rhosacis manum [p. 254] capiti regis imminentem gladio amputavit, vetus Philippi miles multisque bellicis operibus clarus. [21] Et Larnice, quae Alexandrum educaverat, soror eius, haud secus quam mater a rege diligebatur. Ob has causas validissimam imperii partem fidei eius tutelaque commisit. [22] Iamque iter parare in posterum iussus sollemni et tempestivo adhibetur convivio. In quo rex cum multo incaluisset mero, inmodicus aestimator sui celebrare, quae gesserat, coepit, gravis etiam eorum auri bus, qui sentiebant vera memorari. [23] Silentium tamen habuere seniores, donec Philippi res orsus obtinere nobilem apud Chaeroneam victoriam sui operis fuisse iactavit ademptamque sibi malignitate et invidia patris tantae rei gloriam. [24] Illum quidem seditione inter Macedones milites et Graecos mercennarios orla debilitatum vulnere, quod in ea consternatione acceperat, iacuisse, non alia re quam simulatione mortis tutiorem: se corpus eius protexisse clipeo suo, ruentesque in illum sua manu occisos. [25] Quae patrem numquam aequo animo esse confessum, invitum filio debentem salutem sol suam. Atque post expeditionem, quam sine eo fecisset ipse in Illyrios, victorem scripsisse se patri fusos fugatosque hostes: [26] nec adfuisse usquam Philippum. Laude dignos esse, non qui Samotracum initia viserent, [27] cum Asiam uri vastarique oporteret, sed eos, qui magnitudine rerum fidem antecessissent. Haec et bis similia laeti audire iuvenes, ingrata senioribus erant, [p. 255] maxime propter Philippum, sub quo diutius vixerant, [28] cum Clitus ne ipse quidem satis sobrius ad eos, qui infra ipsum cubabant, conversus Euripidis rettulit carmen, ita ut sonus magis quam sermo exaudiri posset a rege, [29] quo significabatur male instituisse Graecos, quod tropaeis regum dumtaxat nomina inscriberent: alieno enim sanguine partam gloriam intercipi. Itaque rex, cum suspicaretur malignius habitum esse sermonem, percontari proximos coepit, quid ex Clito audissent. [30] Et illis ad silendum obstinatis Clitus paulatim maiore voce Philippi acta bellaque in Graecia gesta commemorat omnia praesentibus praeferens. [31] Hinc inter iuniores senesque orta contentio est. Et rex, velut patienter audiret, quis Clitus obtinebat laudes eius, ingentem iram conceperat. [32] Ceterum cum animo videretur imperaturus, si finem procaciter orto sermoni Clitus inponeret, nihil eo remittente magis exasperabatur. [33] Iamque Clitus etiam Parmenionem defendere audebat et Philippi de Atheniensibus victoriam Thesbarum praeferebat excidio non vino modo, sed etiam animi prava contentione proventus. [34] Ad ultimum: ‘Si moriendum,’ inquit, ‘est pro te, Clitus est primus: at cum victoriae arbitrium agis, praecipuum ferunt, qui procacissime patris tui memoriae inludunt. [35] Sogdianam regionem mihi attribuis, totiens rebellem et non modo indomitam, sed quae ne subigi quidem possit. Mittor ad feras bestias, praecipitia ingenia sortitas. Sed, quae [p. 256] ad me pertinent, transeo. [36] Philippi milites spornis, oblitus, nisi hic Atarrhias senex iuniores

pugnam detrectantes revocasset, adhuc nos circa Halicarnasum haesuros fuisse. [37] Quomodo igitur Asiam totam cum istis iunioribus subegisti? Verum est, ut opinor, quod avunculum tuum in Italia dixisse constat, ipsum in viros incidisse, [38] te in feminas.' Nihil ex omnibus inconsulte ac temere iactis regem magis moverat quam Parmenionis cum honore mentio inlata. Dolorem tamen repressit, contentus iussisse, ut convivio excederet. [39] Nec quicquam aliud adiecit quam forsitan eum, si diutius locutus foret, exprobraturum sibi fuisse vitam a semetipso datam: [40] hoc enim superbe saepe iactasse. Atque illum cunctantem adhuc surgere, qui proximi ei cubuerant, [41] iniectis manibus iurgantes monentesque conabantur abducere. Clitus cum abstraheretur, ad pristinam vinolentiam ira quoque adiecta suo pectore tergum illius esse defensum, nunc, postquam tanti meriti praeterierit tempus, etiam memoriam invisam esse proclamat. [42] Attali quoque caedem obieciat et ad ultimum Iovis, quem patrem sibi Alexander adsereret, oraculum eludens veriora se regi quam patrem eius respondisse dicebat. [43] Iam tantum irae conceperat rex, quantum vix sobrius ferre potuisset. Enimvero olim mero sensibus victis ex lecto repente prosiluit. [44] Attoniti amici ne positis quidem, sed abiectis poculis consurgunt in eventum rei, quam tanto impetu acturus esset, intenti. [45] Alexander rapta lancea ex manibus [p. 257] armigeri Clitum adhuc eadem linguae intemperantia furem percutere conatus a Ptolomaeo et Perdicca inhibetur. [46] Medium complexi et obluctari perseverantem morabantur, Lysimachus et Leonnatus etiam lanceam abstulerant: [47] ille militum fidem inplorans comprehendere se a proximis amicorum, quod Dareo nuper accidisset, exclamat signumque tuba dari, ut ad regiam armati coirent, iubet. [48] Tum vero Ptolomaeus et Perdiccas genibus advoluti orant, ne in tam praecipiti ira perseveret spatiumque potius animo det: omnia postero die iustius executurum. [49] Sed clausae erant aures obstrepente ira: itaque inpotens animi procurrit in regiae vestibulum et vigili excubanti hasta ablata constitit in aditu, quo necesse erat his, qui simul cenaverant, egredi. [50] Abierant ceteri, Clitus ultimus sine lumine exibat: cum rex, quisnam esset, interrogat. Eminebat etiam in voce sceleris, quod parabat, atrocitas. [51] Et ille iam non suae, sed regis irae memor Clitum esse et de convivio exire respondit. [52] Haec dicentis latus hasta transfixit morientisque sanguine adpersus: 'I nunc,' inquit, 'ad Philippum et Parmenionem et Attalum.'

I. ALEXANDER, having brought the rock under his sway with more fame than glory, divided the army into three parts, since the roving nature of the enemy made it necessary for him to spread his forces about. He gave the lead of one part to Hephaestion, of a second to Coenus, and he himself commanded the [2] third. But the barbarians were not all of the same mind; some were subdued by his arms, still more submitted without a contest. To the latter he ordered to be assigned the cities and lands of those [3] who had persisted in rebellion. But the Bactriani who had been dispossessed devastated, in company with 900 horsemen of the Massagetae, the neighbouring villages. To check them, Attinas, the governor of that region,

led out 300 horsemen, being unaware of the ambushade that was being laid.

[4] For in the woods — and it chanced that they were close to a plain — the enemy hid an armed force, while a few drove flocks before them, in order that the hope of booty might lead Attinas unawares into the [6] snare. Accordingly he, marching in disorder and in loose formation, was following them, thinking only of plunder; but when he had passed by the woods those who had taken post there suddenly attacked him and slew him with all his men.

[6] The report of this disaster was quickly brought to Craterus, who came to the spot with all his cavalry. The Massagetae, for their part, had already fled, but 1000 of the Dahae were slain, and by their slaughter [7] the rebellion of the whole region was ended. Alexander also, having again subdued the Sogdiani, returned to Maracanda. There Derdas whom he had sent to the Scythians dwelling east of the Bosphorus, met him with envoys of that people.

[8] Phrataphernes also, satrap of the Chorasmii, a neighbour to the Massagetae and the Dahae, had sent [9] messengers to promise his obedience. The Scythians asked that he should marry the daughter of their king; if he considered her unworthy of the alliance, that he should suffer the leading men of the Macedonians to contract marriages with the great ladies of his race; they promised that the king himself [10] also would come to him. Both deputations were courteously heard and Alexander remained in camp for a few days, waiting for Hephaestion and Artabazus; when they joined him, he passed into the district called Bazaira.

[11] There are no greater indications of the wealth of the barbarians in those regions than their herds of noble wild beasts, confined in great woods and parks.

[12] For this purpose they choose extensive forests made attractive by perennial springs; they surround the woods with walls and have towers as stands for [13] the hunters. The forest was known to have been undisturbed for four successive generations, when Alexander, entering it with his whole army, ordered [14] an attack on the wild beasts from every side. Among these when a lion of extraordinary size rushed to attack the king himself, it happened that Lysimachus, who was afterwards a king, being beside Alexander, began to oppose his hunting-spear to the animal; but the king pushed him aside and ordered him to retire, adding that a lion could be killed by [15] himself alone as well as by Lysimachus. And in fact Lysimachus, once when they were hunting in Syria, had indeed alone killed a lion of remarkable size, but had had his left shoulder torn to the bone [16] and thus had come into great peril of his life. The king, taunting him with this very experience, acted more vigorously than he spoke; for he not only met the wild beast, but killed him with a single wound.

[17] I am inclined to believe that the story which without evidence spread the report that Lysimachus was exposed by the king to the attack of a lion arose from the incident which we have just mentioned.

[18] But the Macedonians, although Alexander had been successful in his attempt, nevertheless voted in the manner of their nation that he should neither hunt on foot nor without being accompanied by selected [19] officers or friends. He, after having laid low 4000 wild beasts, banqueted in that same park with his entire army.

From there the king returned to Maracanda; and having accepted Artabazus' excuse of old age, he [20] made over his province to Clitus. It was he, an old soldier of Philip and distinguished by many exploits in war, who at the river Granicus covered the king with his shield when he was fighting bareheaded, and with his sword cut off the hand of Rhosaces, when [21] it threatened the king's life. And Hellanice, his sister, who had reared Alexander, was loved by the king as dearly as if she were his own mother. It was for these reasons that he entrusted to Clitus' faith and protection the strongest part of his empire."

[22] And now, after being bidden to prepare for a march on the following day, Clitus was invited to one of the king's usual prolonged banquets. There, when the king had been heated by an abundance of wine, having an immoderate opinion of himself, he began to boast of his exploits, to the displeasure even of the ears of those who knew that what he said was true.

[23] But the older men remained silent until he began to belittle the deeds of Philip and to boast that the famous victory at Chaeronea had been his work, but that the glory of so great a battle had been taken from him by the grudgingness and jealousy of his father.

[24] That Philip, when a quarrel had arisen between the Macedonian soldiers and the Greek mercenaries, being disabled by a wound which he had suffered during that disturbance, had fallen to the ground and could find no other expedient to protect himself better than feigning death; but that he had protected his father's body with his shield, and with his own hand 26 had slain those who were rushing upon him. This Philip could never bring himself to admit, being unwilling to be indebted for his life to his son. Also, that after the campaign which he himself had made without Philip against the Illyrians, when victorious he had written to his father that the enemy had been routed and put to flight; and that Philip had 26 nowhere been present. He said that praise was due, not to those who had witnessed the initiatory rites of Samothrace at a time when Asia should have been laid waste by fire, but to those who by the greatness of their deeds had surpassed belief.

[27] These and similar things the young soldiers heard with pleasure, but they were odious to the older men, especially because of Philip, under whom they

[28] had lived longer, when Clitus, who was himself by no means wholly sober, turned to those who were reclining below him, and quoted a line of Euripides in such a tone that the sound could be heard by the king [29] rather than the words made out, to the effect that it was a bad custom of the Greeks to inscribe on their trophies only the names of kings; for the kings stole the glory won by the blood of others. Therefore Alexander, for he suspected that the words had been somewhat malicious, began to ask those next to him [30] what they had heard Clitus say. And when they maintained an obstinate silence, Clitus, gradually raising his voice, spoke of the deeds of Philip and the wars which he had waged in Greece, rating them [31] all higher than the present victories. From this there arose a dispute between the younger and the older soldiers. And the king, although he appeared to hear with patience the words in which Clitus [32] belittled his glory, had become exceedingly angry. But when it seemed that he would control himself if Clitus would put an end to the talk which he had wantonly begun, as he did not in any way moderate it, the king became more exasperated.

[33] And now Clitus even ventured to defend Parmenion and extolled the victory of Philip over the Athenians above the destruction of Thebes, being carried away, not only by wine, but by a perverse spirit of contention. Finally he said: "If someone must die for you, Clitus is the first choice; but when you award the prizes of a victory, those bear off the palm who most wantonly mock the memory of your father.

[35] You assign to me the province of Sogdiana, so often rebellious, and not only untamed but not even capable of being subdued. I am sent to wild beasts, to which [36] Nature has given incorrigible recklessness. But of what concerns me I have nothing to say. You scorn the soldiers of Philip, forgetting that if old Atarrhias here had not called back the younger men when they shrank from battle, we should still be lingering around [37] Halicarnassus. How then would you have subdued all Asia with those young men of yours? That is true, in my opinion, which your uncle is known to have said in Italy, that he had encountered men, you women." [38] Nothing among all the taunts which Clitus had ill advisedly and rashly uttered had more aroused the king than the honourable mention made of Parmenion. Yet he restrained his resentment, content [39] with ordering Clitus to leave the banquet. And he added nothing else than that perhaps if Clitus had spoken at greater length, he would have taunted him with having saved his life; for of this he had often [40] arrogantly boasted. And when Clitus still delayed to rise, those who had reclined next to him laid hands upon him and with remonstrances and warning were [41] trying to lead him from the room. As he was being taken away, anger also was added to his former drunkenness, and he shouted that the king's back had been protected by his own breast, but that now, after the time of so great a service had passed, even [42] the memory of it was odious. Then he also reproached the king with the murder of Attalus, and finally, mocking the oracle of Jupiter,

whom Alexander claimed as his father, he said that he himself, had spoken to the king more truly than his father [43] By now Alexander was filled with such great wrath as he could hardly have mastered when sober. In fact, his senses having long since been overcome by [44] wine, he suddenly leaped from his couch. His friends, in a panic, having not even put down their cups but thrown them aside, arose in a body, their thoughts centred upon the result of the act which he was about [45] to commit with such impetuosity. Alexander, wresting a lance from the hands of one of his guards, and attempting to kill Clitus, who was still raging with the same unbridled language, was prevented by Ptolemy [40] and Perdiccas. Throwing their arms about his waist, they kept holding him back while he continued to struggle; Lysimachus and Leonnatus had even taken [47] away the lance; the king, invoking the loyalty of his soldiers, cried that he was being seized by his closest friends, as had lately happened to Darius, and ordered the signal to be given with the trumpet for the soldiers to take arms and come to the royal quarters.

[48] Then truly Ptolemy and Perdiccas threw themselves at his knees and besought him not to persist in such unrestrained anger, but rather to take time for reflection; that to-morrow he would manage the [49] whole matter with more justice. But his ears were closed, deafened by wrath; and so, beside himself, he rushed into the vestibule of the royal quarters, and snatching a lance from the sentinel on guard, stood at the entrance where those who had dined with [50] him must pass out. The rest had gone, and Clitus was coming out last without a light, when the king asked who it was. Even his voice clearly indicated [51] the ferocity of the crime which he meditated. And Clitus, no longer mindful of his own anger, but remembering that of the king, replied that it was Clitus [52] and that he was leaving the banquet. As he was saying this the king ran the lance into his side, and bespattered with the blood of the dying man, cried: "Go now to Philip and Parmenion and Attalus!"

Male humanis ingeniis natura consuluit, quod plerumque non futura, sed transacta perpendimus. Quippe rex, postquam ira mente decesserat, etiam ebrietate discussa magnitudinem facinoris sera aestimatione perspexit. [2] Videbat tunc inmodice libertate abusum, sed alioqui egregium bello virum et, nisi erubesceret fateri, [p. 258] servatorem sui occisum. Detestabile carnificis ministerium occupaverat rex, verborum licentiam, quae vino poterat inputari, nefanda caede ultus. [3] Manabat toto vestibulo cruor paulo ante convivae: vigiles attoniti et stupentibus similes procul stabant, [4] liberiolemque paenitentiam solitudo eliciebat. Ergo hastam ex corpore iacentis evolsam retorsit in semet. Iamque admoverat pectori, cum advolant vigiles et repugnanti e manibus extorquent adlevatumque in tabernaculum deferunt. [5] Ille humi prostraverat corpus gemitu eiulatuque miserabili tota personante regia. Laniare deinde os unguibus et circumstantes rogare, ne se tanto dedecori superstitem esse paterentur. [6] Inter has preces tota nox extracta est. Scrutantemque, num ira deorum ad tantum nefas actus esset, subit

anniversarium sacrificium Libero Patri non esse redditum stato tempore. Itaque inter vinum et epulas caede commissa iram dei fuisse manifestam. [7] Ceterum magis eo movebatur, quod omnium amicorum animos videbat attonitos: neminem cum ipso sociare sermonem postea ausurum, vivendum esse in solitudine velut ferae bestiae terrenti alias timentique. [8] Prima deinde luce tabernaculo corpus, sicut adhuc cruentum erat, iussit inferri. Quo posito ante ipsum lacrimis obortis: 'Hanc,' inquit, 'nutrici meae gratiam rettuli, cuius duo filii apud Miletum pro mea gloria occubuerunt mortem, hic frater, unicum orbitatis solacium, [9] a me inter epulas occisus est. Quo nunc se conferet misera? Omnibus eius unus supersum, quem [p. 259] solum aequis oculis videre non poterit. Et ego,, servatorum meorum latro, revertar in patriam, ut ne dexteram quidem nutrici sine memoria calamitatis eius offerre possim!' [10] Et cum finis lacrimis querellisque non fieret, iussu amicorum corpus ablatum est. Rex triduum iacuit inclusus. [11] Quem ut armigeri corporisque custodes ad moriendum obstinatum esse cognoverunt, universi in tabernaculum inrumpunt diuque precibus ipsorum reluctatum aegre vicerunt, ut cibum caperet. [12] Quoque minus caedis puderet, iure interfectum Clitum Macedones decernunt, sepultura quoque prohibitori, ni rex humari iussisset. [13] Igitur X diebus maxime ad confirmandum pudorem apud Maracanda consumptis cum parte exercitus Hephaestionem in regionem Bactrianam misit commeatus in hiemem paraturum. [14] Quam Clito ante destinaverat provinciam, Amyntae dedit: ipse Xenippa pervenit. Scythiae confinis est regio habitaturque pluribus ac frequentibus vicis, quia ubertas terrae non indigenas modo detinet, sed etiam advenas invitat. [15] Bactrianorum exulum, qui ab Alexandro defecerant, receptaculum fuerat: sed, postquam regem adventare conpertum est, [16] pulsi ab incolis II milia fere et D congregantur. Omnes equites erant etiam in pace latrociniis adsueti: tum ferocia ingenia non bellum modo, sed etiam veniae desperatio efferaverat. Itaque ex inproviso adorti Amyntan, praetorem Alexandri, diu anceps proelium fecerant: [p. 260] [17] ad ultimum DCC suorum amissis, quorum CCC hostis cepit, dedere terga victoribus haud sane inulti: quippe LXXX Macedonum interfecerunt, praeterque eos CCC et L saucii facti sunt. [18] Veniam tamen etiam post alteram defectionem inpetraverunt. [19] His in fidem acceptis in regionem, quam Nautaca appellant, rex cum toto exercitu venit. Satrapes erat Sisimithres duobus ex sua matre filiis genitis: quippe apud eos parentibus stupro coire cum liberis fas est. [20] Is armatis popularibus fauces regionis, qua in artissimum cogitur, valido munimento saepserat. Praeterfluebat torrens amnis, terga petra claudebat: hanc manu perviam incolae fecerant, [21] sed aditu specus accipit lucem, interiora nisi inlato lumine obscura sunt. [22] Perpetuus cuniculus iter praebet in campos ignotum nisi indigenis. At Alexander, quamquam angustias naturali situ munitas ac valida manu barbari tuebantur, tamen arietibus admotis munimenta, quae manu adiuncta erant, concussit fundisque et sagittis propugnantium plerosque deiecit. Quos ubi dispersos fugavit, ruinas munimentorum supergressus ad petram admovit exercitum. [23] Ceterum interveniebat fluvius coeuntibus aquis

ex superiore fastigio in vallem, magnique operis videbatur tam vastam voraginem explere: [24] caedi tamen arbores et saxa congeri iussit. Ingensque barbaros pavor rudes ad talia opera concusserat excitatam molem subito cementes. [25] Itaque rex ad deditionem [p. 261] metu posse compelli ratus Oxarten misit nationis eiusdem, sed ditionis suae, qui suaderet duci, ut traderet petram. [26] Interim ad augendam formidinem et turre admovebantur et excussa tormentis tela micabant. Itaque verticem petrae omni alio praesidio damnato petiverunt. [27] At Oxartes trepidum diffidentemque rebus suis Sisimithren coepit hortari, ut fidem quam vim Macedonum mallet experiri neu moraretur festinationem victoris exercitus in Indiam tendentis: cui quisquis semet offerret, in suum caput alienam cladem esse versurum. [28] Et ipse quidem Sisimithres deditionem non abnuebat, ceterum mater eademque coniunx morituram se ante denuntians, quam in ullius veniret potestatem, barbari animum ad honestiora quam tutiora converterat, pudebatque libertatis maius esse apud feminas quam apud viros pretium. [29] Itaque dimisso. internuntio pacis obsidionem ferre decreverat. Sed cum hostis vires suasque pensaret, rursus muliebris consilii, quod praeceps magis quam necessarium esse credebat, paenitere eum coepit. [30] Revocatoque strenue Oxarte futurum se in regis potestate respondit, unum id precatus, ne voluntatem et consilium matris suae proderet, quo facilius venia illi quoque inpetraretur. [31] Praemisum igitur Oxarten cum matre liberisque et totius cognationis grege sequebatur ne expectato quidem fidei pignore, quod Oxartes promiserat. [32] Rex equite prae- [p. 262] misso, qui reverti eos iuberet opperiri praesentiam ipsius, supervenit et victimis Minervae ac Victoriae caesis imperium Sisimithri restituit spe maioris etiam provinciae facta, si cum fide amicitiam ipsius coluisset. [33] Duos illi iuvenes patre tradente secum militaturos sequi iussit. [34] Relicta deinde phalange ad subigendos, qui defecerant, cum equite processit. Arduum et inpeditum saxis iter primo utcumque tolerabant, mox equorum non ungulis modo attritis, sed corporibus etiam fatigatis sequi plerique non poterant, et rarius subinde agmen fiebat pudorem, ut fere fit, inmodico labore vincente. [35] Rex tamen subinde equos mutans sine intermissione fugientes insequabatur. Nobiles iuvenes comitari eum soliti defecerant praeter Philippum: Lysimachi erat frater tum primum adultus et, quod facile adpareret, indolis rarae. [36] Is pedes, incredibile dictu, per D stadia vectum regem comitatus est saepe equum suum offerente Lysimacho, nec tamen, ut digrederetur a rege, [37] effici potuit, cum lorica indutus arma gestaret. Idem, cum perventum esset in saltum, in quo se barbari abdiderant, nobilem edidit pugnam regemque comminus cum hoste dimicantem protexit. [38] Sed postquam barbari in fugam effusi deseruere silvas, animus, qui in ardore pugnae corpus sustentaverat, liquit, subitoque ex omnibus membris profuso sudore arboris proximae stipiti se adplicuit. [39] Deinde ne illo quidem adminiculo sustinente manibus regis exceptus est: inter quas conlapsus extinguitur. Maestum regem alius haud levis [p. 263] dolor excepit. [40] Erigyius inter claros duces fuerat: quem extinctum esse paulo ante, quam reverteretur

in castra, cognovit. Utriusque funus omni apparatu atque honore celebratum est.

II. Nature has dealt ill with men's minds, in that we generally weigh acts, not beforehand, but after they are done. For the king, after anger had left his mind and even his intoxication had been dispelled, clearly perceived, but too late, the enormity ^[2] of his crime. He saw then that he had killed a man who had indeed immoderately abused freedom of speech, but who in any case was eminent in warfare, and if he was not ashamed to admit it, the saviour of his life. A king had usurped the detestable function of an executioner, and had punished licence in language, which might have been imputed to wine, ^[3] by an abominable murder. The whole vestibule swam with the blood of one who but now had been his guest, the sentinels stood aloof from him, amazed and as if stupefied, and solitude gave freer opportunity ^[4] for repentance. Therefore, tearing the lance from the body of the prostrate man, he turned it upon himself. And he had already brought it against his breast, when the sentinels flew to him, and in spite of his resistance wrested it from his hand, lifted him up, ^[6] and carried him into his tent. He had thrown himself on the ground, while all the whole royal quarters rang with his groans and piteous wailing. Then he tore his face with his nails, begging those who stood around him not to suffer him to survive such a disgrace.

^[6] Amid prayers like these the whole night was spent. And while he was considering whether he had been driven to commit such a great crime by the anger of the gods, it occurred to him that he had not paid the annual sacrifice to Father Liber at the appointed time. Hence it was evident that the murder committed amid wine and feasting was a manifestation ^[7] of the anger of that god. But the king was still more disturbed because he saw that the minds of all his friends were terror-stricken, that no one would dare hereafter to converse with him, but he must live in solitude like a savage beast which now inspires terror in other beasts and at other times is itself in fear ^[8] of them. Later, at dawn, he ordered the body to be taken into his tent, all bloody as it still was. When it was placed before him, he said with eyes filled with tears: "This is my requital to my nurse, whose two sons met death at Miletus for my glory, this her brother, the sole comfort of her ^[9] bereavement, I have slain at a banquet. Where will the poor woman turn now? Of all her kindred I alone am living, and I am the only one whom she will not be able to look upon with kindly eyes. And I, the assassin of my preservers, shall return to my native land without being able even to offer my hand to my nurse without reminding her of her bereavement!

^[10] And since he did not put an end to his tears and laments, by order of his friends the body was removed.

^[11] The king lay in seclusion for three days. When his attendants and bodyguards knew that he was resolved upon dying, they all burst into the tent, and

although for a long time he resisted their entreaties, they with difficulty prevailed upon him to take food.

[12] And in order that he might feel less shame for the murder, the Macedonians decreed that Clitus had been justly put to death, and that they would even have deprived him of funeral rites, if the king had not ordered that he be buried.

[13] Then, after having spent ten days near Maracanda, chiefly that he might recover from his shame, he sent Hephaestion with a part of the army into the region [14] of Bactriana to prepare supplies for the winter. The province which he previously had intended for Clitus he gave to Amyntas. He himself came to Xenippa; this is a place bordering on Scythia, and it is occupied by many populous villages, since the fertility of the soil not only holds the natives but also attracts [15] newcomers. It had been the refuge of the Bactrian exiles who had revolted from Alexander; but after it was learned that the king was coming, these were driven out by the natives and were gathered together [16] to the number of about 2500. They were all horsemen, accustomed to brigandage even in time of peace; at that time too their proud natures had been made more reckless, not only by the war, but also by despair of pardon. Hence they made an unlooked-for attack upon Amyntas, a general of Alexander, and for a long time had held the contest in balance; [17] finally, after having lost 700 of their number, of whom the enemy took 300 prisoners, they turned their backs to the victors, but by no means unavenged: for they killed eighty of the Macedonians, and 350 [18] besides those suffered wounds. Yet they received pardon even after a second revolt.

[19] After these had been received in surrender, the king with his whole army came into the region which they call Nautaca. The satrap was Sisimithres, who had two sons born of his own mother; for among those people it is lawful for parents to cohabit with [20] their children. He, having armed his subjects, had blocked the narrowest part of the entrance to the region with a strong fortification. Near by flowed a torrential river, which a crag in its rear protected; [21] through this the natives had made artificially a road; but whereas at either entrance a cave receives light, the inner parts are dark unless a light has been carried in. A continuous passage, known only [22] to the natives, gives access to the plains. Although the barbarians with a strong force were guarding the pass, which was protected by its natural situation, nevertheless Alexander, bringing up his battering-rams, shattered the fortifications which had been artificially added, and laid low many of the defenders with slings and arrows.

When he had scattered these and put them to flight, passing over the ruins of the fortifications, he [23] brought his army to the crag. But the river intervened, where the waters from the summit came together and flowed into the valley, and it seemed a task of great labour to fill up so vast an abyss; nevertheless he

ordered trees to be felled and rocks to be brought together. And great panic had struck the barbarians, who were unfamiliar with such works, [25] when they saw a dam quickly raised. As a result the king, thinking that they could be forced by fear to surrender, sent Oxartes, of that same nation but under his sway, to persuade their leader to deliver [26] over the crag. Meanwhile, to increase the dread, at the same time towers were brought up and bolts hurled from artillery leapt about. Accordingly, the enemy made for the top of the crag, disapproving all [27] other defence. But Oxartes began to urge Sisimithres, who was fearful and distrustful of his affairs, to try the faith rather than the strength of the Macedonians, and not to delay the haste of a victorious army which was on its way to India; for anyone who opposed it would bring upon his own head the disaster aimed at others.

[28] And Sisimithres for his part was not disinclined to surrender, but his mother, who was also his wife, declaring that she would die rather than come into the power of any other, turned the mind of the barbarian to what was more honourable than safe, and he felt ashamed that freedom was more highly valued among the women than among the [29] men. Accordingly, dismissing the intermediary for peace, he had decided to stand a siege. But when he had repeatedly measured the strength of the enemy against his own, he began to regret having followed the advice of the woman, which seemed to [30] be rash rather than necessary, and quickly recalling Oxartes, he replied that he would surrender to the king, begging only this one thing, that he would not betray the advice and wish of his mother, in order that he might more easily obtain pardon for her also.

[31] Therefore, sending Oxartes ahead, he followed with his mother and children and with a band of all his kindred not even waiting for the pledge of parole which [32] Oxartes had promised. The king, after sending on a horseman to order them to return and await his presence, came up, and having sacrificed victims to Minerva Victoria, restored his rule to Sisimithres, giving him hope of a still greater province if he cultivated his friendship with loyalty. He ordered Sisimithres' two sons, whom their father had delivered to him, to follow, in order to serve as soldiers with him.

Then, having left the phalanx to subdue those [34] who had revolted, he went on with the cavalry. The road, which was steep and impeded by rocks, they endured at first as well as they could; presently, when not only were the hooves of the horses worn down, but their bodies also were wearied, many were unable to follow and the line became thinner from time to time, the excessive toil overcoming 36 their shame, as usually happens. Yet the king, from time to time changing horses, pursued the fugitives without interruption. The young nobles who were accustomed to attend him had given out except Philippus; he was a brother of Lysimachus, and had just arrived at manhood, and, as was readily apparent, [36] a youth of a rare character. He, incredible to

relate, on foot for 500 stadia accompanied the mounted king, and although Lysimachus often offered him his horse, yet he could not be induced to leave Alexander's side, although he wore a cuirass and was carrying his arms.

[37] This same youth, when they had come to the wood in which the barbarians had hidden, made a splendid fight and protected the king as he fought hand to [38] hand with the enemy. But after the barbarians left the wood in scattered flight, the spirit which had the wood in scattered flight, the spirit which had sustained the youngman's body in the ardour of battle left him, and suddenly a sweat broke out on all his body and he leaned against the nearest tree trunk. Then, when he was not sustained even by that support, he was taken in the king's arm's, and there swooned and died. In the midst of his sorrow another severe grief came to the king. Erigyus had been one of his illustrious generals; and he learned, a little before his return to the camp, that he had died. The funeral of each was performed with every splendour and honour.

Dahas deinde statuerat petere: ibi namque Spitamenen esse cognoverat. Sed hanc quoque expeditionem, ut pleraque alia, fortuna indulgendo ei numquam fatigata pro absente transegit. Spitamenes uxoris inmodico amore flagrabat, quam aegre fugam et nova subinde exilia tolerantem in omne discrimen comitem trahebat. [2] Illa malis fatigata identidem muliebres adhibere blanditias, ut tandem fugam sisteret victorisque Alexandri clementiam expertus placaret, quem effugere non posset. [3] Tres adulti erant liberi ex eo geniti: quos cum pectori patris admovisset, ut saltem eorum misereri vellet, orabat: et, quo efficaciores essent. preces, haud procul erat Alexander. [4] Ille se prodi, non moneri ratus et formae profecto fiducia cupere eam quam primum dedi Alexandro acinacem strinxit percussurus uxorem, [5] nisi prohibitus esset fratrum eius occursum. Ceterum abire e conspectu iubet addito metu mortis, si se oculis eius obtulisset, et ad desiderium levandum noctes agere inter pelices coepit. [6] Sed penitus haerens amor fastidio praesentium accensus est. Itaque rursus uni ei deditus orare non destitit, ut tali consilio abstineret patereturque sortem, quamcumque iis fortuna fecisset: [7] sibi mortem deditione esse leviolem. At illa purgare se, quod, quae utilia esse censebat, muliebriter forsitan, sed fida tamen mente suasisset: de cetero futuram in viri potestate. [8] Spitamenes simulato captus [p. 264] obsequio de die convivium apparari iubet vinoque et epulis gravis et semisomnus in cubiculum fertur. [9] Quem ut alto et gravi somno sopitum esse sensit uxor, gladium, quem veste occultaverat, stringit caputque eius abscisum cruore respersa servo suo conscio facinoris tradit. [10] Eodem comitante, sicuti erat cruenta veste, in Macedonum castra pervenit nuntiarique Alexandro iubet, esse, quae ex ipsa deberet agnoscere. [11] Ille protinus barbaram iussit admitti. Quam ut respersam cruore conspexit, [12] ratus ad deplorandam contumeliam venisse, dicere, quae vellet, iubet. At illa servum, quem in vestibulo stare iusserat, introduci desideravit. Qui, quia caput Spitamenis veste tectum habebat, suspectus scrutantibus, quid occuleret, ostendit. [13] Confuderat oris

exsanguis notas pallor, nec, quis esset, nosci satis poterat: ergo rex certior factus, humanum caput adferre eum, tabernaculo excessit percontatusque, quid rei sit, illo profitente cognoscit. [14] Variæ hinc cogitationes invicem animum diversa agitantem commoverant. Meritum ingens in semet esse credebatur, quod transfuga et proditor, tantis rebus, si vixisset, iniecturus moram, interfectus esset: contra facinus ingens aversabatur, cum virum optime meritum de ipsa, communium parentem liberum per insidias interemisisset. [15] Vicit tamen gratiam meriti sceleris atrocitas, denuntiarique iussit, ut excederet castris, ne licentiæ barbaræ exemplar in Graecorum mores et mitia ingenia transferret. [16] Dahæ Spitamenis caede conperta Dataphernen, defectionis [p. 265] eius participem, vinctum Alexandro seque dedunt. Ille maxima præsentium curarum parte liberatus convertit animum ad vindicandas iniurias eorum, quibus a prætoribus suis avare ac superbe imperabatur. [17] Ergo Phratapherni Hyrcaniam et Mardos cum Tapuris tradidit mandavitque, ut Phradaten, cui succedebat, ad se in custodiam mitteret. Arsami, Drangarum præfecto, substitutus est Stasanor, Arsaces in Mediam missus, ut Oxydates inde discederet. Babylonia demortuo Mazæo Stameni subiecta est.

III. Next he had decided to attack the Dahæ; for he had learned that Spitamenes was there. But this affair, like many others, Fortune, never wearied in indulging him, finished for him in his absence.

Spitamenes burned with immoderate love for his wife whom he dragged with him as his companion into every danger, although she could hardly endure the toil of flight and constant changes of exile. She, worn out by hardships, from time to time made use of a woman's blandishments to persuade her husband at last to cease his flight, and having experienced Alexander's clemency, to placate one whom he could not escape. She had borne him three children, who were now grown to manhood; having put these in their father's arms, she begged him to consent at least to pity them: and it gave greater effect to her [4] prayers that Alexander was not far off. Spitamenes, thinking that he was being betrayed, not advised, and that undoubtedly through confidence in her beauty his wife desired as soon as possible to be surrendered to Alexander, drew his scimitar and would have slain her if he had not been prevented by the hurried invention of her brothers. However he ordered her to quit his sight, adding a threat of death if she should show herself before his eyes, and to satisfy his longing he began to pass his nights with concubines. But his deep seated love was flamed through disgust with his present associates. Therefore, again devoted to his wife alone, he did not cease to beg her to refrain from giving such advice; and to endure whatever lot Fortune should offer them saying that to him death was a lighter thing than surrender. But she excused herself for having advised what she thought expedient, perhaps with feminine weakness, but yet in a loyal spirit, saying that for the future she would submit to her husband's authority. Spitamenes, won by this feigned compliance, ordered a

prolonged banquet to be prepared, from which he was carried to his chamber heavy with wine and half asleep. As soon as his wife saw that he was sunk in a deep and heavy slumber, she drew a sword which she had hidden under her robe, cut off his head, and, bespattered with blood, handed it to a slave who had been her accomplice in the crime. Attended by the slave, with her robe all blood stained as it was, she came into the camp of the Macedonians and ordered it to be announced to Alexander that there was something that he ought to hear from her own lips. He at once ordered the barbarian woman to be admitted. When he saw her bespattered with blood, thinking that she had come to complain or some outrage, he bade her tell him what she wished. But she desired that the slave whom she had ordered to stand in the vestibule should be bought in.

Because the slave had the head of Spitamenes hidden under his robe, he was suspected, and when some men searched him, he showed them what he was hiding. A pallor had made the features of the blood-less face ^[13] unrecognizable, and it could not be known who it was; therefore the king, being informed that the slave was bringing a man's head, came out of his tent and upon inquiring what had happened, learned ^[14] the truth from the slave's confession. Thereupon, as he considered the varied aspects of the case, his mind was moved by conflicting thoughts. He believed that it was a great service to him that a deserter and a traitor, who, if he had lived, would have caused delay to his important affairs, had been killed; on the other hand, he was repelled by the great crime, in that the woman had treacherously killed a husband who deserved well of her, the father of their common ^[15] children. Yet the atrocity of the deed prevailed over gratitude for the service, and he ordered notice to be given her to leave the camp, lest by this example of barbarian lawlessness she might affect the character and mild dispositions of the Greeks.

^[16] The Dahae, learning of the murder of Spitamenes, bound Dataphernes, his partner in the revolt, and surrendered him and themselves to Alexander. He, thus freed from the greatest part of his present cares, turned his attention to avenging the wrongs of those who were being ruled greedily and tyrannically by his ^[17] governors. As a result, he made over to Phrataphernes Hyrcania and the Mardi with the Tapuri, and commanded him to send him under a guar Phradates, whose successor he was. For Arsames, governor of the Drangae, Stasanor was substituted, while Arsaces was sent to Media, in order that Oxydates might be recalled from there. In place of Mazaeus, who had died, Stamenes was made governor of Babylonia.

His conpositis tertio mense ex hibernis movit exercitum regionem, ^[2] quae Gazaca appellatur, aditurus. Primus dies quietum iter prae-buit, proximus ei nondum quidem procellosus et tristis, obscurior tamen pristino non sine minis crescentis mali praeteriit, ^[3] tertio ab omni parte caeli emicare fulgura et nunc

internitente luce, nunc condita non oculos modo meantis exercitus, sed etiam animos terrere coeperunt. [4] Erat prope continuus caeli fragor, et passim cadentium fulminum species visebatur, attonitisque auribus stupens agmen nec progredi nec consistere audebat: [5] cum repente imber grandinem incutiens torrentis modo effunditur. Ac primo quidem armis suis tecti exceperant, sed iam nec retinere arma lubrica et rigentes manus poterant nec ipsi destinare, in quam regionem obverterent corpora, [p. 266] cum undique tempestatis violentia maior, quam vita batur, occurreret. [6] Ergo ordinibus solutis per totum saltum errabundum agmen ferebatur, multique prius metu quam labore defetigati prostraverant humi corpora, [7] quamquam imbrem vis frigoris concreto gelu adstrinxerat. Alii se stipitibus arborum admoverant: id plurimis et adminiculum et suffugium erat. [8] Nec fallebat ipsos morti locum eligere se, cum immobilis vitalis calor linqueret: sed grata erat pigritia corporum fatigatis, nec recusabant extingui quiescendo. Quippe non vehemens modo, sed etiam pertinax vis mali insistebat, lucemque, naturale solacium, praeter tempestatem haud disparem nocti silvarum quoque umbra suppresserat. [9] Rex unus tanti mali patiens circumire milites, contrahere dispersos, adlevare prostratos, ostendere procul evolutum ex tuguriis fumum hortarique, [10] ut proxima quaeque suffugia occuparent. Nec ulla res magis saluti fuit, quam quod multiplicato labore sufficientem malis, quis ipsi cesserant, regem deserere erubescabant. [11] Ceterum efficacior in adversis necessitas quam ratio frigoris remedium invenit: dolabris enim silvas sternere adgressi passim acervos struesque accenderunt. [12] Continenti incendio ardere crederes saltum et vix inter flammas agminibus relictum locum. Hic calor stupentia membra commovit, [13] paulatimque spiritus, quem continuerat rigor, meare libere coepit. Excepere alios tecta barbarorum, quae in ultimo saltu abdita necessitas investigaverat, alios castra, quae in humido quidem, sed iam caeli mitesciente saevitia locaverunt. Duo milia militum atque lixarum calonumque pestis illa [p. 267] consumpsit. [14] Memoriae proditum est quosdam adplicatos arborum truncis et non solum viventibus, sed etiam inter se conloquentibus similis esse conspectos durante adhuc habitu, in quo mors quemque deprenderat. [15] Forte Macedo gregarius miles seque et arma male sustentans tamen in castra pervenerat: quo viso rex, quamquam ipse tum maxime admoto igne refovebat artus, ex sella sua exiit torpentemque militem et vix compotem mentis demptis armis in sua sede iussit considerare. [16] Ille diu nec, ubi requiesceret, nec, a quo esset exceptus, agnovit. Tandem recepto calore vitali, ut regiam sedem regemque vidit, territus surgit. [17] Quem intuens Alexander: ‘Ecquid intellegis, miles,’ inquit, ‘quanto meliore sorte quam Persae sub rege vivatis? Illis enim in sella regis consedissee capital foret, tibi saluti fuit.’ [18] Postero die convocatis amicis copiarumque ducibus pronuntiari iussit, ipsum omnia, quae amissa essent, redditurum. Et promisso fides extitit. [19] Nam Sisimithres multa iumenta et camelorum 11 milia adduxit pecoraque et armenta: quae distributa pariter militem et damno et fame liberaverunt. [20] Rex gratiam sibi relatam a Sisimithre perlaetus sex dierum

cocta cibaria ferre milites iussit, Sacas petens. Totam hanc regionem depopulatus XXX milia pecorum ex praeda Sisimithri dono dat. [21] Inde pervenit in regionem, cui Oxyartes, satrapes nobilis, praeerat, qui se regis potestati fideique permisit. Ille imperio ei reddito haud amplius quam, ut [p. 268] duo ex tribus filiis secum militarent, exegit. [22] Satrapes etiam eo, qui penes ipsum relinquebatur, tradito barbara opulentia convivium, quo regem accipiebat, instruxerat: [23] id cum multa comitate celebraretur, introduci xxx nobiles virgines iussit. Inter quas erat filia ipsius, Roxane nomine, eximia corporis specie et decore habitus in barbarie raro. [24] Quae quamquam inter electas processerat, omnium tamen oculos convertit in se, maxime regis minus iam cupiditatibus suis imperantis inter obsequia fortunae, [25] contra quam non satis cauta mortalitas est. Itaque ille, qui uxorem Darei, qui duas filias virgines, quibus forma praeter Roxanen comparari nulla potuerat, haud alio animo quam parentis aspexerat, tunc in amorem virgunculae, si regiae stirpi compararetur, ignobilis ita effusus est, ut diceret ad stabiliendum regnum pertinere Persas et Macedones conubio iungi: hoc uno modo et pudorem victis et superbiam victoribus detrahi posse. [26] Achillem quoque, a quo genus ipse deduceret, cum captiva cois: ne inferri nefas arbitrentur victi, [27] matrimonii iure velle iungi. Insuperato gaudio elatus pater sermonem eius excipit, et rex in medio cupiditatis ardore iussit adferri patrio more panem — hoc erat apud Macedonas sanctissimum coeuntium pignus — , quem divisum gladio uterque libabat. [28] Credo eos, qui gentis mores condiderunt, parco et parabili victu ostendere voluisse iungentibus opes, quantulo contenti esse deberent. [29] Hoc modo rex Asiae et Europae introductam inter convivales ludos matrimonio sibi adiunxit ex captiva [p. 269] geniturus, qui victoribus imperaret. [30] Pudebat amicos super vinum et epulas socerum ex deditis esse delectum, sed post Cliti caedem libertate sublata vultu, qui maxime servit, adsentiebantur.

IV. After these matters had been arranged, he withdrew the army from winter quarters after two months' stay, intending to go to the region which is [2] called Gazaca. The first day allowed a quiet march, the following day was, it is true, not yet stormy and gloomy, yet it was darker than the preceding one, and did not pass without threat of growing trouble, [3] on the third, lightning flickered from every quarter of the heavens, and the light which now shone through and now was hidden, began, not only to dazzle the eyes of the advancing army, but even to [4] terrify them. There were almost continual peals of thunder, and bolts of lightning striking everywhere were seen, so that the army, stunned and deafened, [5] dared neither to halt nor to advance; then suddenly a rain-storm bombarding them with hail poured upon them like a torrent. At first indeed they had received the hail successfully on the cover afforded by their shields, but finally their stiffened hands could no longer hold their slippery weapons,' nor could they themselves determine in what direction to turn their bodies, since on every side greater violence of the storm met them than that which they were trying to [6] avoid. Hence, having broken ranks, the army went wandering all through the woods, and many, worn out by fear (not yet

by toil), had thrown themselves upon the ground, although the extreme cold had ^[7] hardened the rain and hail into solid ice. Others had leaned against the trunks of trees; this served as a ^[8] support and refuge for very many. But it did not escape them that they were choosing a place to die, since when they ceased to move, the vital heat left them; but inactivity of body was welcome to them in their weariness, nor did they shrink from dying as the price of resting. As a matter of fact, the force of the disastrous storm was not only violent but also persistent, and the light, that natural solace, in addition to the tempest, which was like night, was obscured also by the shade of the woods.

^[9] The king, who alone was able to endure such a disaster, went about among the soldiers, brought together those that were scattered, lifted up those who had fallen, and pointing out the distant smoke that rolled up from some huts, urged each man to resort to ^[10] the nearest places of refuge. And nothing contributed more to their safety than that they were ashamed to fail the king, who in spite of redoubled toil was able to endure the hardships to which they themselves ^[11] had succumbed. Moreover, necessity, which in adversity is more effective than reason, found a remedy for the cold; for they began to cut down the woods everywhere with adzes and set fire to the heaps ^[12] and piles of wood. You would have thought that the forest was ablaze with a continuous conflagration and that amid the flames hardly room was left for the troops. This heat aroused their benumbed bodies, and gradually their breath, which the cold had ^[13] checked, began to pass freely. Some took refuge in the huts of the barbarians, which necessity had tracked out though they were hidden in the inmost part of the woods, others in the camp which they pitched on ground that was indeed wet, but already the severity of the weather was moderating. That plague destroyed 2000 soldiers, not counting sutlers and batmen. It is reported that some were seen stuck to the trunks of trees, looking as if they were not only alive but even talking together, still keeping the posture in which death had overtaken them.

^[15] It chanced that a Macedonian common soldier, hardly able to stand up and hold his weapons, had nevertheless reached the camp. On seeing him the king, although he himself was just then warming himself beside a fire, leaped up from his chair, and taking his armour from the exhausted and hardly ^[16] conscious soldier, bade him sit in his own seat. For a long time the man did not realize where he was resting nor by whom he had been rescued. At last, when he had recovered his vital heat and saw the ^[17] royal seat and the king, he arose in terror. Alexander, looking kindly at him, said: "Do you understand, soldier, how much better a life you all have under a king than the Persians have? For with the Persians, to have sat in the king's seat would have been a capital crime, with you it has saved your life."

^[18] On the next day, having called together his friends and the leaders of his forces, he ordered it to be proclaimed that he himself would make good all

that ^[19] had been lost. And he kept his promise. For Sisimithres had brought in many pack-animals and 2000 camels, besides flocks and herds; these were distributed equally and saved the soldiers both from ^[20] loss and from hunger. The king, greatly pleased by the requital made him by Sisimithres, on his way to the Sacae ordered the soldiers to carry with them cooked food enough for six days. Having devastated all that region, he gave Sisimithres a gift of 30,000 cattle from the booty.

^[21] From there he came into the province governed by Oxyartes, an illustrious satrap, who submitted himself to the power and good faith of the king. Alexander restored his dominion to him, and made no further requirement than that two of the satrap's ^[22] three sons should serve as his soldiers. Oxyartes delivered to him also the son who was left with him, and prepared a banquet of oriental magnificence, at ^[23] which he entertained Alexander; while this was being celebrated with great friendliness, the satrap ordered thirty high-born maidens to be brought in. Among these was his own daughter, Roxanê by name, a maiden of remarkable beauty of person, and of a dignity of bearing uncommon among barbarians.

^[24] She, although she had entered among an elite group, yet drew the eyes of all to her, especially of the king, who by now had less mastery over his passions amid the constant indulgence of Fortune, against whom ^[25] mortal man is not sufficiently on his guard. And so he, who had looked upon the wife of Darius and his two maiden daughters, to whom none save Roxanê could be compared in beauty, with no other feeling than that of a father, was then so transported with love for this little maiden, of obscure birth in comparison with royal stock, that he said that it was important for establishing his empire that Persians and Macedonians be joined in wedlock; that only in that way could shame be taken from the conquered and ^[26] haughtiness from the victors. Achilles also, he said, from whom he traced his ancestry, had united with a captive maiden; lest the vanquished should think that a wrong was being done to them, he wished to be joined with Roxanê in lawful wedlock.

The father was elated with unexpected joy on hearing the king's words and Alexander, in the full tide of his ardent passion, ordered a loaf of bread to be brought in according to his country's custom — this among the Macedonians was the most sacred pledge of those contracting marriage — which was cut in two ^[28] with a sword and tasted by each. I suppose that those who established the customs of the race wished by a frugal and common food to show to those who were about to unite their resources with how little ^[29] they ought to be contented. In this way the king of Asia and of Europe took to himself in wedlock a woman who had been brought in among the entertainments of a banquet, intending to beget from a captive ^[30] a son who should rule over victors. His friends were ashamed that a father-in-law had been chosen from among the surrendered amid wine and feasting, but since after the murder of

Clitus freedom of speech had been banned, they pretended assent by expression of their faces, which most readily play the slave.

Ceterum Indiam et inde Oceanum petiturus, ne quid a tergo, quod destinata impedire posset, moveretur, ex omnibus provinciis XXX milia iuniorum legi iussit et ad se armata perducere obsides simul habiturus et milites. [2] Craterum autem ad persequendos Haustanen et Catanen, qui ab ipso defecerant, misit: quorum Haustanes captus est, Catanes in proelio occisus. Polypercon quoque regionem, quae Bubacene appellatur, in dicionem redegit. [3] Itaque omnibus compositis cogitationes in bellum Indicum vertit. Dives regio habebatur non auro modo, sed gemmis quoque margaritisque, ad luxum magis quam ad magnificentiam exulta. [4] Periti militum res auro et ebore fulgere dicebant: itaque, necubi vinceretur, cum ceteris praestaret, scutis argentaeas laminas, equis frenos aureos addidit, loricas quoque alias auro, alias argento adornavit. CXX milia armatorum erant, quae regem ad id bellum sequebantur. [5] Iamque omnibus praeparatis ratus, quod olim prava mente conceperat, tunc esse maturum, quoniam modo caelestes honores usurparet, coepit agitare. Iovis filium non dici tantum se, sed etiam credi volebat, tamquam perinde animis imperare posset ac linguis, [6] iussitque more Persarum Macedonas venerabundos ipsum [p. 270] salutare prosternentes humi corpora. Non deerat talia concupiscenti perniciose adulatio, perpetuum malum regum, quorum opes saepius adsentatio quam hostis evertit. [7] Nec Macedonum haec erat culpa — nemo enim illorum quicquam ex patrio more labare sustinuit — sed Graecorum, qui professionem honestarum artium malis conruperant moribus, [8] Agis quidem Argivus, pessimorum carminum post Choerilum conditor, et ex Sicilia Cleo, hic quidem non ingenii solum, sed etiam nationis vitio adulator, et cetera urbium suarum purgamenta, quae propinquis etiam maximorumque exercituum ducibus a rege inserebantur. Hi tum caelum illi aperiebant Herculemque et Patrem Liberum et cum Polluce Castorem novo numini cessuros esse iactabant. [9] Igitur festo die omni opulentia convivium exornari iubet, cui non Macedones modo et Graeci, principes amicorum, sed etiam hostium nobiles adhiberentur. Cum quibus cum discubisset rex, paulisper epulatus convivio egreditur. [10] Cleo, sicut praeparatum erat, sermonem cum admiratione laudum eius instituit. Merita dein de percensuit: quibus uno modo referri gratiam posse, si, quem intellexerent deum esse, confiterentur exigua turis impensa tanta beneficia pensaturi. [11] Persas quidem non pie solum, sed etiam prudenter reges suos inter deos colere: maiestatem enim imperii salutis esse tutelam. Ne Herculem quidem et Patrem Liberum prius dicatos deos, quam vicissent secum viventium invidiam: tantum de quoque posteros credere, quantum praesens aetas spopondisset. [12] Quodsi [p. 271] ceteri dubitent, semetipsum, cum rex inisset convivium, prostraturum humi corpus. Debere idem facere ceteros et in primis sapientia praeditos: ab illis enim cultus in regem exemplum esse prodendum. [13] Haud perplexe in Callisthenen dirigebatur oratio. Gravitas viri et prompta libertas invisae erat regi, quasi solus Macedonas paratos ad tale obsequium moraretur. [14] Is tum

silentio facto unum illum intuentibus ceteris: ‘Si rex,’ inquit, ‘sermoni tuo adfuisset, nullius profecto vox responsuri tibi desideraretur: ipse enim peteret, ne in peregrinos ritus externosque degenerare se cogeret neu rebus felicissime gestis invidiam tali adulatione contraheret. [15] Sed quoniam abest, ego tibi pro illo respondeo nullum esse eundem et diuturnum et praecoquem fructum, caelestesque honores non dare te regi, sed auferre. Intervallo enim opus est, ut credatur deus, semperque hanc gratiam magnis viris posterius reddunt. [16] Ego autem seram immortalitatem precor regi, ut et vita diuturna sit et aeterna maiestas. Hominem consequitur aliquando, [17] numquam comitatur divinitas. Herculem modo et Patrem Liberum consecratae immortalitatis exempla referebas. Credisne illos unius convivii decreto deos factos? Prius ab oculis mortalium amolita natura est, quam in caelum fama perveheret. [18] Scilicet ego et tu, Cleo, deos facimus, a nobis divinitatis suae auctoritatem accepturus est rex. Potentiam tuam experiri libet: fac aliquem regem, si deum potes facere! [19] Facilius est caelum dare quam imperium? Di propitii [p. 272] sine invidia, quae Cleo dixit, audierint eodemque cursu, quo fluxere adhuc res, ire patiantur. Nostris moribus velint nos esse contentos. Non pudet patriae, nee desidero, ad quem modum rex mihi colendus sit, discere a victis. [20] Quos equidem victores esse confiteor, si ab illis leges, quis vivamus, accipimus.’ Aequis auribus Callisthenes veluti vindex publicae libertatis audiebatur. Expresserat non adensationem modo, sed etiam vocem, seniorum praecipue, quibus gravis erat inveterati moris externa mutatio. [21] Nec quicquam eorum, quae invicem iactata erant, rex ignorabat, cum post aulaea, quae lectis obdlexerat, staret. Igitur ad Agin et Cleonem misit, ut sermone finito barbaros tantum, cum intrasset, procumbere suo more paterentur, et paulo post, [22] quasi potiora quaedam egisset, convivium repetit. Quem venerantibus Persis Polypercon, qui cubabat super regem, unum ex iis mento contingentem humum per ludibrium coepit hortari, ut vehementius id quateret ad terram, elicitque iram Alexandri, quam olim animo capere non poterat. [23] Itaque rex: ‘Tu autem,’ inquit, ‘non veneraberis me? An tibi uni digni videmur esse ludibrio?’ Ille nec regem ludibrio nec se contemptu dignum esse respondit. [24] Tum detractum eum lecto rex praecipitat in terram et, cum is pronus corruisset: ‘Videsne,’ inquit, ‘idem te fecisse, quod in alio paulo ante ridebas?’ Et tradi eo in custodiam iusso convivium solvit.

V. But the king, intending to go on to India and from there to the Ocean, lest there should be any disturbance in his rear which could interfere with his plans, ordered 30,000 of the younger men to be selected from all the provinces and brought to him under arms, intending to have them at once as host-

[2] ages and as soldiers. Furthermore, he sent Craterus in pursuit of Haustanes and Catanes, who had revolted from him, of whom Haustanes was taken prisoner, Catanes killed in battle. Polypercon also reduced to submission the region which is called [3] Bubacenê. Accordingly, when everything was in

order, he turned his thoughts towards an Indian war. That region was considered rich, not only in gold, but also in gems and pearls, and was highly developed ^[4] rather for luxury than for magnificence. Those who knew said that the equipment of the soldiers gleamed with gold and ivory; consequently Alexander, not to be outdone in anything, since he surpassed all other men, added silver plates to the shields and put golden bits on his horses, and adorned the cuirasses also, some with gold, others with silver. There were 120,000 armed men who followed the king to that war. —

^[5] And now, when all was ready in advance, thinking that the time was then ripe for what he had long perversely planned, he began to consider how he might usurp divine honours. He wished, not only to be called, but to be believed to be the son of Jupiter, as if he could rule men's minds as well as their ^[6] tongues, and he ordered the Macedonians to pay their respects to him in the Persian fashion and to salute him by prostrating themselves on the ground. In his desire for such things he did not lack pernicious adulation, the constant evil of kings, whose power is more frequently overthrown by flattery than by foes.

^[7] And this was not the fault of the Macedonians for none of them could endure to impair any jot of his native customs — but of the Greeks, who had debased their profession of the liberal arts by evil habits: ^[8] Agis, an Argive, the composer of the worst of poems next after Choerilus, and Cleo, from Sicily, the latter indeed a flatterer, from a defect not only in his own nature, but also in his nation, and other sweepings of their own cities; these were mingled by the king even with his nearest friends and the leaders of his greatest armies. These at that time were opening Heaven to him, boasting that Hercules and Father Liber and Castor with Pollux would give place to the new deity.

^[9] Therefore on a festal day he ordered a banquet to be prepared with all magnificence, to which not only Macedonians and Greeks, the chief of his friends, but also nobles of the enemy were invited. When the king had taken his place at table with these, after ^[10] feasting for a little while he left the banquet. Cleo, as had been prearranged, began the conversation by expressing admiration for the king's glorious deeds. Then he enumerated their obligations to him; these, he said, could be requited in only one way, namely, since they knew that he was a god, by admitting it and paying for such great favours by the slight ^[11] expense of incense. The Persians indeed were not only loyal but also wise in worshipping their kings among the gods; for the majesty of the empire was the protector of its safety. Not even Hercules and Father Liber had been acknowledged as gods until they had overcome the jealousy of those who lived with them: — future generations believed only so much about each man as his own time had vouched ^[12] for. But if the rest of the company were in doubt, he himself would prostrate himself on the ground

when the king entered the banquet. The rest ought to do the same, and especially those endowed with wisdom; for it was by those that a precedent in worshipping the king ought to be shown.

[13] Quite clearly this speech was directed against Callisthenes. The austerity of the man and his ready freedom of speech were odious to the king, as if he alone were delaying the Macedonians, who were prepared for such obsequiousness. He then, when silence ensued and the rest were looking at him alone, said: "If the king had been present at your talk, surely the words of no one would be needed to reply to you; for he himself would beg that you should not force him to descend to foreign and alien rites, nor would you expose his highly successful exploits to [15] odium by such flattery. But since he is not present, I am replying to you in his behalf that no fruit is at the same time both durable and prematurely ripened, and that you are not giving divine honours to your king, but taking them from him. For there is need of time for a man to be believed to be a god, and it is always thus that future generations requite great [16] men. But I pray for a late immortality for the king, in order that his life may be long and his majesty eternal. Divinity sometimes overtakes a man, it never accompanies him.

[17] "You mentioned Hercules and Father Liber just now as examples of consecration to immortality. Do you believe that they were made gods by the decree of a single banquet? Their mortal nature was removed from sight before Fame transported them [18] to Heaven. Forsooth you and I, Cleo, make gods, from us the king will receive endorsement of his divinity! I should like to try your power; make someone a king, if you can make a god. Is it easier [19] to bestow heaven than empire? May the propitious gods have heard without offence what Cleo said, and suffer things to go on in the same course in which they have flowed up to now. May they allow us to be content with our habits. I am not ashamed of my fatherland, nor do I desire to learn from the vanquished how I ought to do honour to my king.

For my part, I admit that they are the victors if we accept from them the laws under which we live."

[20] Callisthenes was heard with favourable ears "as a defender of the public liberty. He had forced, not only assent, but also words, especially of the older men, to whom the change of their long-standing [21] customs to those of strangers was distasteful. And the king was not unaware of anything that was said on one side and the other, since he was standing behind the curtains which he had caused to be spread round the couches. Therefore he sent word to Agis and Cleo to put an end to the discussion and to allow only the barbarians, when he entered, to prostrate themselves after their custom, and a little later, as if he had transacted some unusually important business, [22] he returned to the banquet. When the Persians paid reverence to him, Polypercon, who was reclining above the king, in mockery began to urge one of them, —

who touched the ground with his chin, to strike it harder against the earth, and thus aroused the anger of Alexander, which he had already been [23] unable to contain. Accordingly he said: “You, then, — will not adore me? To you alone do we seem to be deserving of ridicule?” Polypercon replied that the king did not seem to deserve ridicule, nor he [24] himself contempt. Then the king dragged him from his couch, hurled him to the ground, and when he had fallen on his face, said: “Do you not see that you have done the same thing which a little while before you ridiculed in another?” And ordering that he should be put in prison, he broke up the banquet.

Polyperconti quidem postea custodito diu ignovit: in Callisthenen olim contumacia suspectum pervicacioris irae fuit. Cuius explendae matura ob- [p. 273] venit occasio. [2] Mos erat, ut supra dictum est, principibus Macedonum adultos liberos regibus tradere ad munia haud multum servilibus ministeriis abhorrentia. [3] Excubabant servatis noctium vicibus proximi foribus eius aedis, in qua rex adquiescebat. Per hos pelices introducebantur alio aditu, quam quem armati obsidebant. [4] Idem acceptos ab agasonibus equos, cum rex ascensurus esset, admovebant comitabanturque et venantem et in proeliis omnibus artibus studiorum liberalium exculi. [5] Praecipuus honor habebatur, quod licebat sedentibus vesci cum rege. Castigandi eos verberibus nullius potestas praeter ipsum erat. [6] Haec cohors velut seminarium ducum praefectorumque apud Macedonas fuit: hinc habuere posteriores reges, quorum stirpi post multas aetates Romani opes ademerunt. [7] Igitur Hermolaus, puer nobilis ex regia cohorte, cum aprum telo occupasset, quem rex ferire destinaverat, iussu eius verberibus adfectus est. Quam ignominiam aegre ferens deflare apud Sostratum coepit. [8] Ex eadem cohorte erat Sostratus, amore eius aniens: qui cum laceratum corpus, in quo deperibat, intueretur, forsitan olim ob aliam quoque causam regi infestus, iuvenem sua sponte iam motum data fide acceptaque perpulit, ut occidendi regem consilium secum iniret. [9] Nec puerili impetu rem executi sunt: quippe solleter legerunt, quos in societatem sceleris adsciscerent. Nicostratum, Antipatrum Asclepiodorumque et Philotan placuit adsumi: per hos adiecti sunt Anticles et Aphthonius et Epimenes. [10] Ceterum agenda rei haud sane facilis [p. 274] petebat via: opus erat eadem omnis coniuratos nocte excubare, ne ab expertibus consilii inpedirentur, forte autem alius alia nocte excubabat. [11] Itaque in permutandis stationum vicibus ceteroque apparatu exequendae rei XXX et duo dies absumpti sunt. [12] Aderat nox, qua coniurati excubare debebant, mutua fide laeti, cuius documentum tot dies fuerant. Neminem metus spesve mutaverat: tanta omnibus vel in regem ira vel fides inter ipsos fuit. [13] Stabant igitur ad fores aedis eius, in qua rex vescebat, [14] ut convivio egressum in cubiculum deducerent. Sed fortuna ipsius simulque epulantium comitas provexit omnes ad largius vinum: ludi etiam convivales extraxere tempus nunc laetantibus coniuratis, quod sopitum adgressuri essent, nunc sollicitis, ne in lucem convivium extraheret. [15] Quippe alios in stationem oportebat prima luce succedere ipsorum post septimum diem reditura vice,

nec sperare poterant in illud tempus omnibus duraturam fidem. [16] Ceterum cum iam lux adpeteret, et convivium solvitur et coniurati exceperunt regem laeti occasionem exequendi sceleris admotam: cum mulier attonitae, ut creditum est, mentis conversari in regia solita, quia instinctu videbatur futura praedicere, non occurrit modo abeunti, sed etiam semet obiecit vultuque et oculis motum praeferens animi, ut rediret in convivium, monuit. [17] Et ille per a ludum, bene deos suadere, respondit revocatisque amicis in horam diei ferme secundam convivii tempus extraxit. [18] Iam alii ex cohorte in stationem successerant ante cubiculi fores excubaturi, adhuc tamen coniurati stabant vice officii sui expleta: [19] adeo pertinax spes est, quam humanae mentes devoraverunt. Rex benignius [p. 275] quam alias adlocutus discedere eos ad curanda corpora, quoniam tota nocte perstitissent, iubet. Data singulis L sestertia, conlaudatque, quod etiam aliis tradita vice tamen excubare perseverassent. [20] Illi tanta spe destituti domos abeunt. Et ceteri quidem expectabant stationis suae noctem: Epimenes sive comitate regis, qua ipsum inter coniuratos exceperat, repente mutatus, sive quia coeptis deos ob stare credebatur, fratri suo Eurylocho, quem antea expertem esse consilii voluerat, quid pararetur, aperit. [21] Omnibus Philotae supplicium in oculis erat: itaque protinus inicit fratri manum et in regiam pervenit excitatisque custodibus corporis ad salutem regis pertinere, quae adferret, adfirmat. [22] Et tempus, quo venerant, et vultus haud sane securi animi index et maestitia e duobus alterius Ptolomaeum ac Leonnatum excubantes ad cubiculi limen excitaverunt. Itaque apertis foribus et lumine inlato sopitum mero ac somno excitant regem. Ille paulatim mente collecta, quid adferrent, interrogat. [23] Nec cunctatus Eurylochus non ex toto domum suam aversari deos dixit, quia frater ipsius, quam quam impium facinus ausus foret, tamen et paenitentiam eius ageret et per se potissimum profiteretur indicium: in eam ipsam noctem, quae decederet, insidias comparatas fuisse, auctores scelesti consilii esse, quos minime crederet rex. [24] Tum Epimenes cuncta ordine consciorumque nomina exponit. Callisthenen non ut participem facinoris nominatum esse constabat, sed solitum puerorum sermonibus [p. 276] vituperantium criminantiumque regem faciles aures praebere. [25] Quidam adiciunt, cum Hermolaus apud eum quoque verberatum se a rege quereretur, dixisse Callisthenen, meminisse debere eos iam viros esse: idque ad consolandam patientiam verberum an ad incitandum iuvenum dolorem dictum esset, in ambiguo fuisse. [26] Rex animi corporisque sopore discusso, cum tanti periculi, quo evaserat, imago oculis oberraret, Eurylochum L. talentis et cuiusdam Tiridatis opulenti bonis protinus donat fratremque, [27] antequam pro salute eius precaretur, restituit, sceleris autem auctores interque eos Callisthenen vinctos adservari iubet. Quibus in regiam adductis toto die et nocte proxima mero ac vigiliis gratis adquievit. [28] Postero autem frequens consilium adhibuit, cui patres propinquire eorum, de quibus agebatur, intererant, ne de sua quidem salute securi: quippe Macedonum more perire debebant omnium devotis capitibus, [29] qui sanguine contigissent reos. Rex introduci coniuratos praeter Callisthenen iussit: [30] atque, quae

agitaverant, sine cunctatione confessi sunt. Increpantibus deinde universis eos ipse rex. quo suo merito tantum in semet cogitassent facinus, interrogat.

VI. Polypercon, indeed, he pardoned after he had been held in custody for a long time; against Callisthenes, who had formerly been suspected because of insubordination, his anger was more persistent. For [2] satisfying this an opportunity soon arose. It was the custom, as was said before, for the leading men of the Macedonians to entrust their sons to the king on their coming of age for duties not very different from [3] the services of slaves. They kept watch at night in turn close to the doors of the room in which the king slept. By these youths concubines were brought in by a different entrance from that before which the [4] armed guards were posted. They also received the horses from the grooms, brought them to the reigning king when he was about to mount, and accompanied him in the chase and in battle, besides being thoroughly trained in all the accomplishments of [5] liberal studies. The special honour was paid them of being allowed to sit at table with the king. No one had the power of chastising them by flogging [6] except the king himself. This troupe among the Macedonians was a kind of training-school for generals and governors of provinces; from these also their posterity had the kings from whose stock after many ages the Romans took away all power.

[7] So then, Hermolaus, a high-born boy belonging to this royal band, because he had been first to attack a wild boar which the king had intended to strike, by his order was punished by scourging. Being indignant at this disgrace, he began to complain about it to Sostratus. Sostratus was a member of the same troupe and an ardent lover of Hermolaiis; when he saw the lacerated body of which he was enamoured, perhaps being already angered with the king for some other reason also, he induced Hermolaiis, who was already incensed on his own account, to give and receive a pledge to join with him in forming [9] a plot to kill the king. And they did not execute the plan with youthful impetuosity; for they chose with care those whom they would admit as associates in the intended crime. They decided to include Nicostratus, Antipater, Asclepiodorus and Philotas; through these there were added Anticles and Aphthnius and Epimenes. But for carrying out the plan no easy road at all lay open; for it was necessary that all the conspirators should be on guard the same night, in order not to be interfered with by those who were not in the plot, but it happened that they [11] were on watch on different nights. Therefore in changing the order of guard-duty, and in other preparations for carrying out their design, thirty-two days were spent.

[12] The night had come on which the conspirators were due to be on guard, rejoicing in their common fidelity, of which the lapse of so many days had been a proof. Not one had hope or fear changed; so great among all was either their anger against the king or their [13] loyalty to one another. They were standing, then, at the door of the room in which the king was dining, in order

to escort him to his bedchamber when he ^[14] had left the table. But his own good fortune, as well as the good company of the diners, led all to be lavish with their wine; games at the banquet also extended the time, while the conspirators now rejoiced because they would attack him when sleepy, and now were anxious lest he should prolong the feast ^[15] until daylight. For others were due to take their places as guards at dawn, and their turn would not come again until after seven days, and they could not hope that the fidelity of all would endure until ^[16] that time. But when daylight was already at hand, the banquet came to an end and the conspirators received the king, rejoicing that the opportunity was offered for committing their crime, when a woman, of unsound mind, as it was thought, who was accustomed to haunt the royal quarters because she seemed by inspiration to foretell the future, not only met the king as he came out, but put herself in his way, and showing disturbance of mind in her face and eyes, warned him to return to the banquet.

^[17] He jestingly replied that the gods gave good advice, and recalling his friends, extended the time of the entertainment until nearly the second hour of the day.

^[18] Now the others of the troupe had taken over their posts, to watch before the door of the king's bedchamber, yet the conspirators remained there, although their turn of duty was completed; so persistent is a hope which human minds have eagerly ^[19] conceived. The king, addressing them more kindly than usual, bade them go and rest themselves, since they had stood watch all night. He gave each man fifty sestertia and praised them because even after their turn had passed to others they had continued ^[20] on guard. And they, deprived of their great hope, went to their homes. The others for their part waited for the night of their guard-duty; Epimenes, either because of the affability with which the king had received him along with the other conspirators, or because he believed that the gods opposed their design, had a sudden change of heart and disclosed the plan to his brother Eurylochus, whom before ^[21] he had wished to have no part in the plot. All had the torture of Philotas before their eyes, and so Eurylochus at once took his brother by the hand and came into the royal quarters, then having aroused the body-guard, he declared that what he had to say ^[22] concerned the king's life. Both the time at which he had come and the anxious expression of both brothers, betraying surely a troubled mind, as well as the sadness of one of them, alarmed Ptolemy and Leonnatus, who were on watch at the door of the king's bedchamber. Therefore opening the doors and bringing in a light, they awoke the king whom wine had buried in deep sleep. He gradually collected his thoughts and asked them what they had to ^[23] say. Without delay Eurylochus said that the gods had not entirely turned against their family, since his brother, although he had dared an impious crime, yet repented of it and through himself rather than anyone else would reveal it; that the conspiracy had been planned for that very night which was passing, the ringleaders of the

abominable design were those ^[24] whom the king would least suspect. Then Epimenes explained everything in order and gave the names of the participants. It is certain that Callisthenes was not named as taking part in the plot, but it was said that he was accustomed to lend ready ears to the boys when they abused the king and criticized ^[25] his conduct. Some add that when Hermolaus complained to him also that he had been flogged, Callisthenes had said that they ought to remember that they were now men; but whether that was said to console him for suffering lashes, or to excite the resentment of the youths, was uncertain.

The king, awakened in mind and body, when he pictured the great danger which he had escaped, at once gave Eurylochus fifty talents and the rich estate of a certain Tiridates and restored his brother to him ^[27] even before he begged for his life, but the authors of the crime, and among them Callisthenes, he ordered to be kept in fetters. When these had been brought into the royal quarters, since he was wearied by wine and loss of sleep he rested all day and the following ^[28] night. But on the next day he called a general assembly, at which the fathers and relatives of those concerned were present, who were not without anxiety even for their own lives, for according to the law of the Macedonians they were doomed to die, since the lives of all were forfeit who were related by ^[29] blood to the guilty parties. The king ordered the conspirators except Callisthenes to be brought in, and without hesitation they confessed what they had ^[30] planned. Then, when all cried out against them, the king himself asked what he had done to deserve the plotting of such a crime against him.

Stupentibus ceteris Hermolaus: ‘Nos vero,’ inquit, ‘quoniam, quasi nescias, quaeris, occidendi te consilium iniimus, quia non ut ingenuis imperare coepisti, ^[2] sed quasi in mancipia dominari.’ Primus ex omnibus pater ipsius Sopolis patricidam etiam parentis sui clamitans esse consurgit et ad os manu obiecta scelere et malis insanientem ^[p. 277] ultra negat audiendum. ^[3] Rex inhibito patre dicere Hermolaum iubet, quae ex magistro didicisset Callisthene. Et Hermolaus: ‘Utor,’ inquit, ‘beneficio tuo et dico, quae nostris malis didici. ^[4] Quota pars Macedonum saevitiae tuae superest? quotus quidem non e vilissimo sanguine? Attalus et Philotas et Parmenio et Lyncestes Alexander et Clitus, quantum ad hostes pertinet, vivunt, stant in acie et clipeis suis te protegunt et pro gloria tua, pro victoria vulnera excipiunt. ^[5] Quibus tu egregiam gratiam rettulisti: alius mensam tuam sanguine suo adpersit, alius ne simplici quidem morte defunctus est. Duces exercituum tuorum in eculeum inpositi Persis, quos vicerant, fuere spectaculo. Parmenio indicta causa trucidatus est, per quem Attalum occideras. ^[6] Invicem enim miserorum uteris manibus ad expetenda supplicia et, quos paulo ante ministros caedis habuisti, ^[7] subito ab aliis iubes trucidari.’ Obstrepunt subinde cuncti Hermolao, pater super eum strinxerat ferrum percussurus haud dubie, ni inhibitus esset a rege: quippe Hermolaum dicere iussit petiitque, ut

causas supplicii augentem patienter audirent. [8] Aegre ergo coercitis rursus Hermolaus: 'Quam liberaliter,' inquit, 'pueris rudibus ad dicendum agere permittis! at Callisthenis vox carcere inclusa est, quia solus potest [p. 278] [9] dicere. Cur enim non producitur, cum etiam confessi audiuntur? nempe quia liberam vocem innocentis audire metuis ac ne vultum quidem pateris. [10] Atqui nihil eum fecisse contendo. Sunt hic, qui mecum rem pulcherrimam cogitaverunt: nemo est, qui conscium fuisse nobis Callisthenen dicat, cum morti olim destinatus sit a iustissimo et patientissimo rege. [11] Haec ergo sunt Macedonum praemia, quorum ut supervacuo et sordido abuteris sanguine! At tibi XXX milia mulorum captivum aurum vehunt, cum milites nihil domum praeter gratuitas cicatrices relaturi sint. Quae tamen omnia tolerare potuimus, antequam nos barbaris dederes et novo more victores sub iugum mitteres. [12] Persarum te vestis et disciplina delectant, patrios mores exosus es. [13] Persarum ergo, non Macedonum regem occidere voluimus et te transfugam belli iure persequimur. Tu Macedonas voluisti genua tibi ponere venerarique te ut deum, tu Philippum patrem aversaris et, si quis deorum ante Iovem haberetur, fastidires etiam Iovem. [14] Miraris, si liberi homines superbiam tuam ferre non possumus? Quid speramus ex te, quibus aut insontibus moriendum est aut, quod tristius morte est, in Servitute vivendum? [15] Tu quidem, si emendari potes, multum mihi debes. Ex me enim scire coepisti, quid ingenui homines ferre non possint. De cetero propinquorum orbam senectutem suppliciis ne oneraveris: nos iube duci ut, quod [p. 279] ex tua morte petieramus, consequamur ex nostra.' Haec Hermolaus.

VII. The rest were struck dumb, but Hermolaus said: "We verily, since you ask as if you did not know, made a plot to kill you because you have begun, not to rule us as free men, but to lord it over us as if [2] we were slaves." First of all his own father Sopolis, crying out that he was also the murderer of his parent, arose and putting his hand over his son's mouth, declared that one who was crazed by his crime and his misfortunes ought not to have a further hearing.

[3] But the king, silencing the father, ordered Hermolaiis to tell what he had learned from his master Callisthenes, and Hermolaiis said: "I take advantage of your favour and tell you what I have learned from [4] our own calamities. How small a part of the Macedonians survive your cruelty; how few too of the noblest blood? Attalus and Philotas and Parmenion and Lyncestes Alexander and Clitus, so far as our enemies are concerned still live, they stand firm in battle and protect you with their bucklers, and for your glory, for your victory they suffer wounds.

[5] These you have magnificently requited; one stained your table with his blood, another died not even a simple death. The leaders of your armies, stretched upon the rack, furnished entertainment to the Persians, whom they had conquered. Parmenion was butchered without a trial, the man through

whom you ^[6] had slain Attalus. For in turn you use the hands of the wretched to inflict death, and those who shortly before served as the tools of your murders you suddenly order to be butchered by others.”

[7] Thereupon all cried out at Hermolaiis, his father had drawn his sword against him and beyond doubt would have slain him if he had not been prevented by the king; for indeed he ordered Hermolaiis to continue, and asked that they should hear with patience one who was adding to the reasons for his punishment.

[8] Therefore, when they had been with difficulty restrained, Hermolaiis went on: “How generously,” said he, “do you permit boys inexperienced in speaking to plead! But the voice of Callisthenes is shut up ^[9] in a dungeon, because he alone is able to speak. For why is not he brought before you, when even those who have confessed are heard? No doubt because you fear to hear the free words of an innocent man, ^[10] and cannot even endure his look. And yet I insist that he is guilty of nothing. They are here who with me planned a glorious deed; there is none who says that Callisthenes was implicated with us, although he has been marked out for death by the most just Hand long-suffering of kings. These, then, are the rewards of the Macedonians, whose blood you use up as if it were superabundant and mean. But for you 30,000 mules carry captured gold, while your soldiers will bring home nothing save scars got without reward.

“Yet we could have endured all these things until you delivered us to the barbarians and by a novel fashion made the victors pass under the yoke. It is the Persians’ garb and habits that delight you; you have come to loathe the customs of your native land. Therefore it was the king of the Persians, not of the Macedonians, that we wished to kill, and by the law ^[13] of war we justly pursue you as a deserter. You wished the Macedonians to bow the knee to you and to venerate you as a god, you reject Philip as a father, and if any of the gods were regarded as greater ^[14] than Jupiter, you would disdain even Jupiter. Do you wonder if we, who are free men, cannot endure your haughtiness? What do we hope for from you, since we must either die when innocent, or, what is more ^[15] dismal than death, must live in slavery? — You truly, if you can have a change of heart, owe much to me. For from me you have begun to know what honourable men cannot endure. For the rest, do not load with punishment the bereaved old age of our near of kin. Order us to be led to execution, so that we may accomplish by our death what we had sought from yours.” Thus spoke Hermolaus.

At rex: ‘Quam falsa sint,’ inquit, ‘quae iste tradita a magistro suo dixit, ^[2] patientia mea ostendit. Confessum enim ultimum facinus tamen non solum ipse audiui, sed ut vos audiretis, expressi, non imprudens, cum permissem latroni huic dicere, usurum eum rabie, qua compulsus est, ut me, quem parentis loco colere deberet, vellet occidere. ^[3] Nuper cum procacius se in venatione

gessisset, more patrio et ab antiquissimis Macedoniae regum usurpato castigari eum iussi. Hoc et oportet fieri et ferunt a tutoribus pupilli, a maritis uxores: servis quoque pueros huius aetatis verberare concedimus. [4] Haec est saevitia in ipsum mea, quam in pia caede voluit ulcisci. Nam in ceteros, qui mihi permittunt uti ingenio meo, quam mitis sim, non ignaris commemorare supervacuum est. [5] Hermolao parricidarum supplicia non probari, cum eadem ipse meruerit, minime, hercule, admiror. Nam cum Parmenionem et Philotan laudat, suae servit causae. [6] Lyncestem vero Alexandrum quamvis insidiatum capiti meo a duobus indicibus litterisque suis convictum per triennium tamen distuli, donec vos postularetis, ut tandem debito supplicio scelus lueret. [7] Attalum, antequam rex essem, hostem meo capiti fuisse meministis. Clitus [p. 280] utinam non coegisset me sibi irasci! cuius temerariam linguam probra dicentis mihi et vobis diutius tuli, quam ille eadem me dicentem tulisset. [8] Regum ducumque clementia non in ipsorum modo, sed etiam in illorum, qui parent, ingeniis sita est. Obsequio mitigantur imperia: ubi vero reverentia excessit animis et summa imis confunduntur, vi opus est, ut vim repellamus. [9] Sed quid ego mirer istum crudelitatem mihi obiecisse, qui avaritiam exprobrare ausus sit? Nolo singulos vestrum excitare, ne invisam mihi liberalitatem meam faciam, si pudori vestro gravem fecero. Totum exercitum adspicite: qui paulo ante nihil praeter arma habebat, nunc argenteis cubat lectis, mensas auro onerant, servorum greges ducunt, spolia de hostibus sustinere non possunt. [10] At enim Persae, quos vicimus, in magno honore sunt apud me! Mihi quidem moderationis meae certissimum indicium est, quod ne victis quidem superbe impero. Veni enim in Asiam, non ut funditus everterem gentes nec ut dimidiam partem terrarum solitudinem facerem, [11] sed ut illos, quos bello subegissem, victoriae meae non paeniteret. Itaque militant vobiscum, pro imperio vestro sanguinem fundunt, qui superbe habiti rebellassent. Non est diuturna possessio, in quam gladio inducimur: beneficiorum gratia sempiterna est. [12] Si habere Asiam, non transire volumus, cum his communicanda est nostra clementia: horum fides [p. 281] stabile et aeternum faciet imperium. Et sane plus habemus, quam capimus. Insatiabilis autem avaritiae est adhuc implere velle, quod iam circumfluit. [13] Morem tamen eorum in Macedonas transfundo! In multis enim gentibus esse video, quae non erubescamus imitari: nec aliter tantum imperium apte regi potest, quam ut quaedam et tradamus illis et ab isdem discamus. [14] Illud paene dignum risu fuit, quod Hermolaus postulabat a me, ut aversarer Iovem, cuius oraculo adgnoscor. [15] An etiam, quid di respondeant, in mea potestate est? Obtulit nomen filii mihi: recipere ipsis rebus, quas agimus, haud alienum fuit. Utinam Indi quoque deum esse me credant! Fama enim bella constant, et saepe etiam, quod falso creditum est, veri vicem obtinuit. [16] An me luxuriae indulgentem putatis arma vestra auro argentoque adornasse? Adsuetis nihil vilius hac videre materia volui ostendere, Macedonas invictos ceteris ne auro quidem vinci. [17] Oculos ergo primum eorum sordida omnia et humilia despectantium capiam et docebo nos non auri aut argenti cupidos, sed orbem

terrarum subacturos venire. Quam gloriam tu, parricida, intercipere voluisti et Macedonas rege adempto devictis gentibus dedere. [18] At nunc mones me, ut vestris parentibus parcam! Non oportebat quidem vos scire, as quid de his statuisssem, quo tristiores periretis, si qua vobis parentum memoria et cura est: sed olim istum morem occidendi cum scelestis insontes propinquos [p. 282] parentesque solvi et profiteor in eodem honore futuros omnes eos, in quo fuerunt. [19] Nam tuum Callisthenen, cui uni vir videris, quia latro es, scio, cur produci velis: ut coram his probra, quae in me modo iecisti, modo audisti, illius quoque ore referantur. Quem, si Macedo esset, tecum introduxissem, dignissimum te discipulo magistrum: [20] nunc Olynthio non idem iuris est.' Post haec consilium dimisit tradique damnatos hominibus, qui ex eadem cohorte erant, iussit. Illi, [21] ut fidem suam saevitia regi adprobarent, excruciatos necaverunt. Callisthenes quoque tortus interiit, initi consilii in caput regis innoxius, sed haudquaquam aulae et adsentantium accommodatus ingenio. [22] Itaque nullius caedes maiorem apud Graecos Alexandro excitavit invidiam, quod praeditum optimis moribus artibusque, a quo revocatus ad vitam erat, cum interfecto Clito mori perseveraret, non tantum occiderit, sed etiam torserit indicta quidem causa. [23] Quam crudelitatem sera paenitentia consecuta est.

VIII. But the king replied: "My patience shows how false is what that wretch has said, taught by his master. For although he has pleaded guilty to the worst of crimes, I have not only heard him, but I have compelled you to hear him, knowing well that when I allowed this brigand to speak he would show the same madness by which he was driven to wish to kill me, [3] whom he ought to have honoured as a father. Lately when he conducted himself so insolently in the chase, I ordered him to be chastised according to the custom of our country, one which was practised by the most ancient of the kings of Macedonia. This both ought to be done, and pupils endure it from their teachers, wives from their husbands; we allow [4] even slaves to flog boys of his age. This is my cruelty towards him, for which he wished to avenge himself by an impious murder. For towards the rest, who permit me to follow my natural disposition, how mild I am it is superfluous to say to those who are not unaware of it.

[5] "That Hermolaus does not approve the punishments of traitors, since he himself has deserved the same treatment, by Heaven! I am not at all surprised. For when he praises Philotas and Parmenion, [6] he is helping his own cause. As for Lyncestes Alexander, although he was convicted by two witnesses and by his own letter of having plotted against my life, I put off his punishment for three years, until you demanded that at last he should atone for his crime by the penalty which he had deserved.

[7] Attalus, before I became king you remember to have been an enemy to my life. As for Clitus, would that he had not forced me to be angry with him! I

endured his rash tongue, as he abused you and me, longer than he would have put up with me if I had [8] said the same things. The clemency of kings and leaders depends not only upon their own dispositions, but also upon those of their subjects. Commands are made mild by obedience, but when men's minds have lost reverence and no distinction is observed between the highest and the lowest, force is needed to resist [9] force. But why should I wonder that that fellow has charged me with cruelty when he has dared to reproach me with avarice? I am unwilling to call you up one by one, for fear of making my generosity odious to me, if I make it offensive to your modesty. Just look at our whole army; those who before had nothing except their arms now sleep on silver couches, load their tables with gold, possess troupes of slaves, and cannot carry the weight of the spoils taken from the enemy!

[10] "But, he says, the Persians, whom we have conquered, are in high honour with me! In my opinion at least, the surest indication of my moderation is that I do not rule even the vanquished tyrannically. For I came into Asia, not in order to overthrow nations and make a desert of a half part of the world, but in order that those whom I had subdued in war [11] might not regret my victory. Therefore those are serving in the army with you and are shedding blood in defence of your empire, who, if they had been treated tyrannically would have rebelled. That possession is not lasting of which we are made owners by the sword; the gratitude for acts of [12] kindness is everlasting. If we wish to hold Asia, not merely to pass through it, our clemency must be shared with its people; their faith in us will make a stable and lasting empire. And it is certainly true that we have more than we can carry. But it is the way of insatiable avarice to wish to fill still fuller a [13] vessel which is already overflowing. Yet I am accused of transferring the customs of the vanquished to the Macedonians! True, for I see in many nations things which we should not blush to imitate; and so great an empire cannot fitly be ruled without contributing some things to the vanquished and learning from them.

"That was almost enough to make one laugh, when Hermolaus demanded of me that I should oppose Jupiter by whose oracle I am recognized as his son. Have I control even of the responses of the gods? He offered me the title of son; to accept it was not unfavourable to the very plans in which we are engaged. Would that the people of India may believe me to be a god. For wars depend upon reputation, and often even what has been falsely [16] believed has gained the place of truth. Do you think it was to gratify my luxury that I adorned your arms with gold and silver? I wished to show to those who are accustomed to nothing cheaper than those metals that the Macedonians, who are invincible in other things, cannot be outdone even in gold.

[17] Therefore I will first of all captivate the eyes of those who despise everything that is usual and humble and will show them that we are coming, not because we are desirous of gold and silver, but to subdue the whole world.

It is this glory, parricide that you are, that you wished to interrupt and to deliver the Macedonians to the conquered nations by killing their king! [18]

“But now you urge me to spare your relatives! You all certainly ought not to have known what I had resolved to do about them, in order that you might die with greater grief, if you have any memory and regard for your near of kin; but I long ago abandoned that custom to which you refer, of killing the innocent kinsmen and relatives along with the guilty parties, and I guarantee that they will all hold the same rank that they had before. Now as [19] to your Callisthenes, to whom alone you seem to be a man because you are an assassin, I know why you wish him to be given audience; it is that in the presence of this company those reproaches which you have sometimes hurled at me and sometimes heard may be repeated from his lips. If he were a Macedonian, I should have presented him along with you, a master most worthy of such a pupil; as it is, being an Olynthian, he has not the same privilege.” [20] After these words he dismissed the assembly, and ordered those who had been condemned to be handed over to the men who belonged to the same cohort. They put them to death with torments, in order by [21] cruelty to show their loyalty to the king. Callisthenes also expired in torture, although he was guiltless of forming any design against the king’s life; but he was by no means suited to a court and to the character [22] of flatterers. Therefore there was no one whose death roused greater hatred of the king among the Greeks, because he had not only put to death a man endowed with noble character and accomplishments, one who had called him back to life when he had resolved to die after the death of Clitus, but had [23] even tortured him, and that without a trial. This act of cruelty, when it was too late, was followed by repentance.

Sed ne otium serendis rumoribus natum aleret, in Indiam movit, semper bello quam post victoriam clarior. [2] India tota ferme spectat orientem, minus in latitudinem, [3] quam recta regione spatiosa. Quae austrum accipiunt, in altius terrae fastigium excedunt: plana [p. 283] sunt cetera multisque inclitis amnibus Caucaso monte ortis placidum per campos iter praebent. [4] Indus gelidior est quam ceteri: aquas vehit a colore maris haud multum abhorrentes. [5] Ganges, omnium ab Oriente fluvius maximus, ad meridianas regionem decurrit et magnorum montium iuga recto alveo stringit: inde eum obiectae rupes inclinant ad orientem. [6] Uterque Rubro mari accipitur. Indus ripas multasque arbores cum magna soli parte exorbet, saxis quoque ineditus, quis crebro reverberatur: [7] ubi mollius solum repperit, stagnat insulasque molitur. [8] Acesines eum auget. Ganges decursurum Iomanen intercipit, magnoque motu amnis uterque colliditur: quippe Ganges asperum os influenti obicit, nec repercussae aquae cedunt. [9] Diardines minus celebris auditu est, quia per ultima Indiae currit: ceterum non crocodillos modo, uti Nilus, sed etiam delphinos ignotasque aliis gentibus beluas alit. [10] Ethymantus crebris flexibus subinde curvatus ab accolis rigantibus campos carpitur: ea causa est, cur

tenuēs Reliquias iam sine nomine in mare emittat. [11] Multis [p. 284] praeter hos
amnis tota regio dividitur, sed ignobilibus, [12] quia non adita interfluunt.
Ceterum quae propiora sunt mari, aquilone maxime deurrunt: is cohibitus
iugis montium ad interiora non penetrat, ita alendis frugibus mitia. [13] Sed
adeo in illa plaga mundus stas temporum vices mutat, ut, cum alia fervore
solis exaestuant, Indiam nives obruant, rursusque, ubi cetera rigent, illic
intolerandus aestus existat. [14] Nec, cur verterit se natura, causa. Mare certe,
quo adluitur, ne colore quidem abhorret a ceteris. Ab Erythro rege inditum est
nomen: propter quod ignari rubere aquas credunt. Terra lini ferax: [15] inde
plerisque sunt vestes. Libri arborum teneri haud secus quam chartae litterarum
notas capiunt. [16] Aves ad imitandum humanae vocis sonum dociles sunt.
Animalia invisitata ceteris gentibus nisi invecta. Eadem terra rhinocerotas aliis
ignotos generat. [17] Elephantorum maior est vis quam, quos in Africa
domitant, et viribus magnitudo respondet. [18] Aurum flumina vehunt, quae leni
modicoque lapsu segnes aquas ducunt. [19] Gemmas margaritasque mare
litoribus infundit: neque alia illis maior opulentiae causa est, utique postquam
vitiis commercium vulgare in exteras gentes. Quippe aestimantur
purgamenta exaestuantis freti pretio, quod libido constituit. [20] Ingenia
hominum, sicut ubique, apud [p. 285] illos locorum quoque situs format. [21]
Corpora usque pedes carbaso velant, soleis pedes, capita linteis vinciunt,
lapilli ex auribus pendent: brachia quoque et lacertos auro colunt, quibus inter
populares aut nobilitas aut opes eminent. [22] Capillum pectunt saepius quam
tondent: men tum semper intonsum est, reliquam oris cutem ad speciem
levitatis exaequant. [23] Regum tamen luxuria, quam ipsi magnificentiam
appellant, super omnium gentium vitia. Cum rex semet in publico conspici
patitur, turibula argentea ministri ferunt totumque iter, per quod ferri
destinavit, odoribus complent. [24] Aurea lectica margaritis circumpendentibus
recubat: distincta sunt auro et purpura carbasa, quae indutus est: lecticam
sequuntur armati corporisque custodes, [25] inter quos ramis aves pendent, quas
cantu seriis rebus obstrepere docuerunt. [26] Regia auratas columnas habet:
totas eas vitis auro caelata percurrit, aviumque, quarum visu maxime gaudent,
argenteae effigies opera distinguant. [27] Regia adeuntibus patet, cum capillum
pectit atque ornat: tunc responsa legationibus, tunc iura popularibus reddit.
Demptis soleis odoribus inlinuntur pedes. [28] Venatus maximus labor est
inclusa vivario animalia inter vota cantusque pelicum figere. Binum
cubitorum sagittae sunt, quas emittunt maiore nisu quam effectu: quippe
telum, cuius in levitate vis omnis est, inhabili pondere oneratur. [29] Bre- [p. 286]
viora itinera equo conficit: longior ubi expeditio est, elephantum vehunt currum,
et tantarum beluarum corpora tota contegunt auro. Ac, ne quid perditis
moribus desit, lecticis aureis pelicum longus ordo sequitur: separatim a
reginae ordine agmen est aequatque hixuriam. [30] Feminae epulas parant. Ab
isdem vinum ministratur, cuius omnibus Indis largus est usus. Regem mero
somnoque sopitum in cubiculum pelices referunt patrio carmine noctium
invocantes deos. [31] Quis credat inter haec vitia curam esse sapientiae? Unum

agreste et horridum genus est, quod sapientes vocant. Apud hos occupare fati diem pulchrum, et vivos se cremari iubent, [32] quibus aut segnis aetas aut incommoda validudo est: expectatam mortem pro dedecore vitae habent, nec ullus corporibus, quae senectus solvit, honos redditur: inquinari putant ignem, nisi qui spirantes recipit. [33] Illi, qui in urbibus publicis muneribus degunt, siderum motus scite spectare dicuntur et futura praedicere. [34] Nec quem quam admovere leti diem credunt, cui expectare interrito liceat. Deos putant, quidquid colere coeperunt, arbores maxime, quas violare capital est. [35] Menses in quinos denos discripserunt dies, [36] anni plena spatia servantur. Lunae cursu notant tempora, non, ut plerique, cum orbem sidus inplevit, sed cum se curvare coepit in cornua, et idcirco breviores habent menses, quia spatium eorum ad hunc lunae [p. 287] modum dirigunt. [37] Multa et alia traduntur, quibus morari ordinem rerum haud sane operae videbatur.

IX. But in order not to foster idleness, which naturally sows gossip, he set out for India, being always more illustrious in war than after a victory.

[2] Almost all India looks towards the east, being less [3] extensive in width than in a straight line. The parts which receive the south wind rise to a higher level of ground; the rest of the country is flat and allows a quiet course through plains to many famous [4] rivers rising in Mount Caucasus. The Indus is colder than the rest; it carries waters which do not [5] differ much from the sea in colour. The Ganges, greatest of all the rivers of the Orient, flows towards the south and in a straight channel grazes the great [6] mountain ranges. Then rocks in its course deflect it towards the east. Both rivers flow into the Red Sea. The Indus carries away its banks along with many [7] trees and a great part of the soil, and is also checked by rocks, from which it often rebounds; where it finds a softer soil it is quiet, and forms islands. The [8] Acesines increases it. The Ganges intercepts the Iomanes in its downward course, and the two unite with a great commotion of their waters; for the Ganges opposes a rough mouth to the inflowing river and the waters which are hurled back do not yield.

[9] The Diardines is less frequently heard of, because it runs through the remotest part of India, but it breeds not only crocodiles, as does the Nile, but also dolphins [10] and sea beasts unknown to other nations. The Ethymantus, curved from time to time into many windings, is made use of by the neighbouring peoples for irrigating their fields; that is why it sends out scanty remains of its waters, now without a name, [11] into the sea. The whole region is cut up by many rivers besides these, but they are unknown to fame, because they flow through regions unapproached as yet by us.

But the parts which are nearer the sea are greatly parched by the north wind; this is checked by the mountain ranges and does not penetrate into the interior, which in consequence is mild for bearing [13] fruits. But in that quarter the earth so varies the established order of the seasons that when other places are

burning with the heat of the sun, snows bury India, and on the other hand, when other places are stiff with frost, intolerable heat prevails there. Nor is there any reason why Nature should have changed her^[14] course. Certainly the sea by which India is washed does not differ even in colour from other seas. Its name was given it from King Erythrus; for which reason the ignorant believe that its waters are red.

[15] The land is rich in flax; most of the inhabitants have their garments made of it. The bark of the trees is tender and can receive writing just as papyrus^[16] does. There are birds which can be taught to imitate the sound of the human voice. The animals are unknown to other nations, except such as are imported from that country. The same land produces rhinoceroses, which are unknown to other peoples. The strength of its elephants is greater than those which men tame in Africa, and their size corresponds^[18] to their strength. The rivers which flow sluggishly^[19] in a mild and moderate course carry gold. The sea casts upon its shores gems and pearls; and they have no greater source of wealth, especially since they have made their vices common among foreign nations.

Indeed this refuse of the surging sea is valued at the price which desire sets upon it.”

There as, everywhere, so also with them, the situation country affects the character of the men. They veil their bodies in linen robes as far as the feet, clothe their feet in sandals, bind their heads in linen, and precious stones hang from their ears; those who eminent among the people for high birth or are adorn their wrists also and arms with gold. They comb their hair more frequently than they shear it; the chin is always unshorn, the rest of the skin of the face they shave close, so that it appears smooth. Nevertheless the luxury of their kings, which they themselves call magnificence surpasses the vices of all other nations. When the king allows himself to be seen in public, his attendants carry before him silver pans of incense, and fill with perfumes the whole road over which he has decided to be^[24] borne. He reclines in a golden litter adorned with pearls hanging on every side; the linen robe which he wears is embroidered with gold and purple, his litter is followed by armed men and by his body-guard,^[25] among whom on branches of trees birds perch, which they have trained by song to divert him from^[26] serious affairs. His palace has gilded columns; over all of these runs a vine carved in gold, and silver figures of birds, in the sight of which they take the greatest pleasure, adorn the structure.

[27] The palace is open to all comers, when the king is having his hair combed and adorned; it is then that he gives replies to deputations, then that he administers justice to his countrymen. When his sandals are taken off, his feet are bathed in perfumes.

[28] His favourite exercise is the chase, which consists in shooting with arrows animals shut up in a preserve amid the prayers and songs of his concubines. The arrows are two cubits in length, and they discharge them with more effort than effect; for a weapon whose whole power depends upon lightness is burdened by its unsuitable weight. Shorter journeys he makes on horseback; when he undertakes a longer expedition, he rides in a chariot drawn by elephants, and the entire bodies of such huge brutes are covered with gold. Also, that nothing may be lacking in his abandoned habits, a long line of concubines follows in golden litters; this train is separated from that of the queen, but equals it in luxury.

[30] Women prepare his food. They also serve his wine, the use of which is lavish with all the Indian peoples. When the king is overcome by wine and drowsiness, concubines take him to his chamber, invoking the gods of the night in a song, after the custom of the country.

[31] Who would believe that amid such vices there would be regard for philosophy? There is one rude [32] and hideous class which they call sages. These consider it glorious to anticipate the day of fate and those whose life is feeble or whose health is impaired give orders to be burned alive; to wait for death they regard as a disgrace to life, and no honour is paid to the bodies of those who die of old age; they believe that the fire is sullied unless it receives [33] them while still breathing. Those who pass their lives in public services in the city are said skilfully to study the courses of the stars and to predict future events. And they believe that no one hastens the day of death who can wait for it unterrified. They [34] regard as gods whatever they have begun to care for, especially trees, the violation of which is a capital offence. They have divided the months into periods [35] of fifteen days, but the full duration of the year is observed. They reckon time by the course of the moon, not, as most do, when it has filled its orb, but when it has begun to curve into horns, and therefore they have shorter months, because they reckon their duration according to that phase of the moon. Also many other things are related, for which it did not seem to be worth while to delay the course of our history.

Igitur Alexandro finis Indiae ingresso gentium finitimarum reguli occurrerunt imperata facturi, illum tertium Iove genitum ad ipsos pervenisse memorantes: Patrem Liberum atque Herculem fama cognitos esse, ipsum coram adesse cernique. [2] Rex benigne exceptos sequi iussit isdem itinerum ducibus usus. Ceterum cum amplius nemo occurreret, Hephaestionem et Perdiccan cum copiarum parte praemisit ad subigendos, qui aversarentur imperium, iussitque ad flumen Indum procedere et nagivia facere, quis in ulteriora transportari posset exercitus. [3] Illi, quia plura flumina superanda erant, sic iunxere naves, ut solutae plaustris vehi possent rursusque coniungi. [4] Ipse Cratero cum phalange iusso sequi equitatum ac levem armaturam eduxit eosque, qui occurrerunt, levi proelio in urbem proximam compulit. [5] Iam supervenerat

Craterus: itaque, ut principio terrorem incuteret genti nondum arma Macedonum expertae, praecipit, ne cui parceretur, munimentis urbis, quam obsidebat, incensis. [6] Ceterum, dum obequitat moenibus, sagitta ictus. Cepit tamen oppidum, et omnibus incolis eius trucidatis etiam in tecta saevitum est. [7] Inde domita ignobili gente ad Nysam urbem pervenit. Forte castris ante ipsa moenia in silvestri loco positus nocturnum frigus vehementius quam alias [p. 288] horrore corpora adfecit, opportunumque remedium ignis oblatum est. [8] Caesis quippe silvis flammam excitaverunt, quae lignis alita oppidanorum sepulcra comprehendit. Vetusta cedro erant facta conceptumque ignem late fudere, donec omnia solo aequata sunt. [9] Et ex urbe primum canum latratus, deinde etiam hominum fremitus auditus est. Tunc et oppidani hostem et Macedones ad urbem ipsos venisse cognoscunt. [10] Iamque rex eduxerat copias et moenia obsidebat, cum hostium, qui discrimen temptaverant, obruti telis sunt Aliis ergo deditionem, aliis pugnam experiri placebat. Quorum dubitatione conperta circumsederi tantum eos et abstineri caedibus iussit: tandemque obsidionis malis fatigati dedidit se. [11] A Libero Patre conditos se esse dicebant: [12] et vera haec origo erat. Sita est urbs sub radicibus montis, quem Meron incolae appellant: inde Graeci mentiendi traxere licentiam, Iovis femine Liberum Patrem esse celatum. [13] Rex situ montis cognito ex incolis cum toto exercitu praemissis commeatibus verticem eius ascendit Multa hedera vitisque toto gignitur monte, multae perennes aquae manant. [14] Pomorum quoque varii salubresque suci sunt sua sponte fortuitorum germinum fruges humo nutriente. Lauri buxique et myrti in illis rupibus agrestis est silva. [15] Credo equidem non divino instinctu, sed lascivia esse provectos, ut passim hederæ ac vitium folia [p. 289] decerperent redimitique fronde toto nemore similes bacchantibus vagarentur. [16] Vocibus ergo tot milium praesidem nemoris eius deum adorantium iuga montis vallesque resonabant, cum orta licentia a paucis, ut fere fit, in omnes se repente vulgasset. [17] Quippe velut in media pace per herbas adgestamque frondem prostravere corpora. Et rex fortuitam laetitiam non aversatus large ad epulas omnibus praebeitis per X dies Libero Patri operatum habuit exercitum. [18] Quis neget eximiam quoque gloriam saepius fortunae quam virtutis esse beneficium? Quippe ne epulantes quidem et sopitos mero adgredi ausus est hostis haud secus bacchantium ululantiumque fremitu perterritus, quam si proeliantium clamor esset auditus. Eadem felicitas ab Oceano revertentes temulentos comissantesque inter ora hostium texit. [19] Hinc ad regionem, quae Daedala vocatur, perventum est. Deseruerant incolae sedes et in avios silvestresque montes confugerant. Ergo Acadira transit aequae vasta et destituta incolentium fuga. [20] Itaque rationem belli necessitas mutavit. Divisis enim copiis pluribus simul locis arma ostendit, oppressique, ubi non expectaverant hostem, [21] omni clade perdomiti sunt. Ptolomaeus plurimas urbes, Alexander maximas cepit: rursusque, quas distribuerat, copias iunxit. [22] Superato deinde Choaspe amne Coenon in obsidione urbis [p. 290] opulentae — Beiram incolae vocant — reliquit, ipse ad Mazagas venit. Nuper Assacano, cuius regnum fuerat, demortuo regioni

urbique praeerat mater eius Cleopis. [23] XXXVIII milia peditum tuebantur urbem non situ solum, sed etiam opere munitam. Nam qua spectat orientem, cingitur amne torrenti, qui praeuptis utrimque ripis aditum ad urbem inpedit. [24] Ad occidentem ac meridiem veluti de industria rupes praealtas obmolita natura est, infra quas cavernae et voragines longa vetustate in altum cavatae iacent, [25] quaque desinunt, fossa ingentis operis obiecta est. XXXV stadium murus urbem complectitur, cuius ima saxo, superiora crudo latere sunt structa. Lateri vinculum lapides sunt, quos interposuere, ut duriori materiae fragilis incumberet, [26] simulque terra hutnore diluta. Ne tamen universa consideret, inpositae erant trabes validae, quibus iniecta tabulata muros et tegebant et pervios fecerant. [27] Haec munimenta contemplantem Alexandrum consiliiue incertum, quia nec cavernas nisi aggere poterat implere nec tormenta aliter muris admovere, [28] quidam e muro sagitta percussit: et forte in suram incidit telum. Cuius spiculo evolso admoveri equum iussit, quo vectus ne obligato quidem vulnere haud segnius destinata exequebatur. [29] Ceterum cum crus saucium penderet, et cruore siccato frigescens vulnus adgravaret dolorem, dixisse fertur se quidem Iovis filium dici, sed corporis aegri vitia sentire. [30] Non tamen ante se recepit in castra, quam cuncta perspexit et, quae fieri vellet, [p. 291] edixit. Ergo, sicut imperatum erat, alii extra urbem tecta demoliebantur ingentemque vim materiae faciendo aggeri detrahebant, alii magnarum arborum stipites cum ramis ac moles saxorum in cavernas deiciebant. [31] Iamque agger aequaverat summae fastigium terrae: itaque turres erigebantur, quae opera ingenti militum ardore intra nonum diem absoluta sunt. Ad ea visenda rex nondum obducta vulnere cicatrice processit laudatisque militibus admoveri machinas iussit, e quibus ingens vis telorum in propugnatores effusa est. [32] Praecipue rudes talium operum terrebant mobiles turres, tantasque moles nulla ope, quae cerneretur, adiutas deorum numine agi credebant: pila quoque muralia et excussas tormentis praegraves hastas negabant convenire mortalibus. [33] Itaque desperata urbis tutela concessere in arcem. Inde, quia nihil obsessis praeter deditionem patebat, legati ad regem descenderunt veniam petitori. [34] Qua inpetrata regina venit cum magno nobilium feminarum grege aureis pateris vina libantium. [35] Ipsa genibus regis parvo filio admoto non veniam modo, sed etiam pristinae fortunae inpetravit decus: quippe appellata regina est. Et credidere quidam plus formae quam miserationi datum: [36] puero quoque certe postea ex ea utcumque genito Alexandro fuit nomen.

X. So, then, when Alexander had entered the bounds of India, the petty kings of the neighbouring races met him intending to submit to him, saying that he was the third son of Jupiter who had arrived in their land; that Father Liber and Hercules were known to them only by repute, but that Alexander [2] was present among them and was seen. The king received them courteously and bade them follow him, intending to use them as guides for his routes. But when no one else presented himself, he sent on Hephaestion and Perdikkas' with a part of his forces to subdue those who rejected his rule, and ordered

them to proceed to the Indus River and make boats by which his army could be transported to places farther on. Those men, because several other rivers had to be crossed, joined ships together, but in such a way that they could be taken apart and carried on wagons and again joined together. He himself after having directed Craterus to follow with the phalanx led out the cavalry and the light-armed troops, and in a slight battle drove those who opposed him into the nearest city. And now Craterus had arrived; and so, in order in the beginning to strike with terror a nation which had not yet experienced the arms of the Macedonians, the king ordered him to spare no one, having set fire to the ^[6] fortifications of the city which he was besieging. But while Alexander was riding up to the walls he was struck by an arrow. Nevertheless he took the town, and having butchered all its inhabitants, even vented his anger on its buildings.

^[7] Next, after subduing this unknown people, he came to the city of Nysa. It chanced that when he had pitched a camp before the very walls in a wooded place, a coldness severer than they had experienced at any other time chilled their bodies, and fire offered ^[8] a convenient remedy. Therefore they cut down trees and raised a flame, which, fed by logs, caught the sepulchres of the inhabitants. These had been built of old cedar, and widely spread the fire which had been started, until all were levelled with the ^[9] ground. And from the city first the barking of dogs, then the noise of men was heard. Then the townspeople knew that the enemy had come, and the Macedonians themselves, that they had reached the ^[10] city. And already the king had led out his troops and was laying siege to the place, when those of the enemy who had attempted a sortie were over-whelmed by weapons. In consequence some favoured surrender, others the trial of battle.

When their hesitation became known, Alexander directed that they should merely be beleaguered and not killed, and at last, exhausted by the hardships of a siege, they gave themselves up. They said that they had been founded by Father Liber; and this ^[12] was in fact their origin. The city is situated at the foot of a mountain which the natives call Meros; from this the Greeks took the liberty of inventing the fable that Father Liber had been hidden in the ^[13] thigh of Jupiter. Alexander, having learned from the natives the situation of the mountain, had supplies sent in advance, and ascended to its summit with his whole army. Ivy and vines in abundance grow all over the height, and many perennial springs ^[14] gush forth. There are also fruits of a varied and wholesome flavour, since the earth without cultivation produces crops from the seeds that chance to fall there. Laurel, box, and myrtle form a natural grove ^[15] on those rocks. Carried away, as I for my part believe, not by divine inspiration but by a spirit of playfulness, they plucked the foliage of the ivy and the vines everywhere, and wreathed with garlands made from the leaves, wandered here and there through the whole grove like so many bacchantes.

[16] Hence the mountain heights and valleys rang with the shouts of so many thousands, as they invoked the god who presided over that grove, since as soon as this wantonness was begun by a few, as commonly happens it quickly spread to the whole company.

[17] In fact, as if they were in full enjoyment of peace, they threw themselves on the grass and the leaves that they had heaped together. And the king, not averse to this opportunity for revelry, furnished in abundance everything needed for feasting, and for ten days kept the army engaged in the service of Bacchus. Who would deny that distinguished glory also is more often the gift of Fortune than of merit? For the enemy did not venture to attack them even while they were feasting or in a drunken sleep, being as greatly terrified by the noise of their rioting and howling as if they had heard the shouts of men going to battle. The same good fortune on their return from the Ocean protected them in their drunken revelry before the faces of their enemies.

[19] From here they came to the region which is called Daedala. The inhabitants had deserted their homes and had fled to the inaccessible and forest-covered mountains. Accordingly the king passed by Aeadira, which was equally abandoned and deserted by the [20] flight of its inhabitants. And so necessity changed his plan for war. For dividing his forces, he showed his arms in many places at the same time, and when the natives had been crushed where they had not looked for the enemy, they were thoroughly subdued [21] through general bloodshed. Ptolemy took the most cities, Alexander the greatest; then the king united again the forces which he had distributed.

[22] Next, having passed over the Choaspes River, he left Coenus engaged in the siege of a rich city — the inhabitants call it Beira — and he himself came to the country of the Mazagae Assacenus, whose realm it had been, had lately died, and his mother [23] Cleophis ruled the city and the region. The city was garrisoned by 38,000 infantry and was fortified, not only by its situation, but also by art. For where it looks towards the east it is girt by a very rapid river, which, having precipitous banks on both sides, makes [24] approach to the city difficult. Towards the west and the south Nature, as if by design, has thrown up towering crags, below which lie caverns and abysses which have been deeply hollowed by long lapse of time, and where they come to an end ditches have been [25] interposed with enormous labour. The city is surrounded by a wall of thirty-five stadia, the lower part of which is constructed of stone, the upper part of sun-dried brick. The brick work is so bound together by stones which they have interposed and at the same time by earth soaked in water, that the weaker part [26] rests on a stronger material. Nevertheless, in order that the whole structure might not settle, strong beams were placed upon it, on which galleries were raised, which both protected the walls and at the same time afforded a passage through them.

[27] As Alexander was reconnoitring these fortifications and was uncertain

what to do, since he could not fill up the caverns except by a mound, nor move up his siege-engines to the walls in any other way, someone from the wall shot at him with an arrow, and, as it happened, the weapon struck him in the [28] calf of his leg. When the barb had been pulled out he ordered a horse to be brought and riding upon it, without even binding up the wound, he continued no less vigorously to carry on what he had undertaken.

[29] But since the wounded leg hung down, and when the blood dried the stiffening of the wound aggravated the pain, he is reported to have said that he was indeed called the son of Jupiter, but that he felt the effects of an ailing body. Yet he did not return to camp until he had carefully examined everything and had ordered what he wished to be done. Accordingly, just as had been commanded, some were demolishing the houses outside the city and were bringing a great amount of timber for making the mound; others were throwing trunks of great trees, with their branches, and masses of stone into the 3] caverns. And already the mound had risen to the level of the surface of the ground; therefore they erected towers, and such was the ardour of the soldiers that these tasks were finished within the ninth day.

To inspect these works the king went out before a scab had covered his wound, and after praising the soldiers he ordered them to push forward the siege-engines, from which a mighty mass of weapons was [32] poured upon the defenders. The movable towers especially terrified men who were unacquainted with; such devices, and they believed that such massive structures, aided by no visible power, were moved by the will of the gods; the mural pikes also, and the heavy spears hurled by the engines, they said [33] were not compatible with mortal power. Therefore, despairing of defending the city, they withdrew to the citadel. From there, because nothing but surrender was open to the besieged, envoys came down [34] to the king to ask for pardon. When this was granted, the queen came with a great train of noble ladies, making libations of wine from golden cups.

[35] She herself, placing her little son at the king's knees, obtained, not only pardon, but also the splendour of her former fortune; indeed, she was addressed as queen. And some believed that this was granted rather to her beauty than because of compassion; [36] also it is certain that a son who was born to her, whoever his father was, was called Alexander.

Hinc Polypercon ad urbem Horam cum exercitu missus inconditos oppidanos proelio vicit: intra [p. 292] munimenta compulsos secutus urbem in dicionem redegit. [2] Multa ignobilia oppida deserta a suis venere in regis potestatem. Quorum incolae armati petram Aornum nomine occupaverunt. Hanc ab Hercule frustra obsessam esse terraeque motu coactum absistere fama. [3] vulgaverat. Inopem consilii Alexandrum, quia undique praeceps et abrupta rupes erat, senior quidam peritus locorum cum duobus filiis adiit, si pretium operae esset, aditum se monstraturum esse promittens. [4] LXXX talenta

constituit daturum Alexander et altero ex iuvenibus obside retento ipsum ad exequenda, quae obtulerat, [5] dimisit. Leviter armatis dux datus est Myllinas, scribe regis. Hos enim circuitu, quo fallerent hostem, in summum iugum placebat evadere. [6] Petra non, ut pleraeque, modicis ae mollibus clivis in sublime fastigium crescit, sed in metae maxime modum erecta est, cuius ima spatiosiora sunt, altiora in artius coeunt, summa in acutum cacumen exurgunt. [7] Radices eius Indus amnis subit, praealtus, utrimque asperis ripis: [8] ab altera parte voragines eluviesque praeruptae sunt. Nec alia expugnandi patebat via, quam ut replerentur. Ad manum silva erat: quam rex ita caedi iussit, ut nudi stipites iacerentur: quippe rami fronde vestiti impedissent ferentes. Ipse primus truncam arborem iecit, clamorque exercitus se, index alacritatis, secutus est nullo detrectante munus, quod rex occupavit. [9] Sic intra septimum diem cavernas expleverant, cum rex sagittarios et Agrianos iubet per ardua niti. Iuvenesque promptissimos ex sua cohorte xxx delegit: [p. 293] duces his dati sunt Charus et Alexander, [10] quem rex nominis, quod sibi cum eo commune esset, admonuit. Ac primo, quia tam manifestum periculum erat, ipsum regem discrimen subire non placuit, [11] sed ut signum tuba datum est, vir audaciae promptae conversus ad corporis custodes sequi se iubet primusque invadit in rupem. Nec deinde quisquam Macedonum substitit, relictisque stationibus sua sponte regem sequebantur. [12] Multorum miserabilis fuit casus, quos ex praerupta rupe lapsos amnis praeterfluens hausit, triste spectaculum etiam non periclitantibus: cum vero alieno exitio, quid ipsis timendum foret, admonerentur, in metum misericordia versa non extinctos, sed semetipsos deflebant. [13] Et iam eo perventum erat, unde sine pernicie nisi victores redire non possent, ingentia saxa in subeuntes provolventibus barbaris, quis perculsi instabili et lubrico gradu praecipites recidebant. [14] Evaserant tamen Alexander et Charus, quos cum XXX delectis praemisera rex, et iam pugnare comminus coeperant: sed cum superne tela barbari ingererent, saepius ipsi feriebantur quam vulnerabant. [15] Ergo Alexander et nominis sui et promissi memor, dum acrius quam cautius dimicat, confossus undique obruitur. [16] Quem ut Charus iacentem conspexit, ruere in hostem omnium praeter ultionem inmemor coepit multosque hasta, quosdam gladio interemit: sed cum tot unum incesserent manus, super amici corpus procubuit exanimis. [17] Haud secus, quam par erat, promptissimorum iuvenum ceterorumque militum interitu commotus rex signum receptui dedit. [18] Saluti fuit, quod sensim et intrepidi se rece- [p. 294] perunt, et barbari hostem depulisse contenti non institere cedentibus. [19] Ceterum Alexander cum statuisset desistere incepto — quippe nulla spes potiundae petrae offerebatur — , tamen speciem ostendit in obsidione perseverantis. [20] Nam et itinera obsideri iussit et turres admoveri et fatigatis alios succedere. Cuius pertinacia cognita Indi per biduum quidem ac duas noctes cum ostentatione non fiducia modo, sed etiam victoriae epulati sunt tympana suo more pulsantes: [21] tertia vero nocte tympanorum quidem strepitus desierat audiri, ceterum ex tota petra faces refulgebant, quas accenderant barbari, ut tutior esset ipsa fuga obscura nocte per invia saxa

cursoris. [22] Rex Balacro, qui specularetur, praemisso cognoscit petram fuga Indorum esse desertam. [23] Tum dato signo, ut universi conclamarent, inconposite fugientibus metum incussit: multique, tamquam adesset hostis, per lubrica saxa perque invias cotes praecipitati occiderunt, plures aliqua membrorum parte mulcati ab integris deserti sunt. [24] Rex locorum magis quam hostium victor tamen magnae victoriae speciem sacrificiis et cultu deum fecit. Arae in petra locatae sunt Minervae Victoriaeque. [25] Ducibus itineris, quo subire iusserat leviter armatos, etsi promissis minora praestiterant, pretium cum fide redditum est, petrae regionisque ei adiunctae Sisocosto tutela permissa.

XI. Then Polypercon, who had been sent to the city of Hora with an army, defeated the townsmen in a battle when they made a disorderly sortie; having driven them within their fortifications, he followed [2] and reduced the city to subjection. Many obscure towns, which had been deserted by their inhabitants, came into the power of the king. The inhabitants of these armed themselves and occupied a crag called Aornus. That this had been beset by Hercules without success and that he had been compelled by an earthquake to abandon the attempt was a widespread [3] report. When Alexander was at a loss, because the rock was steep and abrupt on all sides, an old man who was acquainted with the neighbourhood came to him with two sons, promising that if it were made [4] worth his while he would show him a way up. Alexander agreed that he would give him eighty talents and having retained one of the young men as a hostage, sent the father to carry out what he had offered [5] to do. Myllinas, the king's secretary, was made the leader of a light-armed troop. For Alexander wished these to go to the summit by a circuitous route, in order to escape the notice of the enemy.

[6] The rock did not, like many others, rise by moderate and gentle slopes to a lofty summit, but elevated itself very much in the manner of a turning-block, of which the lower parts are wider, but become narrower as they rise higher and force the highest parts into [7] a sharp point. The Indus River comes close up to its base, and is very deep with steep banks on both sides; on the other side there are deep abysses and chasms. There was no other way open for storming the place [8] except by filling these. There was a forest at hand; this the king ordered to be cut in such a way that the tree-trunks should be thrown in stripped bare; for the branches covered with leaves would have hampered those who carried them. Alexander himself trimmed and threw in the first tree, and the army's shouting which followed was an indication of their eagerness, since no one shirked the task in which the [9] king had taken the lead. In this way before the seventh day they had wholly filled the caverns, when the king ordered the archers and the Agriani to try to mount the heights. Also he chose thirty of the [10] most active men of his own cohort. As leaders he gave them Charus and Alexander, and the king exhorted the latter to remember the name which he had in common with himself. And at first, because the danger was so

evident, the king himself decided ^[11] not to run the risk, but when the signal was given by the trumpet, that prince of ready daring, turning to his guards, ordered them to follow him, and was the first to climb upon the rock. Then not one of the Macedonians stayed behind, but leaving their posts ^[12] of their own accord, they followed the king. Many met a wretched death, for they slipped from the steep rock, and the river which flowed by swallowed them up, a sad sight even for those who were not at the moment in danger; but when by the death of others they were reminded what they themselves had to fear, compassion changing to dread, they lamented, not the dead, but themselves.

And now they had gone so far that except as victors, they could not return without destruction, since the barbarians were rolling down huge stones upon them as they went up, and when struck by these while their footing was unsteady and slipping, ^[14] they fell back headlong. Nevertheless Alexander and Charus, whom the king had sent ahead with thirty selected men, had gained the height and were already fighting hand to hand; but since the barbarians showered javelins upon them from above, they themselves were wounded more often than they ^[15] inflicted wounds. Therefore Alexander," remembering his name and his promise, while fighting more fearlessly than cautiously, was struck from every side ^[16] and overwhelmed. When Charus saw him lying prostrate, unmindful of everything except revenge he began to rush upon the enemy and killed many with his lance, some with his sword; but when so many assailed one man, he fell lifeless upon the body ^[17] of his friend. The king, troubled as was natural by the death of these most valiant young men and of the ^[18] rest of his soldiers, gave the signal for retreat. They saved themselves by withdrawing gradually and unterrified, and the barbarians, content with having dislodged the enemy, did not follow them up as they ^[19] gave ground. But although Alexander had decided to abandon the attempt — for no hope was offered of getting possession of the rock — yet he made a show of persisting in the siege. For he ordered the roads to be beset, and the towers to be advanced, and others to take the place of the wearied.

^[20] When his persistence was known, the Indi feasted for two days and two nights with a display, not only of confidence, but even of victory, beating drums ^[21] according to their custom; but on the third night the noise of the drums had ceased to be heard, but from the whole rock torches gleamed, which the barbarians had lighted in order that their flight might be safer, since they would have to run over pathless rocks in the darkness of night. The king, having sent Balacrus to reconnoitre, learned that the rock was deserted and the Indi in flight. Then, when the signal had been given for all to raise a shout, he struck ^[23] fear into them as they fled in disorder; and many, as if the enemy were at hand, were killed by throwing themselves over the slippery stones and pathless crags, still more, disabled in some part of their limbs, ^[24] were deserted by those who escaped injury. The king, although victor rather over the locality than over the enemy, yet made the show of a great triumph by

sacrifices and worship of the gods. Altars to [25] Minerva Victoria were set up on the rock. To the guides of the road by which he had ordered the lightarmed troops to go up, although they had accomplished less than they had promised, the reward was faithfully paid, and the government of the rock, and of the district adjoining it, was entrusted to Sisocostus.

Inde processit Ecbolima et, cum angustias itineris [p. 295] obsideri XX milibus armatorum ab Erice quodam conperisset, gravius agmen exercitus Coeno ducendum modicis itineribus tradidit, [2] ipse praegressus per funditores ac sagittarios deturbatis, qui obsederant saltum, sequentibus se copiis viam fecit. [3] Indi sive odio ducis sive gratiam victoris inituri Ericen fugientem adorti interemerunt caputque eius atque arma ad Alexandrum detulerunt. Ille facto inpunitatem dedit, honorem denegavit exemplo. [4] Hinc ad flumen Indum sextisdecumis castris pervenit omniaque, ut praeceperat, ad traiciendum praeparata ab Hephaestione repperit. Regnabat in ea regione Omphis, [5] qui patri quoque fuerat auctor dedendi regnum Alexandra et post mortem parentis legatos miserat, qui consulerent eum, regnare se interim vellet an privatum opperiri eius adventum. [6] Permissoque, ut regnaret, non tamen ius datum usurpare sustinuit. Is benigne quidem exceperat Hephaestionem gratuitum frumentum copiis eius admensus, non tamen ei occurrerat, ne fidem ullius nisi regis experiretur. [7] Itaque venienti obviam cum armato exercitu egressus est, elephantum quoque per modica intervalla militum agmini inmixti procul castellorum fecerant speciem. [8] Ac primo Alexander non socium, sed hostem adventare credebat iamque et ipse arma milites capere et equites discedere in cornua iusserat paratus ad pugnam. At Indus cognito Macedonum errore iussis subsistere ceteris ipse concitat equum, quo vehebatur: idem Alexander [p. 296] quoque fecit, sive hostis sive amicus occurreret, vel sua virtute vel illius fide tutus. [9] Coiere, quod ex utriusque vultu posset intellegi, amicis animis. Ceterum sine interprete non poterat conseri sermo: itaque adhibito eo barbaras occurrisse se dixit cum exercitu totas imperii vires protinus traditurum nec expectasse, dum per nuntios daretur fides. [10] Corpus suum et regnum permittere illi, quem sciret gloriae militantem nihil magis quam famam timere perfidiae. Laetus simplicitate barbari rex et dexteram, [11] fidei suae pignus, dedit et regnum restituit. LVI elephantum erant, quos tradidit Alexandra, multaue pecora eximiae magnitudinis, tauros ad III milia, pretiosum in ea regione acceptumque animis regnantium armentum. [12] Quaerenti Alexandro, plures agricultores haberet an milites, cum duobus regibus bellanti sibi maiore militum quam agrestium manu opus esse respondit. [13] Abisares et Porus erant, sed in Poro eminebat auctoritas. Uterque ultra Hydaspem amnem regnabat et belli fortunam, quisquis arma inferret, experiri decreverat. [14] Omphis permittente Alexandro et regium insigne sumpsit et more gentis suae nomen, quod patris fuerat: Taxilen appellavere populares sequente nomine imperium, in quemcumque transiret. [15] Igitur cum per triduum hospitaliter Alexandrum accepisset, quarto die et, quantum frumenti copiis, quas Hephaestion duxerat, praebitum a se esset, ostendit et aureas coronas ipsi

amicisque omnibus, [p. 297] praeter haec signati argenti LXXX talenta dono dedit. [16] Qua benignitate eius Alexander mire laetus et, quae is dederat, remisit et M talenta ex praeda, quam vehebat, adiecit multaue convivalia ex auro et argento vasa, plurimum Persicae vestis, XXX equos ex suis cum isdem insignibus, quis adsueverant, cum ipsum veherent. [17] Quae liberalitas sicut barbarum obstrinxerat, ita amicos ipsius vehementer offendit. E quibus Meleager super cenam largiore vino usus gratulari se Alexandro dixit, quod saltem in India repperisset dignum talentis M. [18] Rex haud oblitus, quam aegre tulisset, quod Clitum ob linguae temeritatem occidisset, iram quidem tenuit, sed dixit invidos homines nihil aliud quam ipsorum esse tormenta.

XII. From there the king went on to Ecbolima, and when he had found that a narrow part of the road was blocked by a certain Erices with 20,000 armed men, he turned over the heavier part of the army to [2] Coenus to be led at a moderate pace, and he himself, going ahead, dislodged by slingers and archers those who had beset the narrows, and make a way for the [3] forces which were following him. The Indi, either through hatred of their leader, or with the object of entering the good graces of the victor, attacked Erices, who was in flight, killed him, and bore his head and armour to Alexander. He granted impunity to the deed, but refused any honour to the example.

From here he came on the sixteenth day to the river Indus, and found, as he had directed, that everything had been prepared by Hephaestion for crossing it. In that region Omphis was king, who had induced his father also to surrender his kingdom [5] to Alexander and after the death of his parent had sent envoys to ask Alexander whether he wished him to reign in the interim, or as a private citizen to await [6] his coming. But although he was allowed to be king, he nevertheless did not have the courage to use the privilege which was granted him. He indeed had received Hephaestion courteously, had measured out grain free of charge to his troops, yet had not met him, fearing to test the good faith of anyone except [7] the king. And so, when Alexander was coming near, he went out to meet him with his army equipped for action, in which he had also at moderate intervals between the companies of soldiers placed elephants, which at a distance gave the appearance of castles.

[8] And Alexander at first thought that not an ally but an enemy was coming, and he also had already ordered his soldiers to take arms and the cavalry to withdraw to the wings, and was prepared for battle.

But the Indian, perceiving the mistake of the Macedonians, ordered the rest of his force to halt and himself put spurs to the horse which he was riding; Alexander did the same, whether he came as an enemy or a friend feeling safe either through his own [9] valour or the prince's good faith. They met, as could be judged from the expression of each, in a spirit of friendship. However, they could not talk together without an interpreter; accordingly, when one had been furnished, the barbarian said that he had met Alexander with his army,

intending at once to deliver to him all the forces of his empire, and had not waited for a pledge of safety to be given through ^[10] messengers. He said that he entrusted his person and his realm to a prince whom he knew to be fighting for glory and to fear nothing more than a reputation for treachery. Pleased by the sincerity of the barbarian, the king gave him his hand as a pledge of ^[11] good faith, and restored his kingdom to him. There were fifty-six elephants, which he presented to Alexander, besides many head of sheep of extraordinary size and about 3000 bulls, a herd highly valued in that region and pleasing to the minds of rulers.

^[12] When Alexander inquired whether he had more field-labourers or soldiers, Omphis replied that since he was at war with two kings, he needed a greater ^[13] force of soldiers than of farmers. These kings were Abisares and Porus, but Porus was the more powerful. Both reigned beyond the river Hydaspes, and they had decided to try the fortune of war against ^[14] anyone who attacked them. Omphis with the permission of Alexander assumed the royal diadem, and according to the usage of his race took the name which his father had had; the people called him Taxiles, a name which went with the sovereignty ^[15] of whoever succeeded to it. Having then entertained Alexander as his guest for three days, on the fourth day he both made known how much grain he had furnished to the forces which Hephaestion had brought, and gave golden crowns to Alexander and to all his friends, and besides these eighty talents of coined silver as a gift. Alexander, wonderfully ^[16] pleased by his generosity, both returned what he had given and added 1000 talents from the booty which he was carrying, besides many gold and silver vessels for use at table, a quantity of Persian robes, and thirty of his own horses with the same trappings to which they were accustomed when he himself rode them.

^[17] This liberality, although it put the barbarian under an obligation, yet seriously offended the king's friends. One of them, Meleager, having indulged too freely in wine, said at table that he congratulated Alexander that at least in India he had found a man ^[18] deserving of 1000 talents. The king, not forgetting how deeply he had regretted having killed Clitus because of his rash language, restrained his anger, but said that jealous men were nothing less than self-tormentors.

Postero die legati Abisarae adiere regem: omnia dicioni eius, ita ut mandatum erat, permittebant firmataque invicem fide remittuntur ad regem. ^[2] Porum quoque nominis sui fama ratus ad deditionem posse compelli misit ad eum Cleocharen, qui denuntiaret ei, ut Stipendium penderet et in primo suorum finium aditu occurreret regi. Porus alterum ex his facturum sese respondit, ut intranti regnum suum praesto esset, sed armatus. ^[3] Iam Hydaspem Alexander superare decreverat, cum Barzaentes, defectionis Arachosiis auctor, vinctus trigintaque elephantum simul capti perducuntur, opportunum adversus Indos auxilium: quippe plus in beluis quam in exercitu spei ac virium illis erat. ^[4]

Damaraxus quoque, rex exiguae partis Indorum, qui Barzaenti se coniunxerat, vinctus adductus est. [5] Igitur [p. 298] transfuga et regulo in custodiam, elephantis autem Taxili traditio ad amnem Hydaspem pervenit, in cuius ulteriore ripa Porus consederat transitu prohibiturus hostem. [6] LXXX et V elephantos obiecerat eximio corporum robore utraque eos currus CCC et peditum XXX fere milia, in quibus erant sagittarii, sicuti ante dictum est, gravioribus telis, quam ut apte excuti possent. [7] Ipsum vehebat elephante super ceteras beluas eminens, armaque auro et argento distincta corpus rarae magnitudinis honestabant. [8] Par animus robori corporis et, quanta inter rudes poterat esse, sapientia. Macedonas non conspectus hostium solum, sed etiam fluminis, quod transeundum erat, magnitudo terrebat. in latitudinem stadia diffusus profundo alveo et nusquam vada aperiente speciem vasti maris fecerat. [9] Nec pro spatio aquarum late stagnantium impetum coercebat, sed quasi in artum coeuntibus ripis torrens et elisus ferebatur, occultaque saxa inesse ostendebant pluribus locis undae repercussae. [10] Terribilior facies erat ripae, quam equi virique conpleverant. Stabant ingentes vastorum corporum moles et de industria iritatae horrendo Stridore aures fatigabant. [11] Hinc amnis, hinc hostis capacia quidem bonae spei pectora et saepe sane experta improviso tamen pavore percusserant. [12] Quippe instabiles rates nec dirigi ad ripam nec tuto adplicari posse credebant. Erant in medio amne insulae crebrae, in quas et Indi et Macedones nantes levatis super capita armis transibant. Ibi levia proelia [p. 299] conserebantur, et uterque rex parvae rei discrimine summae experiebatur eventum. [13] Ceterum in Macedonum exercitu temeritate atque audacia insignes fuere Hegesimachus et Nicanor, nobiles iuvenes et perpetua partium felicitate ad spernendum omne periculum accensi: [14] quis ducibus promptissimi iuvenum lanceis modo armati transavere in insulam, quam frequens hostis tenebat, multosque Indorum nulla re melius quam audacia armati interemerunt. [15] Abire cum gloria poterant, si umquam temeritas felix inveniret modum: sed dum supervenientes contemptim et superbe quoque expectant, circumventi ab iis, qui occulti enaverant, minus obruti telis sunt. [16] Qui effugerant hostem, aut impetu amnis ablati sunt aut verticibus impliciti. Eaque pugna multum Pori fiduciam erexit cuncta cernentis e ripa. [17] Alexander inops consilii tandem ad fallendum hostem talem dolum intendit. Erat insula in flumine amplior ceteris, silvetris eadem et tegendis insidiis apta, fossa quoque praealta haud procul ripa, quam tenebat ipse, non pedites modo, sed etiam cum equis viros poterat abscondere: [18] igitur ut a custodia huius opportunitatis oculos hostium averteret, Ptolomaeum omnibus turmis obequitare iussit procul insula et subinde Indos clamore terrere, quasi flumen transnaturus foret. [19] Per complures dies Ptolomaeus id fecit eoque consilio Porum quoque agmen suum ei parti, quam se petere [p. 300] simulabat, coegit advertere. [20] Iam extra conspectum hostis insula erat. Alexander in diversa parte ripae statui suum tabernaculum iussit adsuetamque comitari ipsum cohortem ante id tabernaculum stare et omnem apparatus regiae magnificentiae hostium oculis

de industria ostendi. [21] Attalum etiam, aequalem sibi et haud disparem habitu oris et corporis, utique cum procul viseretur, veste regia exornat praebiturum speciem, ipsum regem illi ripae praesidere nec cogitare de transitu. [22] Huius consilii effectum primo morata tempestas est, mox adiuvit incommoda quoque ad bonos eventus vertente fortuna. [23] Traicere amnem cum ceteris copiis in regionem insulae, de qua ante dictum est, parabat averso hoste in eos, qui cum Ptolomaeo inferiorem obsederant ripam, cum procella imbrem vix sub tectis tolerabilem effundit. Obrutique milites nimbo in terram refugerunt navigiis ratibusque desertis, sed tumultuantium fremitus obstrepentibus ventis ab hoste non poterat audiri. [24] Deinde momento temporis repressus est imber, ceterum adeo spissae intendere se nubes, ut conderent lucem vixque conloquentium inter ipsos facies noscitantur. [25] Terruisset alium obducta nox caelo, cum ignoto amne navigandum esset, forsitan hoste eam ipsam ripam, quam caeci atque inprovidi petebant, tenente. [26] At rex periculo gloriam accersens et obscuritatem, quae ceteros terrebat, suam occasionem ratus dato signo, ut omnes silentio escenderent in rates, [27] eam, qua ipse vehebatur, primam iussit expelli. [p. 301] Vacua erat ab hostibus ripa, quae petebatur: quippe adhuc Porus Ptolomaeum tantum intuebatur. Una ergo navi, quam petrae fluctus inliserat, haerente ceterae evadunt, armaque capere milites et ire in ordines iussit.

XIII. On the following day envoys of Abisares came to the king. They, according to their orders, surrendered everything into his power; and having given and received a pledge of good faith, they were [2] sent back to their king. Thinking that Porus also could be forced to surrender by the fame of his name, Alexander sent Cleochares to him to demand that he should pay tribute and meet Alexander at the frontier of his territories. Porus replied that he would comply with the second of these demands, that he would be on hand when Alexander entered his realm, but it [3] would be in arms. Alexander had already decided to cross the Hydaspes River, when Barzaentes, the instigator of the revolt of the Arachosii, was brought to him in fetters, as well as thirty elephants which had been captured at the same time with him, a timely aid against the Indi; for they had more hope and strength in those beasts than in their army. Damaraxus also, the king of a small district of India, who had allied himself with Barzaentes, was brought to Alexander in fetters. Accordingly, when the [5] deserter and the prince had been put under guard and the elephants given to Taxiles, Alexander came to the river Hydaspes, on whose farther bank Porus had taken position, intending to prevent the enemy [6] from crossing. Porus had put in front eighty-five elephants of extraordinary strength of body, and behind these 300 chariots and about 30,000 foot-soldiers, among whom were archers with heavier arrows, as was said before, than they could shoot to advantage.

[7] Porus himself was mounted upon an elephant towering above the rest of the brutes, and armour decorated with gold and silver adorned a body of unusual stature. His courage was equal to his strength of body, and his wisdom was as

great as [8] could be found among uncultivated folk. Not merely the appearance of the enemy, but also the size of the river that must be crossed terrified the Macedonians. Extending to a width of four stadia, with a deep channel which nowhere disclosed a ford, it gave [9] the impression of a vast sea. And it did not check its swift course in proportion to the extent of its widely spread waters, but as if confined by its banks to a narrow channel, it rushed on in a foaming torrent, and rebounding billows revealed hidden [10] rocks in many places. Still more formidable was the appearance of the bank, which had been filled with horses and men. There stood huge masses of vast bodies, and when they were purposely irritated they wearied the ears with their hideous trumpeting. On one hand the river, on the other the enemy had nevertheless struck unlooked-for terror into breasts which were indeed capable of good hope and had surely often seen such hope realized. For they thought that the unsteady boats could not be steered to the bank nor landed there in safety. [12] There were in midstream numerous islands, to which both the Indi and the Macedonians crossed by swimming, raising their weapons over their heads. There light skirmishing took place, and both kings by the decision of these small contests were testing [13] the outcome of the main struggle. Now there were in the army of the Macedonians Hegesimachus and Nicanor, high-born youths conspicuous for rashness and daring, aroused by the constant good fortune of [14] their side to despise all dangers; under their lead the most active of the young men, armed only with lances, swam across to an island which a crowd of the enemy held and, armed with nothing better than [15] daring, slew many of the Indi. They might have come off with glory if successful rashness were ever capable of moderation; but while they were awaiting contemptuously and even haughtily those who were coming against them, they were surrounded by those who had secretly swum out and were overwhelmed [16] by weapons hurled at long range. Those who had escaped the enemy were swept away by the force of the river or swallowed up in the whirlpools. And this battle greatly increased the confidence of Porus, who saw the whole event from the bank.

[17] Alexander, uncertain what to do, finally devised the following stratagem to deceive the enemy. There was an island in the river larger than the rest, wooded also and suitable for concealing an ambushade, moreover in a very deep ditch not far from the bank which he himself held he could conceal not only foot-soldiers but even men and their horses; therefore, in order to distract the enemy's attention [18] from guarding against this advantageous place, he ordered Ptolemy "with all his cavalry to ride to a point far from that island, and from time to time to alarm the Indi by shouts, as if they were going to [19] swim across the river. For many days Ptolemy did this, and by this device compelled Porus also to turn his army to that part at which he pretended to be aiming. Already the island was out of the enemy's [20] sight. Alexander ordered his tent to be pitched on a different part of the bank, and the cohort which usually attended him to stand before that tent and all the equipment of

royal magnificence to be purposely [21] displayed before the eyes of the foe. Attalus also, of the same age as himself and not unlike him in face and figure, especially when he was seen from a distance, he adorned with the royal robe, in order to give the impression that the king himself was encamped on that part of the bank and was not thinking of crossing.

[22] The carrying out of this plan was first delayed then furthered by a storm, since Fortune turned even [23] obstacles to good results. He was preparing to cross the river with the rest of his forces to the shore near the island of which mention was made before, having diverted the attention of the enemy against those who, with Ptolemy, had occupied a part of the bank farther down the river, when a tempest poured out rain which was scarcely to be endured by people [24] under cover. And the soldiers, overwhelmed by the storm, fled back to the land, deserting the boats and the rafts, but the uproar made by the bustling men was drowned by the noisy gusts of wind and could not be heard by the enemy. Then in a moment the rain ceased, but such thick clouds overspread the sky that they hid the light, and men who were talking together [25] could scarcely recognize each other's faces. The night that darkened the sky would have terrified anyone else, since it was necessary to sail upon an unknown river, when perhaps the enemy were holding that very bank at which they were blindly and recklessly [26] aiming. But the king, inviting glory by courting danger, and thinking that the obscurity which terrified the rest was his opportunity, having given the signal for all silently to embark in the boats, ordered the one in which he himself was carried to be [27] pushed off first. The bank at which they aimed was deserted by the enemy; for Porus was still watching Ptolemy only. Therefore only one boat, which a wave had dashed upon a rock, was stranded; the rest reached their goal, and Alexander ordered his soldiers to arm themselves and take their places in the ranks.

Iamque agmen in cornua divisum ipse ducebat, cum Poro nuntiatur armis virisque ripam obtineri et rerum adesse discrimen. Ac primo humani ingenii vitio spei suae indulgens Abisaren belli socium — et ita convenerat — [2] adventare credebat. Mox liquidiore luce aperiente aciem hostium C quadrigas et IIII milia equitum venienti agmini obiecit. Dux erat copiarum, quas praemisit, Spitaces, frater ipsius, summa virium in curribus: [3] senos viros singuli vehebant, duos clipeatos, duos sagittarios ab utroque latere dispositos, aurigae erant ceteri haud sane inermes: quippe iacula complura, ubi comminus proeliandum erat, omissis habenis in hostem ingerebant. [4] Ceterum vix ullus usus huius auxilii eo die fuit. Namque, ut supra dictum est, imber violentius quam alias fusus campos lubricos et inequitabiles fecerat, gravesque et propemodum immobiles currus inluvie ac voraginibus haerebant. [5] Contra Alexander expedito ac levi agmine strenue invectus est. Scythae et Dahae primi omnium invasere Indos: Perdiccam deinde cum equitibus in dextrum cornu hostium emisit. [6] Iam undique pugna se moverat, cum ii, qui currus agebant, illud ultimum auxilium suorum [p. 302] rati effusis habenis in medium

discrimen ruere coeperunt. [7] Anceps id malum utrisque erat. Nam et Macedonum pedites primo impetu obterebantur, et per lubrica atque invia inmissi currus excutiebant eos, a quibus regebantur. [8] Aliorum turbati equi non in voragines modo lacunasque, sed etiam in amnem praecipitavere curricula, [9] pauci telis hostium exacti penetravere ad Pomm acerrime pugnam cientem. Is, ut dissipatos tota acie currus vagari sine rectoribus vidit, proximis amicorum distribuit elephantos. [10] Post eos posuerat peditem ac sagittarios et tympana pulsare solitos: id pro cantu tubarum Indis erat, nec strepitu eorum movebantur olim ad notum sonum auribus mitigatis. [11] Herculis simulacrum agmini peditum praeferebatur: id maximum erat bellantibus incitamentum, [12] et deseruisse gestantis militare flagitium habebatur. Capitis etiam sanxerant poenam iis, qui ex acie non rettulissent, metu, quem ex illo hoste quondam conceperant, etiam in religionem venerationemque converso. Macedonas non beluarum modo, [13] sed etiam ipsius regis aspectus parumper inhibuit. Beluae dispositae inter armatos speciem turrium procul fecerant, ipse Porus humanae magnitudinis prope modum excesserat: speciem magnitudini Pori adicere videbatur belua, qua vehebatur, [14] tantum inter ceteras eminens, quanio aliis ipse praestabat. Itaque Alexander contemplatus et regem et agmen [p. 303] Indorum: ‘Tandem,’ inquit, ‘par animo meo periculum video: cum bestiis simul et cum egregiis viris res est.’ Intuensque Coenon: [15] ‘Cum ego,’ inquit, ‘Ptolomaeo Perdiccae et Hephaestione comitatus in laevum hostium cornu impetum fecero, viderisque me in medio ardore certaminis, ipse dextrum move et turbatis signa infer. Tu, Antigene, et tu, Leonnate, et Tauron, iam invehimini in mediam aciem et urgebitis frontem. [16] Hastae nostrae praelongae et validae non alias magis quam adversus beluas rectoresque earum usui esse poterunt: deturbate eos, qui vehuntur, et ipsas confodite. Anceps genus auxilii est et in suos acrius furit: in hostem enim imperio, [17] in suos pavore agitur.’ Haec elocutus concitat equum primus. Iamque, ut destinatum erat, invaserat ordines hostium, cum Coenus ingenti vi a laevo cornu invehitur. [18] Phalanx quoque mediam Indorum aciem uno impetu perrupit. At Porus, qua equitem invehī senserat, beluas agi iussit: sed tardum et paene immobile animal equorum velocitatem aequare non poterat. Ne sagittarum quidem ullus erat barbarie usus. [19] Quippe longas et praegraves, nisi prius in terra statuerunt arcum, haud satis apte et commode inponunt, tum humo lubrica et ob id impediēte conatum molientes ictus celeritate hostium occupantur. [p. 304] [20] Ergo spreto regis imperio — quod fere fit, ubi turbatis acrius metus quam dux imperare coepit — totidem erant imperatores, quot agmina errabant: [21] alius iungere aciem, alius dividere, stare quidam et nonnulli circumvehi terga hostium iubebant, [22] nihil in medium consulebatur. Porus tamen cum paucis, quibus metu potior fuerat pudor, colligere dispersos, obviis hosti ire pergit elephantosque ante agmen suorum agi iubet. [23] Magnum beluae iniecere terrorem, insolitusque stridor non equos modo, [24] tam pavidum ad omnia animal, sed viros quoque ordinesque turbaverat. Iam fugae circumspeciebant locum paulo ante victores, cum Alexander Agrianos et

Thracas leviter armatos, meliorem concursatione quam communis militem, emisit in beluas. [25] Ingentem hi vim telorum iniecere et elephantis et regentibus eos. Phalanx quoque instare constanter territis coepit. [26] Sed quidam avidius persecuti beluas in semet inritavere vulneribus. [27] Obtriti ergo pedibus earum ceteris, ut parcius instarent, fuere documentum. [28] Praecipue terribilis ilia facies erat, cum manu arma virosque corripere et super se regentibus traderent. Anceps ergo pugna nunc sequentium, nunc fugientium elephantos in multum diei varium certamen extraxit, donec securibus — id namque genus auxilii praeparatum erat — [29] pedes amputare coeperunt. Copidas vocabant gladios leviter curvatos, falcibus similes, quis adpetebant beluarum manus. Nec quicquam inexpertum non mortis modo, sed etiam in ipsa morte novi supplicii timor omittebat. [30] Ergo elephantum vulneribus [p. 305] tandem fatigati suos impetu sternunt, et, qui rexerant eos, praecipitati in terram ab ipsis obterebantur. Iamque pecorum modo magis pavidi quam infesti ultra aciem exigebantur, [31] cum Porus destitutus a pluribus tela multa ante praeparata in circumfusos ex elephanto suo coepit ingerere. Multisque eminus vulneratis expositus ipse ad ictus undique petebatur. [32] Novem iam vulnera hinc tergo, illinc pectore exceperat multoque sanguine profuso languidis manibus magis elapsa quam excussa tela mittebat. [33] Nec segnius belua instincta rabie, nondum saucia invehebatur ordinibus, donec rector beluae regem conspexit fluentibus membris omissisque armis vix compotem mentis. [34] Tum beluam in fugam concitat sequente Alexandro: sed equus eius multis vulneribus confossus deficiensque procubuit posito magis rege quam effuso. [35] Itaque, dum equum mutat, tardius insecutus est. Interim frater Taxilis, regis Indorum, praemissus ab Alexandro monere coepit Porem, ne ultima experiri perseveraret dederetque se victori. [36] At ille, quamquam exhaustae erant vires deficiebatque sanguis, tamen ad notam vocem excitatus: ‘Agnosco,’ inquit, ‘Taxilis fratrem, imperii regnique sui proditoris,’ et telum, quod unum forte non effluserat, contorsit in eum: quod per medium pectus penetravit ad tergum. [37] Hoc ultimo virtutis opere edito fugere acrius coepit. Sed elephante quoque, qui multa exceperat tela, deficiebat: itaque sistit fugam [p. 306] peditemque sequenti hosti obiecit. [38] Iam Alexander consecutus erat et pertinacia Pori cognita vetabat resistentibus parci. Ergo undique et in pedites et in ipsum Porem tela congesta sunt, quis tandem gravatus labi ex belua coepit. [39] Indus, qui elephantum regebat, descendere eum ratus more solito elephantum procumbere iussit in genua: qui ut se submisit, ceteri quoque — ita enim instituti erant — demisere corpora in terram. [40] Ea res et Porem et ceteros victoribus tradidit.) Rex spoliari corpus Pori, interemptum esse credens, iubet, et, qui detraherent lorica vestemque, concurrere, cum belua dominum tueri et spoliantes coepit adpetere levatumque corpus eius rursus dorso suo inponere. Ergo telis undique obruitur, confossoque eo in vehiculum Porus inponitur. [41] Quem rex ut vidit adlevantem oculos, non odio, sed miseratione commotus: ‘Quae, malum,’ inquit, ‘amentia te coegit rerum mearum cognita fama belli fortunam experiri, cum Taxilis esset in deditos

clementiae meae tam propinquum tibi exemplum?" [42] At ille: 'Quoniam,' inquit, 'percontaris, respondebo ea libertate, quam interrogando fecisti: neminem me fortiorem esse censebam. Meas enim noveram vires, nondum expertus tuas: fortiorem esse te belli docuit eventus. Sed ne sic quidem parum felix sum, secundus tibi.' Rursus interrogatus, quid ipse victorem statuere debere censeret: [43] 'Quod hic,' inquit, 'dies tibi suadet, [44] quo expertus es, quam caduca felicitas esset.' Plus monendo profecit, quam si precatus esset: quippe magnitudinem animi eius interritam ac ne fortuna [p. 307] quidem infractam non misericordia modo, sed etiam honore excipere dignatus est. [45] Aegrum curavit haud secus, quam si pro ipso pugnasset: confirmatum contra spem omnium in amicorum numerum recepit, mox donavit ampliore regno, quam tenuit. [46] Nec sane quicquam ingenium eius solidius aut constantius habuit quam admirationem verae laudis et gloriae: simplicius tamen famam aestimabat in hoste quam in cive. Quippe a suis credebat magnitudinem suam destrui posse, eandem clariorem fore, quo maiores fuissent, quos ipse vicisset.

XIV. And now the army had formed its wings and the king himself was leading it, when it was announced to Porus that the bank was held by armed men and that a dangerous moment was at hand. And at first, by that defect of the human mind which indulges wishful thinking, he believed that Abisares, his ally in the war, was coming, for so it [2] had been agreed. But presently, as the light grew clearer and revealed the enemy's battle line, Porus sent 100 four-horse chariots and 4000 horsemen to oppose the advancing column. The leader of the troops which he sent was Spitaces, his brother, and the greater part of his strength was in his chariots; [3] each of these carried six men, two with bucklers, two archers stationed on each side, the rest were the drivers, who were by no means unarmed; for when it was necessary to fight hand to hand, they dropped the reins and poured a shower of javelins upon the enemy.

[4] However, on that day this aid was of hardly any use; for, as was said above, the rain which had fallen with greater violence than usual had made the plains slippery and unfit for riding, and the heavy and almost immovable chariots stuck fast in the muck and [5] mudholes. On the other hand, Alexander with his unencumbered and light-armed force charged them vigorously. The Scythians and the Dahae first of all attacked the Indi; then Alexander sent Perdikkas with the cavalry against the right wing of the enemy.

[6] And already the battle had begun everywhere, when those who drove the chariots, thinking it the last possible aid for their side, began to rush with loose [7] rein into the midst of the contest. This was a common evil for both sides. For the foot-soldiers of the Macedonians were trampled at the first attack, and the chariots sent over the slippery and impassable ground [8] shook off those who guided them. The frightened horses of others dragged the chariots not only into [9] the mudholes and pools, but even into the river, a few, driven by the enemy's weapons, made their way to Porus, who was vigorously

urging on the fight. He, when he saw the chariots wandering all over the field without drivers, distributed the elephants to ^[10] those of his friends who were nearest to him. Behind these he had stationed the infantry and the archers, as well as those who were accustomed to beat the drums; this with the Indi took the place of the sound of trumpets, and the elephants were not terrified by the noise, since their ears had been long since trained ^[11] to the familiar sound. A statue of Hercules was carried at the head of the infantry force; this was a very great incentive to the combatants, and to have abandoned those who were carrying it was held ^[12] to be a military disgrace. They even decreed the penalty of death to those who should not bring it back from the field of battle, since the fear which they had once felt of that enemy had been changed even to adoration and veneration. The Macedonians were checked for a time, by the sight not only of the elephants but of the king himself.

^[13] The beasts, stationed between lines of armed men, at a distance looked like towers, while Porus himself had almost exceeded the measure of human stature; the beast on which he rode seemed to add to his height, since it rose as much higher than the other elephants as he did above the rest of his men.

^[14] Accordingly Alexander, contemplating both the king and the army of the Indi, said: "At last I behold a danger worthy of my spirit; I am dealing at the same time with beasts and with remarkable ^[15] men." Then, looking at Coenus, he said: "When I, attended by Ptolemy, Perdicas, and Hephaestion, have made a charge against the left wing of the enemy and you see me in the thick of the brunt of battle, do you move to the right wing and attack the enemy while they are in disorder. You, Antigenes, and you, Leonnatus, and Tauron, will at the same time advance against the centre and attack their front.

^[16] Our spears, which are very long and strong, will never serve us better than against these beasts and their drivers; bring down those who are mounted on them and stab the brutes. It is a doubtful kind of strength, and rages more violently against its own men; for it is driven against the enemy by command, against its own men by fear."

^[17] Having said this, he was the first to put spurs to his horse. And already, as had been planned, he had plunged into the ranks of the enemy, when Coenus ^[18] with mighty force charged the left wing. The phalanx too at the first onset burst through the middle of the line of the Indi. But Porus, where he saw that the cavalry were charging, ordered the elephants to be advanced, but that animal, being slow and well-nigh immovable, could not equal the ^[19] speed of the horses. The barbarians too could make no use of their arrows. For since these were long and very heavy, they could not safely and conveniently fit them to the bow unless they first rested its end upon the earth, and as the ground was slippery and therefore interfered with attempting this, by the time they were ready to take aim they were overtaken ^[20] by the speed of the enemy. Therefore, disregarding the king's order — which generally happens

when it is fear rather than a leader that begins to issue the sharper commands to men who are in great confusion — there were as many commanders as there were [21] scattered bands; one was giving orders to unite the line of battle, another to divide it, some to stand fast, and others to envelop the enemy from behind; [22] there was no general plan of action. Porus, however, with a few over whom shame had more power than fear, proceeded to collect his scattered forces and to advance against the foe, giving orders that the elephants be put in front of his line of troops.

[23] The brutes caused great terror, and their trumpeting not only threw into confusion the horses, animals so fearful of everything, but also the men and the ranks.

[24] And already those who shortly before were victors were looking about for an opportunity for flight, when Alexander sent against the elephants the light-armed Agriani and the other Thracians, troops [26] better in a rapid attack than in close combat. These cast a great shower of weapons both upon the elephants and upon those who were guiding them. The phalanx also began steadily to attack the terrified [26] animals. But some, who pursued the elephants too eagerly, so irritated them by wounds that they turned upon them. Hence, being trampled under foot, they served to the rest as a lesson to attack [27] with greater caution. It was a particularly awful spectacle when with their trunks they seized men and their weapons and passed them over their heads to [28] the drivers. As a result, the shifting battle, as they now pursued and now fled from the elephants, prolonged the undecided contest until late in the day, when with axes — for that kind of help had been prepared beforehand — they began to cut off their feet.

[29] With slightly curved swords, like sickles, which they called *copides*, they attacked the brutes' trunks. And their fear left nothing untried, not only in dealing death, but also in new ways of making death itself painful.

[30] Therefore the elephants, at last worn out by wounds, rushed upon and overthrew their own men, and those who had guided them were hurled to the ground and trampled to death by them. And now like cattle, more frightened than dangerous, they [31] were being driven off the field of battle, when Porus, abandoned by very many of his followers, began from his own elephant to pour upon those who surrounded him many javelins which had been made ready in advance. And although he wounded many at long range, he himself was exposed to shots from every [32] side. He had already suffered nine wounds, now in his back, now in his breast, and had lost so much blood that his arms were weak and the weapons which he tried to throw rather fell from his hands [33] than were hurled with any force. His elephant too, roused to madness and not yet wounded, charged with no less vigour against the enemy's ranks, until the driver of the beast saw that the king had collapsed, had dropped his weapons, and was hardly [34] conscious. Then he urged the

monster to flight, pursued by Alexander; but the king's horse, which had been pierced by many shafts and was giving out, fell under him, rather dismounting him than throwing him off. And so, while he was changing his horse he ^[35] pursued more slowly. Meanwhile the brother of Taxiles, king of the Indi, being sent ahead by Alexander, began to advise Porus not to persist in resisting to the bitter end, but to surrender himself to the ^[36] victor. But he, although his strength was exhausted and he had lost much blood, nevertheless, aroused by the familiar voice, said: "I recognize the brother of Taxiles, the betrayer of his kingdom and his country," and hurled at him the only javelin which, as it happened, had not fallen from his hands; and it passed through the middle of his breast and came out at his back. After performing this last feat of ^[37] valour Porus began to flee with greater speed. But the elephant also, which had received many spear-wounds, began to give out; hence Porus checked his flight and opposed the infantry to the pursuing enemy-

Already Alexander had come up with him and, perceiving Porus' obstinacy, ordered that no quarter be given to those who resisted. Therefore weapons were hurled from every side both upon the foot-soldiers and upon Porus himself, by which he was at last overwhelmed and began to slide off his beast.

^[39] The Indian who was managing the animal," thinking that the king was dismounting in the usual manner, ordered the elephant to kneel; when he did so, the rest of the animals also — for so they had been trained let down their bodies to the ground. This action delivered Porus and the rest of his company to the ^[40] victors. The king, believing that Porus had been killed, ordered his body to be stripped of its armour, and men were running up to take off his cuirass and his robe, when the elephant began to protect his master, and to attack the spoilers, and lifting the king's body, to place it upon his back. Therefore the beast was overwhelmed with weapons from all sides, and when he had been killed Porus was placed in a chariot.

^[41] When the king saw him lifting his eyes, moved by pity, not by hatred, he said: "What the mischief was the madness which forced you, knowing the fame of my exploits, to try the fortune of war, when you had Taxiles, so near a neighbour, as an example of my ^[42] clemency to those who submit?" But Porus answered: "Since you ask me, I will reply with that frankness which you have granted me in asking your question. I thought that no one was stronger than I. For I knew my strength, but had not yet tried yours. The outcome of war has shown that you are the stronger. But not even so am I unhappy in being second to ^[43] you." Being further asked how he thought the victor ought to treat him, he replied: "As this day advises you, on which you have learned how ^[44] perishable good fortune is." Porus effected more by his admonition than if he had resorted to prayers; for the greatness of his spirit, unterrified and unbroken even by misfortune, Alexander saw fit to treat, not merely with compassion, but even with ^[45] honour. He had the wounded man

attended to as if he had fought for him. When, contrary to the expectation of all, he recovered, Alexander received him into the number of his friends, and presently gave him a kingdom greater than he had held before.

[46] And truly there was no stronger and more consistent characteristic of his nature than admiration for true merit and glory; yet he estimated fame more frankly in an enemy than in a fellow citizen. For he believed that by his own countrymen his greatness could be impaired, but that it would be the more illustrious the greater those had been whom he had conquered.

BOOK IX.

Alexander tam memorabili victoria laetus, qua sibi Orientis finis apertos esse censebat, Soli victimis caesis milites quoque, quo promptioribus animis reliqua belli obirent, pro contione laudatos docuit, quidquid Indis virium fuisset, illa dimicatione prostratum: [2] cetera opimam praedam fore celebratasque opes in ea regione eminere, quam peterent. Proinde iam vilia et obsoleta esse spolia de Persis: gemmis margaritisque et auro atque ebore Macedoniam Graeciamque, non suas tantum domos repleturos. [3] Avidi milites et pecuniae et gloriae, simul quia numquam eos adfirmatio eius fefellerat, pollicentur operam: dimissisque cum bona spe navigia exaedificari iubet, ut, cum totam Asiam percucurrisset, [4] finem terrarum, mare, inviseret. Multa [p. 309] materia navalis in proximis montibus erat: quam caedere adgressi magnitudinis invisitatae repperere serpentes. [5] Rhinoceroses quoque, rarum alibi animal, in isdem montibus erant. Ceterum hoc nomen beluis inditum a Graecis: sermonis eius ignari Indi aliud lingua sua usurpant. [6] Rex duabus urbibus conditis in utraque fluminis, quod superaverat, ripa copiarum duces coronis et M aureis singulos donat: ceteris quoque pro portione aut gradus, quem in amicitia obtinebant, aut navatae operae honos habitus est. [7] Abisares, qui, priusquam cum Poro dimicaretur, legatos ad Alexandrum miserat, rursus alios misit pollicentes, omnia facturum, quae imperasset, modo ne cogeretur corpus suum dedere: neque enim aut sine regio imperio victurum aut regnaturum esse captivum. [8] Cui Alexander nuntiari iussit, si gravaretur ad se venire, ipsum ad eum esse venturum. Hinc praerapido amne superato ad interiora Indiae processit. [9] Silvae erant prope in inmensum spatium diffusae procerisque et in eximiam altitudinem editis arboribus umbrosae. [10] Plerique rami instar ingentium stipitum flexi in humum rursus, qua se curvaverant, erigebantur, adeo ut species esset non rami resurgentis, sed arboris ex sua radice generatae. [11] Caeli temperies salubris: quippe et vim solis umbrae levant et aquae large manant e fontibus. [12] Ceterum hic quoque serpentium magna vis erat squamis fulgorem auri [p. 310] reddentibus. Virus haud ullum magis noxium est: quippe morsum praesens mors sequebatur, donec ab incolis remedium oblatum est. [13] Hinc per deserta ventum est ad flumen Hyraotim. Iunctum erat flumini nemus opacum arboribus alibi invisitatis agrestiumque pavonum multitudine frequens. [14] Castris inde motis oppidum haud procul positum corona capit obsidibusque acceptis Stipendium inponit. Ad magnam deinde, ut in ea regione, urbem pervenit, [15] non muro solum, sed etiam palude munitam. Ceterum barbari vehiculis inter se iunctis dimicaturi occurrerunt: tela aliis hastae, aliis secures erant, transiliebantque in vehicula strenuo saltu, cum succurrere laborantibus suis vellent. [16] Ac primo insolitum genus pugnae Macedonas terruit, cum eminus vulnerarentur: deinde spreto tam incondito auxilio ab utroque latere vehiculis circumfusi repugnantes fodere coeperunt. [17] Et vincula, quis conserta erant, iussit incidi, quo facilius singula circumvenirentur. Itaque VIII milibus suorum amissis in oppidum refugerunt.

[18] Postero die scalis undique admotis muri occupantur. Paucis pernicitas salutis fuit: qui ubi cognito urbis excidio paludem transnavere, in vicina oppida ingentem intulere terrorem invictum exercitum et deorum profecto advenisse memorantes. [19] Alexander ad vastandam eam regionem Perdicca cum expedita manu misso partem copiarum Eumeni tradidit, ut is quoque barbaros ad deditionem compelleret: ipse ceteros ad urbem validam, in quam aliarum [p. 311] quoque confugerant incolae, duxit. [20] Oppidani missis, qui regem deprecarentur, nihilo minus bellum parabant. Quippe orta seditio in diversa consilia diduxerat vulgum: alii omnia deditione potiora, quidam nullam opem in ipsis esse ducebant. [21] Sed dum nihil in commune consulitur, qui deditioni iminebant, apertis portas hostem recipiunt. [22] Alexander quamquam belli auctoribus iure poterat irasci, tamen omnibus venia data et obsidibus acceptis ad proximam deinde urbem castra movit. [23] Obsides ducebantur ante agmen: quos cum ex muris agnovissent, utpote gentis eiusdem, in colloquium incolae vocaverunt. Illi clementiam regis simulque vim commemorando ad deditionem eos conpulere: ceterasque urbes simili modo domitas in fidem accepit. [24] Hinc in regnum Sopithis perventum est. Gens, ut barbari credunt, sapientia excellit bonisque moribus regitur. [25] Genitos liberos non parentum arbitrio tollunt aluntque, sed eorum, quibus spectandi infantum habitum cura mandata est. Si quos vitiis insignes aut aliqua parte membrorum inutiles notaverunt, necari iubent. [26] Nuptiis coeunt non genere ac nobilitate coniunctis, sed electa corporum specie, quia eadem aestimatur in liberis. [27] Huius gentis oppidum, cui Alexander admoverat copias, ab ipso Sopithe obtinebatur. Clausae erant portae, sed nulli in muris turribusque se armati ostendebant, dubitabantque Macedones, deseruissent urbem incolae an fraude se occulerent: [28] cum subito patefacta porta rex Indus cum duobus adultis [p. 312] filiis occurrit multum inter omnes barbaros eminens corporis specie. [29] Vestis erat auro purpuraque distincta, quae etiam crura velabat, aureis soleis inseruerat gemmas, lacerti quoque et brachia margaritis ornata erant, [30] pendebant ex auribus insignes candore ac magnitudine lapilli, baculum aureum berylli distinguebant. Quo tradito precatus, ut sospes acciperet, se liberosque et gentem suam deditit. [31] Nobiles ad venandum canes in ea regione sunt: latratu abstinere dicuntur, cum viderunt feram, leonibus maxime infesti. [32] Horum vim ut ostenderet Alexandro, in consaeptum leonem eximiae magnitudinis iussit emitti et quattuor omnino admoveri canes. Qui celeriter feram occupaverunt: tum ex iis, qui adsueverant talibus ministeriis, unus canis leoni cum aliis inhaerentis crus avellere et, [33] quia non sequebatur, ferro amputare coepit. Ne sic quidem pertinacia victa rursus aliam partem secare institit et inde non segnius inhaerentem ferro subinde caedere: at ille in vulnere ferae dentes moribundus quoque infixerat. Tantam in illis animalibus ad venandum cupiditatem ingenerasse naturam memoriae proditum est. [34] Equidem plura transcribo quam credo: nam nec adfirmare sustineo, de quibus dubito, nec subducere, quae accepi. [35] Relicto igitur Sopithe in suo regno ad fluvium Hypasin processit Hephaestione, qui diversam regionem subegerat,

coniuncto. [36] Phegeus erat gentis proximae rex: qui popularibus suis colere agros, ut adsueverant, iussis Alexandro cum donis occurrit nihil, quod imperaret, detrectans.

I. ALEXANDER, rejoicing in so memorable a victory, by which he believed that the bounds of the Orient were opened to him, sacrificed victims to the Sun; then, in order that his soldiers also might meet the rest of the war with readier minds, he called an assembly, and after praising them informed them that whatever strength the Indi had possessed had [2] been overthrown in the recent battle; that hereafter there would be nothing but rich booty, and that world-renowned riches were conspicuous in that region to which they were on their way. Furthermore, he said that the spoils taken from the Persians were now cheap and shabby, that his hearers would fill, not only their homes, but all Macedonia and Greece with gems and pearls and gold and ivory.

[3] The soldiers, being eager both for wealth and for glory, and at the same time because no assertion of his had ever disappointed them, engaged their service; and when they had been dismissed full of good hope, he ordered ships to be built, in order that, when they had overrun all Asia, they might visit the [4] world's end, the sea. There was an abundance of timber for ships in the neighbouring mountains, and when they began to attack it they found snakes of unheard-of size. There were in those mountains rhinoceros also, an animal rare elsewhere. This, however, was the name given to the beasts by the Greeks; the Indi, being unacquainted with that tongue, use another word in their own language. The king, having founded two cities, one on each bank of the river which he had crossed, presented each of the leaders of his forces with a crown of gold and a thousand gold-pieces; and to the rest also, in proportion to the rank which they held in his friendship or to their services, honour was [7] paid. Abisares, who had sent envoys to Alexander before he fought with Porus, again sent others, promising that he would do everything that the king should order, provided only that he might not be compelled to surrender his person; for he would not live without royal power, nor reign as a captive. To him Alexander ordered it to be announced that if Abisares was reluctant to come to him, he himself would come to Abisares.

Then, after crossing a very rapid river, he advanced [9] into the interior of India. There were forests extending over an almost immeasurable space and given shade by trees towering to an enormous height.

[10] Most of their branches, which were as huge as great trunks, being bent down to the earth, rose again from where they had curved, so that the appearance was, not of a branch rising again, but of a tree sprung [11] from its own roots. The temperature of the air is wholesome; for the shade tempers the force of the sun, and there is an abundant flow of water from springs. But here also there was a great quantity [12] of serpents, whose scales shone with the brilliance *f* told. No poison is more dangerous; for instant death followed their

bite unless an antidote was finished by the natives. From there over deserts they came to the river Hyraotis. Close to the river was a shady grove, abounding in trees not seen elsewhere and in a quantity of wild peafowl. Having moved his camp from there, Alexander took a nearby town by encirclement, and after receiving hostages imposed tribute upon it.

Next he came to a great city, for that region, protected not only by a wall but also by a marsh ^[15] But the barbarians sallied forth to battle with chariots joined together; some were armed with lances, others with axes, and they leaped rapidly from chariot to chariot, when they wished to aid their men who ^[16] were under difficulties. And at first the unusual kind of battle terrified the Macedonians, when they were wounded from a distance; then, scorning such a disorderly device, they surrounded the chariots on ^[17] both sides and began to kill those who resisted. And Alexander gave orders that the bonds by which the chariots were held together should be cut, in order that one by one they might be more easily surrounded. And so the enemy, after losing 8000 of ^[18] their number, fled back to the town. On the following day ladders were planted on all sides and the walls were carried by assault. A few were saved by their swiftness, and when these, knowing of the destruction of the city, swam across the marsh, they truck great terror into the neighbouring towns by declaring that an invincible army, surely made up of gods, had come.

Alexander sent Perdikkas with a light-armed band, ^[19] to devastate that region, and delivered a part of the forces to Eumenes, in order that he also might force the barbarians to surrender; Alexander himself led the rest to a strong city, in which the natives also of ^[20] other cities had taken refuge. The besieged sent envoys to beg the king for mercy, but nevertheless prepared for war. For a disagreement had arisen, which had divided the common people into divers opinions; some thought anything preferable to surrender, others that they had no power in themselves.

^[21] But while they could not come to an agreement, those who were eager for surrender opened the gates and ^[22] let in the enemy. Alexander, although he might justly have been angry with those who advocated war, having nevertheless pardoned them all and received hostages, moved his camp from there to the ^[23] next city. The hostages were led at the head of the army; when the inhabitants recognized them from the walls, since they were of the same nation they summoned them to a conference. The hostages by telling them of the king's clemency and at the same time of his power drove them to surrender; and he subdued the rest of the cities in a similar manner and received them under his protection.

^[24] From there he came into the realm of Sopithes. That nation, as the barbarians believe, excels in wisdom and is governed in accordance with good ^[25] customs. The children that are born they acknowledge and rear, not according to the discretion of their parents, but of those to whom the charge of

the physical examination of children has been committed. If these have noted any who are conspicuous for defects or are crippled in some part of their limbs, they give orders to put them to death.

[26] They marry, not because of consideration of family or rank, but of exceptional personal beauty, because [27] that is what is valued in the children. A town of this nation, against which Alexander had moved his forces, was held by Sopithes himself. The gates were shut, but no armed men showed themselves on the walls and in the towers, and the Macedonians were in doubt whether the inhabitants had deserted the city or had hidden themselves treacherously; [28] when suddenly a gate was opened and the Indian king with two grown-up sons presented himself, a man far surpassing all other barbarians in physical [29] attractiveness. His robe, which covered his legs as well as the rest of his body, was embroidered with gold and purple, he wore golden sandals studded with gems, his shoulders and arms were adorned [30] with pearls and from his ears hung pearls conspicuous for whiteness and size, his golden sceptre was ornamented with beryl. This he handed to Alexander with a prayer that he might receive it with good fortune and surrendered himself and his children along with his nation.

[31] There are in that region dogs famous for hunting; they are said to abstain from barking when they have seen a wild beast, and they are especially enemies to [32] lions. In order to display their strength to Alexander, Sopithes ordered a lion of extraordinary size to be let into an enclosed space and only four dogs to be brought in. They quickly attacked the wild beast; then one of those who were accustomed to such services began to pull away the leg of a dog that with the others was clinging to the lion, and then, because the animal did not let go, to cut the leg off with a [33] knife. When even then the dog's persistency was not overcome, he began to cut another part, and when the dog held fast with equal strength, to make cuts at the dog's body as well; but the dog even in dying kept his teeth fixed in the lion's wound. Such is the eagerness for the chase which Nature is [34] reported to have implanted in those animals. As for myself, I report more things than I believe; for I cannot bring myself to vouch for that about which I am in doubt, nor to suppress what I have heard.

[36] Alexander then, leaving Sopithes in his kingdom, advanced to the river Hypasis, joined by Hephaestion, who had subdued a different region. Phegeus was king of the next nation; he gave orders to his subjects to work in the fields as they had been accustomed and went on to meet Alexander, refusing nothing which he should order.

Biduum apud eum substitit rex. Tertio die amnem supe- [p. 313] rare decreverat transitu difficilem non spatio solum aquarum, sed etiam saxis inpeditum: [2] percontatus igitur Phegea, quae noscenda erant, XII dierum ultra flumen per vastas solitudines iter esse cognoscit, [3] excipere deinde Gangen, maximum

totius Indiae fluminum, ulteriorem ripam colere gentes Gangaridas et Prasios eorumque regem esse Aggrammen XX milibus equitum ducentisque peditum obsidentem vias. [4] Ad hoc quadrigarum II milia trahere et, praecipuum terrorem, elephantos, quos III milium numerum explere dicebat. [5] Incredibilia regi omnia videbantur: igitur Porum — nam cum eo erat — percontatur, an vera essent, quae dicerentur. [6] Ille vires quidem gentis et regni haud falso iactari adfirmat, ceterum, qui regnaret, non modo ignobilem esse, sed etiam ultimae sortis: quippe patrem eius, tonsorem vix diurno quaestu propulsantem famem, propter habitum haud indecorum cordi fuisse reginae. [7] Ab ea in propiorem eius, qui tum regnasset, amicitiae locum admotum interfecto eo per insidias sub specie tutelae liberum eius invasisse regnum necatisque pueris hunc, qui nunc regnat, generasse, invisum vilemque popularibus, magis paternae fortunae quam suae memorem. [8] Adfirmatio Pori multiplicem animo regis iniecerat curam. Hostem beluasque spernebat, situm locorum et vim fluminum extimescebat: [9] relegatos in ultimum paene rerum humanarum persequi terminum et eruere arduum videbatur, rursus avaritia gloriae et insatiabilis cupido famae nihil invium, nihil remotum videri sinebat. [10] Et interdum dubitabat, an Macedones tot emensi spatia terrarum, in acie et in castris senes [p. 314] facti per obiecta flumina, per tot naturae obstantes difficultates secuturi essent: abundantes onustosque praeda magis parta frui velle quam acquirenda fatigari. [11] Non idem sibi et militibus animi: sese totius orbis imperium mente complexum adhuc in operum suorum primordio stare, militem labore defetigatum proximum quemque fructum finito tandem periculo expetere. [12] Vicit ergo cupido rationem, et ad contionem vocatis militibus ad hunc maxime modum disseruit: ‘Non ignoro, [13] milites, multa, quae terrere vos possent, ab incolis Indiae per hos dies de industria esse iactata: sed non est improvisa vobis mentientium vanitas. Sic Ciliciae fauces, sic Mesopotamiae campos, Tigrim et Euphraten, quorum alterum vado transiimus, alterum ponte, terribiles fecerant Persae. [14] Nil umquam ad liquidum fama perducitur: omnia illa tradente maiora sunt vero. Nostra quoque gloria, cum sit ex solido, plus tamen habet nominis quam operis. [15] Modo quis beluas offerentes moenium speciem, quis Hydaspem amnem, quis cetera auditu maiora quam vero sustineri posse credebat? Olim, hercules, fugissemus ex Asia, si nos fabulae debellare potuissent. [16] Creditisne elephantorum greges maiores esse, quam usquam armentorum sunt, cum et rarum sit animal nec facile capiatur multo que difficilius mitigetur? [17] Atqui eadem vanitas copias peditum [p. 315] equitumque numeravit. Nam flumen, quo latius fusum est, hoc placidius stagnat: quippe angustis ripis coercita et in angustiore alveum elisa torrentes aquas invehunt, contra spatium alvei segnior cursus est. [18] Praeterea in ripa omne periculum est, ubi adplicantes navigia hostis expectat. Ita, quantumcumque flumen intervenit, idem futurum discrimen est evadentium in terram. [19] Sed omnia ista vera esse fingamus: utrumne nos magnitudo beluarum an multitudo hostium terret? Quod pertinet ad elephantos, praesens habemus exemplum: in suos vehementius quam in

nos incucurrerunt: tam vasta corpora securibus falcibusque mutilata sunt. [20] Quid autem interest, totidem sint, quot Porus habuit, an in milia, cum uno aut altero vulnerato videritis ceteros in fugam declinari? Dein paucos aegre et incommode regunt: [21] congregata vero tot milia ipsa se elidunt, ubi nec stare nec fugere potuerint inhabiles vastorum corporum moles. Equidem sic animalia ista contempsi, ut, cum haberem ipse, non opposuerim, satis gnarus, plus suis quam hostibus periculi inferre. [22] At enim equitum peditumque multitudo vos commovet! Cum paucis enim pugnare soliti estis et nunc primum inconditam sustinebitis turbam. [23] Testis adversus multitudinem invicti Macedonum roboris Granicus amnis et Cilicia inundata cruore Persarum et Arbela, cuius campi devictorum a nobis ossibus strati sunt. [24] Sero hostium legiones numerare coepistis, postquam solitudinem in Asia vincendo fecistis. Cum per Hellespontum navigaremus, de paucitate nostra cogitandum fuit: [p. 316] nunc nos Scythae sequuntur, Bactriana auxilia praesto sunt, Dahae Sogdianique inter nos militant. [25] Nec tamen illi turbae confido: vestras manus intueor, vestram virtutem rerum, quas gesturus sum, vadem praedemque habeo. Quamdiu vobiscum in acie stabo, nec mei nee hostium exercitus numero: vos modo animos mihi plenos alacritatis ac fiduciae adhibete. [26] Non in limine operum laborumque nostrorum, sed in exitu stamus: pervenimus ad solis ortum et Oceanum. Nisi obstat ignavia, inde victores perdomito fine terrarum revertemur in patriam. Nolite, quod pigri agricolae faciunt, maturos fructus per inertiam amittere e manibus. [27] Maiora sunt periculis praemia: dives eadem et inbellis est regio. Itaque non tam ad gloriam vos duco quam ad praedam. Digni estis, qui opes, quas illud mare litoribus invehit, referatis in patriam, digni, qui nihil inexpertum, nihil metu omissum relinquatis. [28] Per vos gloriamque vestram, qua humanum fastigium exceditis, perque et mea in vos et in me vestra merita, quibus invicem contendimus, oro quaesoque, ne humanarum rerum terminos adeuntem alumnum commilitonemque vestrum, ne dicam regem, deseratis. [29] Cetera vobis imperavi: hoc unum debiturus sum. Et is vos rogo, qui nihil umquam vobis praecepi, quin primus me periculis obtulerim, qui saepe aciem clipeo meo texi. Ne infregeritis in manibus meis palmam, qua Herculem Liberumque Patrem, si invidia afuerit, aequabo. [30] Date [p. 317] hoc precibus meis et tandem obstinatum silentium rumpite. Ubi est ille clamor, alacritatis vestrae index? ubi ille meorum Macedonum vultus? Non agnosco vos, milites, nec agnosci videor a vobis. Surdas iamdudum aures pulso, aversos animos et infractos excitare conor.' Cumque illi in terram demissis capitibus tacere perseverarent: [31] 'Nescio quid,' inquit, 'in vos inprudens deliqui, quod me ne intueri quidem vultis. In solitudine mihi videor esse. Nemo respondet, nemo saltem negat. [32] Quos adloquor? quid autem postulo? Vestram gloriam et magnitudinem vindicamus. Ubi sunt illi, quorum certamen paulo ante vidi contententium, qui potissimum vulnerati regis corpus exciperent? Desertus, destitutus sum, hostibus deditus. [33] Sed solus quoque ire perseverabo. Obicite me fluminibus et beluis et illis gentibus, quarum nomina horretis: inveniam, qui desertum a

vobis sequantur. Scythae Bactrianique erunt mecum, hostes paulo ante, nunc milites nostri. [34] Mori praestat quam precario imperatorem esse. Ite reduces domos! ite deserto rege ovantes! Ego hic aut vobis desperatae victoriae aut honestae morti locum inveniam.'

II. The king remained with Phegeus for two days. On the third day he had decided to pass over the river, which was difficult to pass, not only because of the extent of its waters, but also because it was [2] encumbered with rocks. Accordingly, having inquired of Phegeus what he needed to know, he learned that beyond the river there was a journey of twelve days through desert wastes and that then they came to [3] the Ganges, the greatest river of all India, and that on its farther bank dwelt the races called Gangaridae and Prasii; that their king was Aggrammes and that he was blocking the roads with 20,000 cavalry and 200,000 infantry. Besides this, he was leading 2000 chariots, and, a special cause of terror, elephants, of which Phegeus said that he had as many as 3000.

[5] All this seemed incredible to Alexander; therefore he asked Porus — for he was with him — whether [6] what was said was true. Porus assured him that the strength of the nation and of the kingdom was not exaggerated, but that the ruler was not only of humble, but of the lowest condition; in fact, his father, a barber whose daily profit barely kept him from starving, because he was not bad looking had [7] been beloved by the queen. By her he had been advanced to intimate friendship with the king who then reigned, and having treacherously killed him, had usurped the throne under the pretext of guardianship of the king's children; then, having murdered the children, he had begotten the present king, who was hated and despised by his subjects and mindful [8] rather of his father's fortune than of his own. Porus declaration had filled the king's mind with varied anxiety. He scorned the enemy and his beasts, but dreaded the nature of the terrain and the violence of [9] the rivers; it seemed a hard task to follow up and dislodge those who had been relegated almost to the utmost limit of the human race, on the other hand, his eager thirst for glory and his insatiable longing for renown allowed nothing to seem inaccessible, [10] nothing remote. Also he doubted sometimes whether the Macedonians, after having traversed such an extent of country and grown old in battle and in camp, would follow him over opposing rivers and through so many difficulties put in their way by nature; he feared that sated and laden with booty they would prefer to enjoy what they had obtained rather than wear themselves out by acquiring more.

[11] He realized that his mind and that of his soldiers was not the same; he embraced in his thoughts the rule of the whole world and still stood at the beginning of his task, but the soldiers, exhausted by toil, now that the danger was finally at an end sought the fruit of their labour which was nearest at hand.

[12] Therefore ambition prevailed over reason, and having called the soldiers together, he addressed them in about these terms: “I know well, soldiers, that many things which may well alarm you have been spread abroad with that intent by the peoples [13] of India during recent days; but such artifices of falsifiers are not unknown to you. It is thus that the Persians described as terrible the passes of Cilicia, the plains of Mesopotamia, the Tigris and Euphrates, one of which we crossed by a ford, the [14] other by a bridge. Repute is never transmitted with certainty; all things that she reports are exaggerated. Even our glory, although it rests on a solid [15] foundation, is greater in name than in fact. But now, who could believe that beasts looking like walls, that the river Hydaspes, that other obstacles greater to hear of than in reality, could be surmounted? Long ago, by Heaven! we should have fled from Asia if mere tales could have vanquished us.

[16] “Do you believe that there are greater herds of elephants in India than of cattle anywhere else, although the elephant is a rare beast, is not easy to capture, and is tamed with still greater difficulty? [17] And yet it is with the same untruthfulness that they [1] have numbered their forces of infantry and cavalry.

Indeed, the wider the extent of a river, the more quietly it flows; for when restrained by banks that are close together, and hence dashed into a narrower channel, they carry torrential waters, and on the contrary their course is more sluggish in a spacious [18] channel. Besides this, all the danger is at the bank, where the enemy awaits us as we are landing our boats. Hence, however great the river that intervenes, the danger will be the same when we disembark on the land. But let us imagine that all those things are true; does the great size of the beasts or the multitude of the enemy terrify us? So far as the elephants are concerned, we have a recent experience before our eyes; they rushed with greater fury against their own men than against us; their bodies, great as they are, were mutilated by axes and [20] sickles. But what difference does it make whether they are as many as Porus had, or that there are 3000, when you have seen that after one or two are [21] wounded the rest are turned to flight? Furthermore, they manage even a few elephants with difficulty and inconvenience; but, when so many thousands are gathered together, they trample one another — where such huge and unwieldy masses of bodies have been able neither to stand nor to flee. For my part, I so despised those animals that after I had them, I did not make use of them against the enemy, knowing well enough that they inflicted more damage on their own side than on the enemy.

[22] “But, one may say, it is the multitude of infantry and cavalry which appals you! For you have been accustomed to fight against small forces and now for the first time will have to withstand a disorderly [23] throng! Testimony to the invincible strength of the Macedonians against a superior number is given by

the river Granicus, by the flooding of Cilicia with the blood of the Persians, and by Arbela, whose plains are strewn with the bones of those whom we [24] decisively defeated. You are late in having begun to count the enemy's legions, after you have made a desert in Asia by your victories. When we were sailing through the Hellespont was the time to think of our small numbers; now the Scythians follow us, we have Bactrian auxiliaries at hand, the Dahae [25] and the Sogdiani are fighting in our ranks. Yet it is not in that mob that I trust. To your hands I look, your valour I have as a bail and a surety for what I am about to accomplish. So long as I shall stand in battle with you I do not number my army nor that of the enemy; do you only furnish me with hearts full [29] of enthusiasm and confidence. We stand, not on the threshold of our labours and toils, but at the end; we have come to the rising sun and the Ocean. If cowardice does not stand in our way we shall return from there in triumph to our native land after subduing the whole world.

“Do not, as lazy husbandmen do, through negligence let the ripe crop escape your grasp. The prizes are greater than the dangers; that region is both rich and unwarlike. Therefore I am leading you not so much to glory as to booty. You deserve to bear back to your native land the wealth which that sea casts upon its shores, you deserve to leave nothing untried, nothing neglected through [28] fear. By yourselves and your glory, in which you rise above human heights, and by your services to me and mine to you, in which we rival each other, I beg and implore you not to desert your foster-child and fellow soldier, not to say your king, as he is approaching the ends of the universe. All the rest I have ordered you to do; this one thing I shall owe you. And I who ask this of you am one who has never ordered you to do anything without first exposing himself to its dangers, one who has often covered the army with his shield. Do not break the palm that is in my hands, with which I shall equal Hercules and Father Liber, if Nemesis withhold her [30] hands. Grant this to my prayers, and at last break your persistent silence. Where are those shouts, the sign of your eagerness? Where is that look on the faces of my Macedonians? I do not recognize you, my soldiers, nor do I seem to be recognized by you. For a long time I have been knocking at deaf ears, I have been trying to arouse estranged and broken spirits.”

[31] And when, with faces lowered towards the earth, they persisted in keeping silence, he continued: “I have unintentionally failed you, in some way or other, that you do not wish even to look upon me. I seem to myself to be in a desert. No one replies, no one [32] at least refuses. To whom am I speaking? And what am I asking? It is your own glory and greatness that we are upholding. Where are those whom but now I saw vying with one another as to who should have the honour of carrying the body of their wounded king? I am deserted, abandoned, given [33] up to the enemy. But even alone I shall persist in going on. Expose me to the rivers, the beasts, and those nations whose mere names you dread. I shall find men to follow me, deserted though I am by you.

With me will be the Scythians and the Bactriani, a ^[34] while ago our enemies, now our soldiers. It is better to die than to command on sufferance. Go then back to your homes. Go in triumph after having abandoned your king. Here I shall find either the victory of which you despair or opportunity for an honourable death.”

Ne sic quidem ulli militum vox exprimi potuit. Expectabant, ut duces principesque ad regem perferrent vulneribus et continuo labore militiae fatigatos non detrectare munia, sed sustinere non posse. Ceterum illi metu attoniti in terram ora defixerant. ^[2] Igitur primo fremitus sua sponte, deinde gemitus quoque oritur, paulatimque liberius dolor egeri coepit manantibus ^[p. 318] lacrimis, adeo ut rex ira in misericordiam versa ne ipse quidem, quamquam cupiebat, temperare oculis potuerit. ^[3] Tandem universa contione effusius flente Coenus ausus est cunctantibus ceteris propius tribunal accedere significans se loqui velle. ^[4] Quem ut videre milites detrahentem galeam capiti — ita enim regem adloqui mos est —, hortari coeperunt, ut causam exercitus ageret. ^[5] Tum Coenus: ‘Dii prohibeant,’ inquit, ‘a nobis inpias mentes! Et profecto prohibent: idem animus est tuis, qui fuit semper, ire, quo iusseris, pugnare, periclitari, sanguine nostro commendare posteritati tuum nomen. Proinde, si perseveras, inermes quoque et nudi et exangues, utcumque tibi cordi est, ^[6] sequimur vel anteceditur. Sed si audire vis non fictas tuorum militum voces, verum necessitate ultima expressas, praebe, quaeso, propitias aures imperium atque auspiciam tuum constantissime secutis et, quocumque pergis, secuturis. ^[7] Vicisti, rex, magnitudine rerum non hostes modo, sed etiam milites. Quidquid mortalitas capere poterat, inplevimus. ^[8] Emensis maria terrasque melius nobis quam incolis omnia nota sunt. Paene in ultimo mundi fine consistimus. In alium orbem paras ire et Indiam quaeris Indis quoque ignotam. Inter feras serpentesque degentes eruere ex latebris et cubilibus suis expetis, ^[9] ut plura, quam sol videt, victoria lustres. Digna prorsus cogitatio animo tuo, sed altior nostro. Virtus enim tua semper in incremento erit, nostra vis iam in fine est. ^[10] Intuere corpora exanguia, tot perfossa vulneribus, tot cicatricibus ^[p. 319] putria. Iam tela hebetia sunt, iam arma deficient. Vestem Persicam induti, quia domestica subvehi non potest, in externum degeneravimus cultum. ^[11] Quoto cuique lorica est? quis equum habet? Iube quaeri, quam multos servi ipsorum persecuti sint, quid cuique supersit ex praeda. Omnium victores omnium inopes sumus. Nec luxuria laboramus, sed bello instrumenta belli consumpsimus. ^[12] Hunc tu pulcherrimum exercitum nudum obicies beluis? Quarum ut multitudinem augeant de industria barbari, magnum tamen esse numerum etiam ex mendacio intellego. ^[13] Quodsi adhuc penetrare in Indiam certum est, regio a meridie minus vasta est: qua subacta licebit decurrere in illud mare, quod rebus humanis terminum voluit esse natura. ^[14] Cur circuitu petis gloriam, quae ad manum posita est? Hic quoque occurrit Oceanus. Nisi mavis errare, pervenimus, quo tua fortuna ducit. ^[15] Haec tecum quam sine te cum his loqui malui, non uti inirem circumstantis exercitus gratiam, sed ut vocem

loquentium potius quam gemitum murmurantium audires.’ [16] Ut finem orationi Coenus inposuit, clamor undique cum ploratu oritur regem, patrem, dominum confusis appellantium vocibus. [17] Iamque et alii duces praecipueque seniores, quis ob aetatem et excusatio honestior erat et auctoritas maior, eadem precabantur. [18] Ille nee castigare obstinatos nec mitigari poterat iratus: itaque inops consilii desiluit ex tribunali claudique regiam iussit omnibus praeter aduetos adire prohibitis. [19] Biduum irae [p. 320] datum est: tertio die processit erigique duodecim aras ex quadrato saxo, monumentum expeditionis suae, munimenta quoque castrorum iussit extendi cubiliaque amplioris formae quam pro corporum habitu relinqui, ut speciem omnium augeret, posteritati fallax miraculum praeparans. [20] Hinc repetens, quae emensus erat, ad flumen Acesinen locat castra. Ibi forte Coenus morbo extinctus est: cuius morte ingemuit quidem rex, adiecit tamen propter paucos dies longam orationem eum exorsum, [21] tamquam solus Macedoniam visurus esset. Iam in aqua classis, quam aedificari iusserat, stabat. Inter haec Memnon ex Thracia in supplementum equitum milia, praeter eos ab Harpalo peditum VII milia adduxerat armaque XXV milibus auro et argento caelata pertulerat. Quis distributis vetera cremari iussit. [22] Mille navigiis aditurus Oceanum discordesque et vetera odia retractantes Porum et Taxilen, Indiae reges, firmatae per adfinitatem gratiae reliquit in suis regnis summo in aedificanda classe amborum studio usus. [23] Oppida quoque duo condidit: quorum alterum Nicaeam appellavit, alterum Bucephala, equi, quem amiserat, memoriae ac nomini dedicans urbem. [24] Elephantis deinde et inpedimentis terra sequi iussis secundo amne defluxit quadraginta ferme stadia singulis diebus pro- [p. 321] cedens, ut opportunis locis exponi subinde copiae possent.

III. Not even thus could a word be forced from any of the soldiers. They were waiting for their generals and chief officers to bear the news to the king that, worn out by wounds and the unremitting toil of military service, they did not refuse their duties, but [2] were no longer able to endure them. But the generals, overwhelmed with fear, kept their eyes riveted on the ground.

Then first an involuntary murmur, then also groans were heard, and little by little sadness began to be shown more freely by such floods of tears that the king’s anger was turned to compassion, and he himself, though he strove to do so, could not control his [3] eyes. At length, when the whole assembly was dissolved in tears, Coenus, while the rest hesitated, ventured to approach nearer to the tribunal, indicating that he desired to speak. When the soldiers saw him removing his helmet from his head — for so it is customary to address the king — they began to urge him to plead the cause of the army.

[6] Then Coenus said: “The gods forbid that we should have impious thoughts. And surely they do forbid it; the feelings of your soldiers are the same that they always have been, namely, to go wherever you order, to fight, to incur danger, at the price of our blood to hand your name down to future

generations. Therefore, if you persist, we, even unarmed, naked, and worn out, follow wherever you desire, or lead the way. “But if you are willing to hear from your soldiers words that are not false, but are wrung from them by dire necessity, lend, I beg you, propitious ears to those who have most faithfully followed your command and your auspices and will follow them whither-

[7] soever you go. You have conquered, my king, by the greatness of your exploits, not the enemy alone, but also your own soldiers. Whatever mortals were able to endure we have fulfilled. We have traversed seas and lands, and everything there is better known to us than to the natives. We stand almost at the [8] very end of the world. You are preparing to go into another world, and to seek an India unknown even to the Indi. You seek to bring out of their lurking-places and lairs those who dwell among wild beasts and serpents, in order that you may survey in [9] victory more places than the sun looks upon. The thought is most worthy of your spirit, but too lofty for ours. For your valour will ever be on the increase, [10] our strength is already at an end. Look upon these bodies drained of blood, pierced by so many wounds, rotted by so many scars. Already our weapons are dull, already our armour is giving out.

“Clad in Persian dress, because that of our own country cannot be brought to us, we have degenerated [11] into foreign ways. How many of us have a cuirass? Who has a horse? Bid it be asked how many are attended by their own slaves, what each man has left from his booty. Victors over all, we lack everything. And we are not suffering because of luxury, but it is in war that we have used up the [12] equipment for war. Will you expose this most noble army naked to wild beasts? Of these, although the barbarians purposely exaggerate the multitude, yet even from their false report I know that the number [13] is great. But if you are still determined to penetrate farther into India, the southern part of that region is less immense; when that has been subdued, you may run down to that sea which Nature has decreed [14] should be the boundary of human affairs. Why do you seek glory by a long circuit when it lies at your hand? Here too the Ocean meets you. Unless you prefer to wander about, we have reached [15] the place to which your fortune is leading you. I have preferred to say these things in your presence rather than to discuss them with the men in your absence, not with a view to gaining favour with the army here assembled, but that you might hear from my lips the voice of those who speak out rather than the groans of those who grumble.”

[16] When Coenus had ended his address, shouts arose from every side mingled with lamentations, as in a medley of voices they called out “king,”

“father.”

[17] and “lord.” And now also the other generals, and especially the older ones, for whom because of their age it was both more honourable to ask for an

excuse and whose authority was greater, gave [18] utterance to the same entreaties. Alexander found himself unable either to rebuke them for their obstinacy or to be appeased in his anger; therefore, being at a loss what to do, he leaped down from the tribunal, ordered the royal quarters to be closed, and all to be refused admission except his regular attendants. Two days were spent in anger; on the third day he came out and ordered twelve altars of squared stone to be erected as a memorial of his expedition. He also gave directions that the fortifications of the camp be extended, and couches of a larger size than were used by men of ordinary stature be left there, in order that by exaggerating the proportion of everything he might prepare a deceptive wonder for posterity.

[20] From here he retraced the ground which he had covered and encamped near the river Acesines. There, as it chanced, Coenus was taken ill and died. The king was in fact grieved by his death, but could not forbear to remark that Coenus for the sake of a few days had begun a long harangue, as if he alone [21] were destined to see Macedonia again. Already the fleet which he had ordered to be built was afloat in the river. Meanwhile Memon had brought from Thrace a reinforcement of 5000 horsemen, and besides these 7000 foot-soldiers from Harpalus, for 25,000 men [22] sets of armour inlaid with gold and silver. These Alexander distributed and ordered the old ones to be burned. Intending to make for the Ocean with a thousand ships, he left Porus and Taxiles, the Indian kings, who had been at odds and reviving old feuds, in friendly relations strengthened by an alliance by marriage, and established each in his own sovereignty because he had received the greatest service from [23] them in building his fleet. He also founded two towns, of which he called one Nicaea and the other Bucephala, dedicating the latter to the name and [24] memory of the horse which he had lost. Then, having given orders that the elephants and the baggage should follow by land, he sailed down the river, advancing about forty stadia each day, to allow the troops to be landed from time to time where there were convenient places.

Perventum erat in regionem, in qua Hydaspes amnis Acesini committitur: [2] hinc decurrit in fines Siborum. Hi de exercitu Herculis maiores suos esse memorant: aegros relictos esse cepisse sedem, quam ipsi obtinebant. [3] Pelles ferarum pro veste, clavae tela erant, multaque etiam, cum Graeci mores exolevissent, stirpis ostendebant vestigia. [4] Hinc escensione facta CC et L stadia excessit depopulatusque regionem oppidum, caput eius, corona cepit. [5] XL milia peditum alia gens in ripa fluminum opposuerat: quae amne superato in fugam conpulit inclusosque moenibus expugnat. [6] Puberes interfecti sunt, ceteri venierunt. Alteram deinde urbem expugnare adortus magnaue vi defendentium pulsus multos Macedonum amisit. Sed cum in obsidione perseverasset, oppidani desperata salute ignem subiecere tectis seque ac liberos coniugesque, incendio cremant. [7] Quod cum ipsi augerent, hostes extinguerent, nova forma pugnae erat: debebant incolae urbem, hostes

defendebant. Adeo etiam naturae iura bellum in contrarium mutat. [8] Arx erat oppidi intacta, in qua praesidium dereliquit. Ipse e*t navigiis circumvectus arcem. Quippe III flumina tota India praeter Gangem maxima munimento arcis adplicant undas: a septentrione Indus adluit, a meridie Acesines Hydaspi confunditur. [9] Cete- [p. 322] rum amnium coetus maritimis similes fluctus movet, multoque ac turbido limo, quod aquarum concursu subinde turbatur, iter, qua meatur navigiis, in tenuem alveum cogitur. [10] Itaque cum crebri fluctus se inveherent et navium hinc proras, hinc latera pulsarent, subducere nautae vela coeperunt. Sed ministeria eorum hinc aestu, hinc praerapida celeritate fluminum occupantur. [11] In oculis omnium duo maiora navigia submersa sunt: leviora, cum et ipsa nequirent regi, in ripam tamen innoxia expulsa sunt. Ipse rex in rapidissimos vertices incidit, quibus intorta navis obliqua et gubernaculi inpatiens agebatur. [12] Iam vestem detraxerat corpori proiecturus semet in flumen, amicique, ut exciperent eum, haud procul nabant, adparebatque anceps periculum tam nataturi quam navigare perseverantis: [13] ergo ingenti certamine concitant remos, quantaque vis humana esse poterat, admota est, ut fluctus, [14] qui se invehebant, everberarentur. Findi crederes undas et retro gurgites cedere. Quibus tandem navis erepta non tamen ripae adplicatur, sed in proximum vadum inlidunt. Cum anne bellum fuisse crederes. Ergo aris pro numero fluminum positus sacrificioque facto XXX stadia processit. [15] Inde ventum est in regionem Sudracarum Mallorumque, quos alias bellare inter se solitos tunc periculi societas iunxerat. Nonaginta milia iuniorum peditum in armis erant, praeter hos equitum X milia [p. 323] nongentaeque quadrigae. [16] At Macedones, qui omni discrimine iam defunctos se esse crediderant, postquam integrum bellum cum ferocissimis Indiae gentibus superesse cognoverunt, inproviso metu territi rursus seditiosis vocibus regem increpare coeperunt: [17] Gangem amnem et, quae ultra essent, coactum transmittere non tamen finisse, sed mutasse bellum. Indomitis gentibus se obiectos, ut sanguine suo aperirent ei Oceanum. [18] Trahi extra sidera et solem cogique adire, quae mortalium oculis natura subduxerit. Novis identidem armis novos hostes existere. Quos ut omnes fundant fugentque, quod praemium ipsos manere? caliginem ac tenebras et perpetuam noctem profundo incubantem mari, repletum inmanium beluarum gregibus fretum, immobiles undas, in quibus emoriens natura defecerit. [19] Rex non sua, sed militum sollicitudine anxius contione advocata docet inbelles esse, quos metuant. Nihil deinde praeter has gentes ob stare, quominus terrarum spatia emensi ad finem simul mundi laborumque perveniant. [20] Concessisse illis metuentibus Gangem et multitudinem nationum, quae ultra amnem essent: declinasse iter eo, ubi par gloria, minus periculum esset. [21] Iam prospicere se Oceanum, iam perflare ad ipsos auram maris: ne inviderent sibi laudem, quam peteret. Herculis et Liberi Patris terminos transituros illos, regi suo parvo inpendio immortalitatem famae daturos. Paterentur se ex India redire, non fugere. [22] Omnis multitudo et maxime militaris mobilis impetu effertur: ita seditionis non [p. 324] [23] remedia quam principia maiora sunt. Non alias tam

alacer clamor ab exercitu est redditus: iubent eum ducere dis secundis aequareque gloria, quos aemularetur. Laetus his adclamationibus ad hostes protinus castra movit. [24] Validissimae Indorum gentes erant et bellum inipigre parabant ducemque ex natione Sudracarum spectatae virtutis elegerant: qui sub radicibus montis castra posuit lateque ignes, ut speciem multitudinis augeret, ostendit, clamore quoque ac sui moris ululatu identidem adquiescentes Macedonas frustra terrere conatus. [25] Iam lux adpetebat, cum rex fiducia ac spei plenus alacres milites arma capere et exire in aciem iubet. Sed — haud traditur, metune an oborta seditione inter ipsos — subito profugerunt barbari certe et avios montes et inpeditos occupaverunt. [26] Quorum agmen rex frustra persecutus inpedimenta cepit. Perventum deinde est ad oppidum Sudracarum, in quod plerique confugerant, haud maiore fiducia moenium quam armorum. [27] Iam admovebat rex, cum vates monere eum coepit, [28] ne committeret aut certe differret obsidionem: vitae eius periculum ostendi. Rex Demophontem — is namque vates erat — intuens: ‘Si quis,’ inquit, ‘te arti tuae intentum et exta spectantem sic interpellet, non dubitem, quin incommodus ac molestus videri tibi possit.’ Et cum ille ita prorsus futurum respondisset: [29] ‘Censesne,’ inquit, ‘tantas res, non pecudum fibras ante oculos habenti ullum esse [p. 325] maius inpedimentum quam vatem superstitione captum?’ Nec diutius, [30] quam respondit, moratus admoveri iubet scalas cunctantibusque ceteris evadit in murum. Augusta muri corona erat: non pinnae sicut alibi fastigium eius distinxerant, sed perpetua lorica obducta transitum saepserat. [31] Itaque rex haerebat magis quam stabat in margine clipeo undique incidentia tela propulsans: [32] nam ipse eminus ex turribus petebatur, nec subire milites poterant, quia superne vi telorum obruebantur. Tandem magnitudinem telorum periculi pudor vicit: quippe cernebant cunctatione sua dedi hostibus regem. [33] Sed festinando morabantur auxilia. Nam dum pro se quisque certat evadere, oneravere scalas: quis non sufficientibus devoluti unicam spem regis fefellerunt. Stabat enim in conspectu tanti exercitus velut in solitudine destitutus.

IV. They had come into the country where the [2] Hydaspes unites with the Acesines. From there the river flows into the country of the Sibi. These people allege that their forefathers belonged to the army of Hercules; that being left behind on account of sickness, they had gained possession of the abode [3] in which their posterity were living. They dressed in the skins of wild beasts, their weapons were clubs, and they also showed many traces of their origin, although Greek customs had become obsolete.

[4] Having made a landing there, he went on for a distance of two hundred and fifty stadia, and after devastating the region, by an assault on all sides took [5] the town which was its capital. Another nation had opposed 40,000 foot-soldiers on the bank of the rivers; Alexander crossed the Acesines, drove them within their walls, and took their town by assault. Those of military age were put to death, the rest [6] were sold. Then, having attempted to storm a second

city, but being repulsed by the great strength of its defenders, he lost many of the Macedonians. But when he had persisted in besieging it, the inhabitants, despairing of safety, set fire to their houses and burned to death in the flames themselves and their 7 wives and their children. Since they themselves *were* spreading the fire, while the enemy were trying to put it out, a novel kind of battle took place; the inhabitants were trying to destroy their city, the enemy were defending it. So completely does war invert even the laws of Nature. g The citadel of the town was unharmed, and in it Alexander left his sick as a garrison. He himself sailed around the fortress in his ships. For the three greatest rivers of all India except the Ganges protect its fortifications with their waters; on the north the Indus washes them, on the south the Acesines unites [9] with the Hydaspes. Moreover, the union of the rivers raises billows like those of the sea, and the abundance of turbid silt, which is constantly shifted by the confluent waters, compresses the way where it [10] is navigable by boats into a narrow channel. Therefore, since wave after wave met them, and struck now the prows and now the sides of the ships, the sailors began to furl the sails. But their efforts were thwarted, partly by the surging waves, partly [11] by the very rapid flow of the rivers. In the sight of all two of the greater ships were sunk; the lighter ones, although they also could not be managed, were nevertheless driven on the bank uninjured. The king himself met with the swiftest of the eddies, by which his ship was turned sidewise and driven [12] on without obeying its helm. Already he had taken off his clothing, intending to plunge into the river, and his friends were swimming near by ready to pick him up, and it appeared equally dangerous either to take to swimming or to persist [13] in sailing on; therefore they plied the oars with mighty rivalry, and did all that human power could do to break through the waves which dashed upon [14] them. You might have thought that the billows were cloven and that the surges were forced to retreat. When at last the ship was saved from these, it nevertheless could not be brought to the bank, but was dashed upon the nearest shoal. You would have thought that a war had been waged with the river. Accordingly, Alexander set up as many altars as there were streams, and having offered sacrifice, went on for thirty stadia.

[15] From there he came into the land of the Sudrae and the Malli, who at other times were usually at war with each other, but then had united in the face of the common danger. They had 90,000 younger foot-soldiers, and besides these 10,000 horsemen [16] and 900 chariots. But when the Macedonians, who believed that they had already encountered every danger, knew that a fresh war with the most warlike nations of India still remained, they were struck with sudden fear, and began again to upbraid [17] the king with mutinous language: that after being compelled to cross the Ganges and the regions beyond it, they had nevertheless not ended, but only shifted, the war. They were exposed to unconquered nations in order that at the cost of their blood they might [18] open a way for him to the Ocean. They were being dragged beyond the constellations and the sun and forced to approach places

which Nature had withdrawn from the sight of mortals. For their new arms new enemies constantly appeared. Granted that they routed and put to flight all these, what reward awaited them? Gloom and darkness, and perpetual night brooding over an unplumbed sea, a deep teeming with schools of savage sea-monsters, stagnant waters in which expiring Nature had met her end.

[19] The king, disturbed by anxiety, not for himself but for his soldiers, having called an assembly, told them that those whom they feared were unwarlike; that after these no other nations stood in their way of traversing all the wide spaces which remained and coming to the end of the world and at the same time to [20] the end of their labours. The Ganges and the multitude of nations which were beyond that river he had sacrificed to their fears; he had diverted his arms to a quarter where there was equal glory but less danger.

[21] Already they were in sight of the Ocean, already the breezes of the sea were wafted to them; let them not begrudge him the renown which he sought. They would pass the bournes of Hercules and Father Liber, and thus give their king immortal fame at little cost to themselves. Let them allow him to return from India, not to leave it in flight.

[22] Every assemblage, especially one of soldiers, is fickle and carried away by impulse; thus is sedition [23] no harder to quell than to arouse. Never before were such cries of joy sent forth by the army; they bid him lead on with the favour of the gods, and to equal in glory those whom he is emulating. Alexander, elated by these acclamations, at once broke [24] camp and moved against the enemy. These were the strongest nations of the Indi; they were making vigorous preparations for war and had chosen as their leader one of the nation of the Sudracae, a man of tried valour; he had encamped at the foot of a mountain and showed fires far and wide in order to increase the impression of his numbers, also vainly trying after the fashion of his nation from time to time by shouts and yells to terrify the unperturbed [25] Macedonians. And daylight was already approaching, when the king, now confident and full of hope, ordered his eager soldiers to arm themselves and go forth to battle. But the barbarians — it is not known whether through fear or because a disagreement had arisen among them — at any rate suddenly took to flight and gained the mountains, which were remote and full of obstacles. The king vainly pursued their army, but took their baggage.

[26] Next they arrived at a town of the Sudracae in which many of the enemy had taken refuge, although they had no greater confidence in their walls than [27] in their arms. The king was already approaching them, when a soothsayer began to warn him not to enter on a siege, or at any rate to postpone it; that [28] danger to his life was indicated. The king, fixing his gaze upon Demophon — for that was the soothsayer's name — said: "If anyone should thus interrupt you when you were intent upon your art and were inspecting the entrails, I doubt not that he [29] would impress you as tactless and annoying." And when

Demophon replied that it would most certainly be so, Alexander rejoined: “Do you think that to me, having before my eyes such important affairs, and not the entrails of animals, anything could be a greater hindrance than a seer enslaved by superstition?”

[30] And with no longer delay than making this answer required, he ordered the scaling ladders to be applied, and while the rest hesitated, himself mounted the wall. The crown of the wall was narrow and its summit was not marked by battlements, as is usually the case, but a parapet was built all along it and [31] prevented assailants from crossing it. Hence the king was rather clinging to this parapet than standing on its edge, defending himself with his buckler from the [32] spears that fell upon him from every side; for he was being attacked at long range from the towers and his soldiers could not come up because they were overwhelmed by a storm of weapons from above. But at last shame overcame the greatness of their peril; for they saw that by their delay the king was [33] being abandoned to the enemy. But their help was delayed by their hurry; for while each man strove to be the first to reach the top of the wall they overloaded the ladders; and when these could not hold the burden put upon them, they fell and thus deprived the king of his sole hope. For in the sight of so great an army he stood alone, as if left utterly deserted.

Iamque laevam, qua clipeum ad ictus circumferebat, lassaverat clamantibus amicis, ut ad ipsos desiliret, stabantque excepturi: cum ille rem ausus est incredibilem atque inauditam multoque magis ad famam temeritatis quam gloriae insignem. [2] Namque in urbem hostium plenam praecipiti saltu semet ipse inmisit. cum vix sperare posset dimicantem certe et non inultum esse moriturum: quippe, antequam adsurgeret, opprimi poterat et capi vivus Sed forte ita libramerat corpus, [3] ut se pedibus exciperet: itaque stans init pugnam. Et, ne circumiri posset, fortuna providerat. [4] Vetusta arbor haud procul muro ramos multa fronde vestitos, velut de industria regem protegentes, obiecerat: huius spatioso stipiti corpus, ne circumiri posset, adplicuit clipeo tela, quae ex [p. 326] adverso ingerebantur, excipientes. [5] Nam cum comminus unum procul tot manas peterent, nemo tamen auderet propius accedere, missilia ramis plura quam clipeo incidebant. [6] Pugnat pro rege primum celebrati nominas fama, [7] deinde desperatio, magnum ad honeste moriendum incitamentum. Sed cum subinde hostis adflueret, iam ingentem vim telorum exceperat clipeo, iam galeam saxa perfregerant, iam continuo labore gravata genua succiderant. [8] Itaque contemptim et incaute, qui proximi steterant, incurrerunt: e quibus duos gladio ita excepit, ut ante ipsum exanimis procumberent. Nec cuiquam deinde propius incessendi eum animus fuit: [9] procul iacula sagittasque mittebant. Ille ad omnes ictus expositus non aegre tamen exceptum poplitibus corpus tuebatur, donec Indus duorum cubitorum sagittam — namque Indis, ut antea diximus, huius magnitudinis sagittae erant — ita excussit, ut per thoracem paulum super latus dextrum infingeret. [10] Quo vulnere adflactus magna vi sanguinis emicante remisit arma moribundo similis adeoque resolutus, [11] ut

ne ad vellendum quidem telum sufficeret dextra. Itaque ad spoliandum corpus, qui vulneraverat, alacer gaudio accurrit. Quem ut inicere corpori suo manus sensit, credo, ultimi dedecoris indignitate commotus linquentem revocavit animum et nudum hostis latus subrecto mucrone hausit. [12] Iacebant circa regem tria corpora procul stupentibus ceteris. Ille ut, antequam ultimus spiritus deficeret, dimicans tamen extingueretur, [p. 327] clipeo se adlevare conatus est et, [13] postquam ad conitendum nihil supererat virium, dextera independentes ramos complexus temptabat adsurgere. Sed ne sic quidem potens corporis rursus in genua procumbit manu provocans hostes, si quis congregi auderet. [14] Tandem Peucestes per aliam oppidi partem deturbatis propugnatoribus muri vestigia persequens regis supervenit. [15] Quo conspecto Alexander iam non vitae spem, sed mortis solacium supervenisse ratus clipeo fatigatum corpus excepit. Subinde Timaeus et paulo post Leonnatus, huic Aristonus supervenit. [16] Indi quoque, cum intra moenia regem esse conperissent, omissis ceteris illuc concurrerunt urgebantque protegentes eum. E quibus Timaeus multis adverso corpore vulneribus acceptis egregiaque edita pugna cecidit: [17] Peucestes quoque tribus iaculis confossus non se tamen scuto, sed regem tuebatur: Leonnatus, dum avide ruentes barbaros submovet, cervice graviter icta semianimis procubuit ante regis pedes. [18] Iam et Peucestes vulneribus fatigatus submiserat clipeum: in Aristono spes ultima haerebat. Hic quoque graviter saucius tantam vim hostium ultra sustinere non poterat. [19] Inter haec ad Macedonas regem cecidisse fama perlata est. Terruisset alios, quod illos incitavit. Namque periculi omnis inmemores dolabris perfringere murum et, qua moliti erant aditum, inrupere in urbem Indosque plures fugientes quam congregi ausos ceciderunt. [20] Non senibus, non feminis, non infantibus parcitur: quisquis occurrerat, ab illo [p. 328] vulneratum regem esse credebant. Tandemque internecione hostium iustae irae parentatum est. [21] Ptolomaeum, qui postea regnavit, huic pugnae adfuisse auctor est Clitarchus et Timagenes, sed ipse scilicet gloriae suae non refragatus afuisse se missum in expeditionem memoriae tradidit. Tanta componentium vetusta rerum monimenta vel securitas vel, par huic vitium, credulitas fuit. [22] Rege in tabernaculum relato medici lignum sagittae corpori infixae ita, ne spiculum moveretur, [23] abscidunt. Corpore deinde nudato animadvertunt hamos inesse telo nec aliter id sine pernicie corporis extrahi posse quam, ut secando vulnus augerent. [24] Ceterum, ne secantes profluvium sanguinis occuparet, verebantur: quippe ingens telum adactum erat et penetrasse in viscera videbatur. [25] Critobulus, inter medicos artis eximiae, sed in tanto periculo territus, manus admovere metuebat, ne in ipsius caput parum prosperae curationis recideret eventus. [26] Lacrimantem eum ac metu et sollicitudine propemodum exanguem rex conspexerat: ‘Quid,’ inquit, ‘quodve tempus expectas et non quam primum hoc dolore me saltem morituum liberas?’ [27] An times, ne reus sis, cum insanabile vulnus acceperim?’ At Critobulus tandem vel finito vel dissimulato metu hortari eum coepit, ut se continendum praeberet, dum spiculum evelleret: etiam levem corpo- [p. 329] ris

motum noxium fore. [28] Rex cum adfirmasset nihil opus esse iis, qui semet continerent, sicut praeceptum erat, sine motu praebeuit corpus. Igitur patefacto latius vulnere et spiculo evolso ingens vis sanguinis manare coepit linquique animo rex et caligine oculis offusa velut moribundus extendi. [29] Cumque profluvium medicamentis frustra inhiherent, clamor simul atque ploratus amicorum oritur regem expirasse credentium. Tandem constitit sanguis, paulatimque animum recepit et circumstantes coepit agnoscere. [30] Toto eo die ac nocte, quae secuta est, armatus exercitus regiam obsedit confessus omnes unius spiritu vivere. Nec prius recesserunt, quam conpertum est somno paulisper adquiescere. Hinc certiores spem salutis eius in castra rettulerunt.

V. By this time he had tired his left hand, by which he was shifting his shield about to parry the shots, and his friends were shouting to him to leap down to them, and were standing ready to catch him; when he dared an incredible and unheard-of deed, one which added much more to his reputation for rashness [2] than to his glory. For with a headlong leap he threw himself into the city filled with enemies, although he could hardly hope that he would at least die fighting and not unavenged; for before he could rise to his feet, he was likely to be overpowered and taken prisoner. But by good luck he had balanced his body so well that he alighted on his feet; hence he was standing erect when he began to fight. Fortune had also provided that he could not be surrounded; [4] for an aged tree, standing close to the wall, had thrown out its branches, thickly clothed with leaves, as if for the very purpose of protecting the king; against the huge trunk of this he took his place, in such a way as not to be surrounded, receiving on his buckler all the weapons that were hurled at him in [5] front. For although he was single-handed and so many men were attacking him with extreme violence from a distance, yet none dared to come nearer, and more missiles fell in the branches than on his shield.

[6] The king was protected in the first place by the widespread fame of his name, and secondly by [7] desperation, a great incentive to die gloriously. But as constantly new enemies came pouring on, by this time he had caught a vast number of weapons on his shield, his helmet was shattered by stones, and already his knees, wearied by protracted toil, had sunk under [8] him. On seeing this, those who stood nearest rushed upon him incautiously and in contempt of the danger; two of these he ran through with his sword and laid them dead at his feet. After that no one had the courage to go nearer him, but they assailed him with [9] javelins and arrows from afar. But although a mark for every shot, yet on his knees he had no difficulty in defending himself, until an Indian discharged an arrow two cubits long — for, as I have said, the Indi had arrows of that length — with so good an aim that it passed through his cuirass and was fixed in his body [10] a little above his right side. On suffering this wound, from which a great jet of blood gushed forth, he let his armour drop as if dying, not even having the strength to draw out the weapon with his right hand. On seeing this, the man who had wounded him ran forward with

eager joy to strip his body. No sooner did the king feel him lay hand on his person, than aroused, I suppose, by the disgrace of this supreme indignity, he recalled his failing spirits, and plunged his sword upward into his enemy's naked side.

[12] Three bodies lay dead around the king, while the rest of his assailants stood in stupefaction afar off. He tried to lift himself with his shield, that he might at any rate die fighting before his last breath failed [13] him, but finding that not enough strength remained for that effort, he laid hold of the overhanging branches with his right hand and tried to rise. But not even then being able to control his body, he again fell upon his knees, waving his hand as a challenge to the enemy to meet him in single combat, if anyone [14] dared. At last Peucestes, having dislodged the defenders of the wall in another part of the town, followed in the king's footsteps and came [16] to him. Alexander, on seeing him, thinking that not hope of life but consolation in death had arrived, allowed his wearied body to fall on his shield. Then Timaeus appeared, and a little later [16] Leonnatus, and after him Aristonous. The Indi also, having learned that Alexander was within the walls, left the others, ran to the spot, and assailed those who were protecting him. Of these Timaeus, after receiving many wounds in front and fighting a [17] glorious battle, fell. Peucestes also, though pierced by three javelins, nevertheless with his shield was protecting not himself but the king; Leonnatus, while he was vigorously repulsing the eagerly charging barbarians, was severely wounded in the neck and fell [18] half-dead at the king's feet. Now Peucestes also, exhausted by his wounds, had lowered his shield; the last hope remained in Aristonous. He too was badly wounded and could no longer hold out against so great a number of foemen.

[19] Meanwhile news was brought to the Macedonians that the king had been killed. What would have terrified other men animated them. For regardless of all danger, they broke through the wall with mattocks, and when they had made a breach, rushed into the city and cut down the Indi, more of whom fled [20] than dared to engage them. They spared neither old men, women, nor children; whoever met them they believed to be the person by whom the king had been wounded. And at length by the slaughter of the enemy they appeased their just anger.

[21] Clitarchus and Timagenes are our authorities for the statement that Ptolemy, who was later king, was present at this battle, but he himself, who certainly was not inclined to depreciate his own glory, has written that he was not there, since he had been sent on an expedition. Such was the carelessness of those who composed the old records, or their credulity, which is an equally great fault.

[22] Alexander was carried to his tent and the physicians cut off the shaft of the arrow, which was firmly fixed in his body, taking care not to stir the point.

[23] Then, when his clothing had been removed, they perceived that the arrow was barbed, and that it could not be extracted without injury unless the wound [24] was enlarged by the knife. But they feared that the flow of blood could not be staunched by those who performed the operation; for the arrow was very long and seemed to have penetrated the vital parts.

[25] Critobulus, who was a physician of distinguished skill, but was terrified in the face of such great risk, dreaded to put his hand to the work, lest the result of the treatment, if unsuccessful, might recoil upon [26] his own head. The king observed that he was weeping and near to fainting from fear and anxiety and said: "For what event or moment are you waiting, and why do you not free me as soon as possible from this pain and let me at least die? Do you perhaps fear that you may be blamed because I have received an [27] incurable wound?" But Critobulus, having at last ended his fear, or concealed it, began to urge that he let himself be held while he was withdrawing the point; that even a slight movement of his body would be [28] dangerous. When the king had assured him that there was no need of any to hold him, he kept his body motionless, as had been ordered.

So when the wound had been laid open and the barb extracted, a copious amount of blood proceeded to flow, the king to swoon, darkness veiled his eyes, [29] and he lay stretched out as if he were dead. And while they were vainly trying to staunch the flow of blood by applications, his friends began to cry out and to weep, believing that he had breathed his last. At last the blood ceased to flow, and the king gradually recovered his senses and began to recognize those 30 who stood around him. All that day and the following night the army stood under arms before the royal pavilion, confessing that they all lived by his breath alone, and they did not leave until they learned that he was quietly sleeping for a time. Then they returned to the camp with more assured hope of his recovery.

Rex VII diebus curato vulnere necdum obducta cicatrice, cum audisset convaluisse apud barbaros famam mortis suae, duobus navigiis iunctis statui in medium undique conspicuum tabernaculum iussit, ex quo se ostenderet perisse credentibus, conspectusque ab incolis spem hostium falso nuntio conceptam inhibuit. [2] Secundo deinde amne defluxit aliquantum intervalli a cetera classe praecipiens, ne quies perinvalido adhuc necessaria pulsu remorum impeditur. [3] Quarto, postquam navigare coeperat, die pervenit in regionem desertam quidem ab incolis, sed frumento et pecoribus abundantem. Placuit is locus et ad suam et ad militum requiem. [4] Mos erat principibus amicorum et custodibus corporis excubare ante praetorium, [p. 330] quotiens adversa regi valitudo incidisset: hoc tum quoque more servato universi cubiculum eius intrant. [5] Ille sollicitas, ne quid novi adferrent, quia simul venerant, percontatur, num hostium recens nuntiaretur adventus. [6] At Craterus, cui mandatum erat, ut amicorum preces perferret ad eum:

‘Credisne,’ inquit, ‘adventu magis hostium, ut iam in vallo consisterent, sollicitos esse quam cura salutis tuae, [7] ut nunc est, tibi vilis? Quantalibet vis omnium gentium conspiret in nos, inpleat armis virisque totum orbem, classibus maria consternat, invisitatas beluas inducat: [8] tu nos praestabis invictos. Sed quis deorum hoc Macedoniae columnen ac sidus diuturnum fore polliceri potest, cum tam avidè manifestis periculis offeras corpus oblitus tot civium animas trahere te in casum? Quis enim tibi superstes aut optat esse aut potest? [9] Eo pervenimus auspiciū atque imperiū secuti tuum, unde nisi te reduce nulli ad penates suos iter est. [10] Quodsi adhuc de Persidis regno cum Dareo dimicares, etsi nemo vellet, tamen ne admirari quidem posset tam promptae esse te ad omne discrimen audaciae: nam ubi paria sunt periculum ac praemium, et secundis rebus amplior fructus est et adversis solacium maius. [11] Tuo vero capite ignobilem vicum emi, quis ferat non tuorum modo militum, [12] sed ullius gentis barbarae civis, qui tuam magnitudinem novit? Horret animus cogitationem rei, quam paulo ante vidimus. Eloqui timeo invicti corporis spolia inertissimas manus fuisse infecturas, nisi te interceptum misericors in nos fortuna servasset. [13] [p. 331] Totidem proditores, totidem desertores sumus, quot te non potuimus persequi. Universos licet milites ignominia notes, nemo recusabit luere id, quod ne admitteret, praestare non potuit. Patere nos, quaeso, alio modo esse viles tibi. [14] Quocumque iusseris, ibimus. Obscura pericula et ignobiles pugnas nobis deposcimus: temet ipsum ad ea serva, quae magnitudinem tuam capiunt. Cito gloria obsolescit in sordidis hostibus, nec quicquam indignius est quam consumi eam, ubi non possit ostendi.’ [15] Eadem fere Ptolomaeus et similia his ceteri. Iamque confusis vocibus flentes eum orabant, ut tandem ex satietate laudi modum faceret ac saluti suae id est publicae parceret. [16] Grata erat regi pietas amicorum: itaque singulos familiarius amplexus considerare iubet altiusque sermone repetito: [17] ‘Vobis quidem,’ inquit, ‘o fidissimi piissimique civium atque amicorum, grates ago habeoque non solum eo nomine, quod hodie salutem meam vestrae praeponitis, sed quod a primordiis belli nullum erga me benivolentiae pignus atque indicium omisistis, adeo ut confitendum sit numquam mihi vi tam meam fuisse tam caram, quam esse coepit, ut vobis diu frui possim. [18] Ceterum non eadem est cogitatio eorum, qui pro me mori optant, et mea, qui pridem hanc benivolentiam vestram virtute meruisse me iudico. Vos enim diuturnum fructum ex me, forsitan etiam perpetuum percipere [p. 332] cupiatis: [19] ego me metior non aetatis spatio, sed gloriae. Licuit paternis opibus contento intra Macedoniae terminos per otium corporis expectare obscuram et ignobilem senectutem. Quamquam ne pigri quidem sibi fata disponunt, sed unicum bonum diuturnam vitam existimantes saepe acerba mors occupat. Verum ego, qui non annos meos, sed victorias numero, si munera fortunae bene conputo, diu vixi. [20] Orsus a Macedonia imperium Graeciae teneo, Thraciam et Illyrios subegi, Triballis Maedisque imperito, Asiam, qua Hellesponto, qua Rubro mari subluitur, possideo. Iamque haud procul absum fine mundi, quem egressus aliam naturam, [21] alium orbem

aperire mihi statui. Ex Asia in Europae terminos momento unius horae transivi. Victor utriusque regionis post nonum regni mei, post vicesimum atque octavum annum vitae videorne vobis in excolenda gloria, cui me uni devovi, posse cessare? Ego vero non deero et, ubicumque pugnabo, in theatro terrarum orbis esse me credam. [22] Dabo nobilitatem ignobilibus locis, aperiam cunctis gentibus terras, quas natura longe submoverat. In his operibus extingui mihi, si fors ita feret, pulchrum est: ea stirpe sum genitus, ut multam prius quam longam vitam debeam optare. [23] Obsecro vos, cogitate nos pervenisse in terras, quibus feminae ob virtutem celeberrimum nomen est. Quas urbes Samiramis condidit! quas gentis redegit in potestatem! quanta opera molita est! Nondum feminam aequavimus gloria, et iam nos laudis satietas cepit? [24] Di faveant, maiora adhuc restant. Sed ita nostra [p. 333] erunt, quae nondum adiimus, si nihil parvum duxerimus, in quo magnae gloriae locus est. Vos modo me ab intestina fraude et domesticorum insidiis praestate securum: belli Martisque discrimen inpauidus subibo. [25] Philippus in acie tutior quam in theatro fuit: hostium manus saepe evitavit, suorum effugere non valuit. Aliorum quoque regum exitus si reputaveritis, plures a suis quam ab hoste interemptos numerabitis. [26] Ceterum, quoniam olim rei agitatae in animo meo nunc promendae occasio oblata est, mihi maximus laborum atque operum meorum erit fructus, si Olympias mater immortalitati consecratur, quandoque excesserit vita. Hoc, si licuerit, ipse praestabo: hoc, si me praeceperit fatum, vos mandasse me mementote.’ Ac tum quidem amicos dimisit. Ceterum per complures dies ibi stativa habuit.

VI. The king, after his wound had been treated for seven days but had not yet cicatrized, hearing that the report of his death had gained strength among the barbarians, ordered two ships to be lashed together, and his tent to be set up in the centre, where it would be conspicuous to everyone, in order that from it he might show himself to those who believed that he was dead, and, being seen by the inhabitants, he put an end to the enemies hope which they had conceived from the false report.

[2] Then he went on down the river, keeping some distance ahead of the rest of the fleet, in order that the quiet which he still needed in his very weak condition might not be interfered with by the beat of the oars.

[3] On the fourth day after he had begun his voyage he came into a region which was indeed deserted by all its inhabitants, but abounded in grain and cattle. The place suited him for resting both himself and his [4] soldiers. It was the custom for the principal men among the king’s friends and for his body-guard to keep watch before his tent whenever he had fallen ill; since this custom was being observed at that time [6] as usual, they all entered his chamber. Alexander, anxious lest they brought some serious news, because they had all come at once, asked whether an immediate approach of the enemy was being reported.

[6] But Craterus, who had been intrusted to convey to him the prayers of his friends, replied:— “Do you imagine that we are more disturbed by the coming of the enemy, although they even now stood on our rampart, than through care for your safety, on [7] which you seem to set little store? However great a force of all nations should unite against us, should fill the whole world with arms and men, should cover the sea with their fleets, should bring against us beasts never seen before, it is you that will make us g invincible. But who among the gods can promise that this prop and star of Macedonia will be lasting, when you so eagerly expose your person to evident dangers, forgetting that you draw into disaster the [9] lives of so many citizens? For who desires to be, or can be, your survivor? Following your auspices and command, we have come to a place from which none of us can find a way to his hearth and home except under your lead.

[10] “But if you were still contending with Darius for the dominion of Persia, although no one could wish it, yet one could not even wonder that you are of such ready daring in the face of every danger; for when the peril and its reward are equal, the gain is not only more ample in case of success, but the solace is greater in [11] case of defeat. But that an obscure village should be bought at the price of your life who could endure, not to mention your own soldiers, but even the citizen of any barbarous nation who knows your greatness?

[12] My soul shudders at the thought of the scene which we witnessed a short time ago. I fear to mention that the most worthless of hands would have polluted the spoils stripped from your invincible body, had not Fortune been compassionate and saved you for us.

“We are so many traitors, so many deserters, all of [13] us who were not able to keep up with you. Although you should brand your soldiers with ignominy, no one will refuse to pay that penalty for the guilt which [14] he could not avoid incurring. I pray you, allow us to be worthless in your sight in a different way. Whithersoever you bid us we will go. We demand for ourselves the obscure dangers and inglorious battles; save yourself for those which are worthy of your greatness. Glory gained over mean enemies quickly fades, and nothing is more unworthy than for it to [15] be wasted when it cannot be displayed.” Ptolemy spoke too about the same purport, and the rest used similar language. And now with mingled tears and cries all besought him that at last from satiety he should set a limit to the pursuit of glory and have regard for his safety, that is, the safety of the state.

[16] The affection of his friends was gratifying to the king; accordingly, having embraced them one after the other with unusual tenderness, he bade them be seated and, seeking words of deeper feeling, [17] said: “To you indeed, most faithful and most loyal of my fellow citizens and friends, I feel and express gratitude, not only for the reason that today you value my safety more than

your own, but also because from the outset of this war there is no pledge and proof of your affection for me which you have omitted, so much so that I must confess that my life has never been so dear to me as it has begun to be now that I can enjoy your ^[18] companionship for a long time. But the thought of those who wish to die for me is not the same as my own, since I think that I have long since won this goodwill of yours through deeds of valour. For you would wish to enjoy me for a long time, and perhaps forever, whereas I measure myself by the extent of ^[19] my glory rather than that of my life. I might, content with the kingdom of my sire, within the limits of Macedonia amid idleness have awaited an obscure and inglorious old age. And yet even the indolent cannot control their destiny, but a premature death often surprises those who consider length of days the only blessing. But I, who count not my years but my victories, if I keep a correct account of Fortune's favours, have already had a long life.

^[20] "Beginning my reign in Macedonia, I hold dominion over Greece, I have subdued Thrace and the Illyrians, I rule the Triballi and the Maedi, I possess Asia from where it is washed by the Hellespont to the shores of the Red Sea. And now I am not far from the end of the world, and passing beyond this, I have resolved to open to myself a new realm of Nature, a new ^[21] world. From Asia I crossed into the bounds of Europe in a single hour. Having conquered both continents in the ninth year of my reign and the twenty-eighth of my life, does it seem to you that I can pause in the task of completing my glory, to which alone I have devoted myself? I at least shall not be found wanting, and wherever I shall fight, I shall believe that I am in the theatre of the whole ^[22] world. I will give fame to unknown places. I will open to all nations lands which Nature had moved to a distance.

"To end my life amid these enterprises, if chance shall so will it, is in my opinion glorious; I am born from such stock that I am bound to desire an ^[23] abundant life rather than a long one. I pray you, think that you have come to lands in which the name of a woman is renowned because of her valour. What cities did Samiramis build! What nations did she reduce to submission! What great works did she accomplish! We have not yet equalled a woman in glory, and has a satiety of renown already seized us? Let the gods favour us, and still greater things ^[24] await us. But those which we have not yet undertaken will be ours only if we consider nothing small in which there is room for great glory. Do you only keep me safe from intestine treachery and domestic plots; I will meet unterrified the hazard of war and of Mars.

^[25] "Philip was safer on the field of battle than in the theatre. He often evaded the hands of the enemy, but he could not escape those of his own countrymen. If you think also of the deaths of other kings, you will count more that were slain by their own ^[26] people than by the foe. But since an opportunity has now been offered of setting forth a matter which I have long agitated in my

thoughts, let me say that I shall receive the greatest reward for my labours and my toils if my mother Olympias shall be consecrated to immortality when she departs from life.

[27] This, if it shall be allowed me, I myself will effect; if Fate shall anticipate me, remember that I have entrusted this duty to you.” And then indeed he dismissed his friends. But for many days he remained there in the same camp.

Haec dum in India geruntur, Graeci milites nuper in colonias a rege deducti circa Bactra orta inter ipsos seditione defecerant non tam Alexandro infensi quam metu supplicii. [2] Quippe occisis quibusdam popularium, qui validiores erant, arma spectare coeperunt et Bactriana arce, quae quasi tuta neglegentius adservata erat, occupata barbaros quoque in societatem defectionis inpulerant. [3] Athenodorus erat princeps eorum, qui regis quoque nomen adsumpserat non tam imperii cupidine quam in patriam revertendi cum iis, qui [p. 334] [4] auctoritatem ipsius sequebantur. Huic Biton quidam nationis eiusdem, sed ob aemulationem infestus comparavit insidias invitatumque ad epulas per Boxum quendam Bactrianum in convivio occidit. [5] Postero die contione advocata Bito nitro insidiatum sibi Athenodorum plerisque persuaserat: sed aliis suspecta erat fraus Bitonis, et paulatim in plures coepit manare suspicio. [6] Itaque Graeci milites arma capiunt occisuri Bitonem, si daretur occasio: ceterum principes eorum iram multitudinis mitigaverunt. [7] Praeter spem suam Biton praesenti periculo ereptus paulo post est insidiatus auctoribus salutis suae. Cuius dolo cognito et ipsum comprehenderunt et Boxum. [8] Ceterum Boxum protinus placuit interfici, Bitonem etiam per cruciatum necari. Iamque corpori tormenta admovebantur, cum Graeci — incertum, ob quam causam — lymphatis similes ad arma discurrunt. [9] Quorum fremitu exaudito, qui torquere Bitonem iussi erant, omisere veriti, ne id facere tumultuantium vociferatione prohiberentur. [10] Ille, sicut nudatus erat, pervenit ad Graecos, et miserabilis facies supplicio destinati in diversum animos repente mutavit, dimittique eum iusserunt. [11] Hoc modo poena bis liberatus cum ceteris, qui colonias a rege attributas reliquerunt, revertit in patriam. Haec circa Bactra et Scytharum terminos gesta. [p. 335] Interim regem duarum gentium, [12] de quibus ante dictum est, C legati adeunt. Omnes curru vehebantur eximia magnitudine corporum, decore habitu: lineae vestes in texto auro purpuraque distinctae. [13] Ei se dedere ipsos, urbes agrosque referebant, per tot aetates inviolatam libertatem illius primum fidei dicionique permissuros: deos sibi deditionis auctores, non metum: [14] quippe intactis viribus iugum excipere. Rex coasilio habito deditos in fidem accepit stipendio, quod Arachosiis utraque natio pensitabat, inposito: praeterea milia et D equites imperat. Et omnia oboedienter a barbaris facta. [15] Invitatis deinde ad epulas legatis gentium regulisque exornari convivium iussit. C aurei lecti modicis intervallis positi erant, lectis circumdederat aulaea purpura auroque fulgentia, quidquid aut apud Persas vetere luxu aut apud Macedonas nova inmutatione corruptum erat, confusis utriusque gentis vitiis in illo convivio ostendens. [16] Intererat

epulis Dioxippus Atheniensis, pugil nobilis et ob eximiam virtutem virum iam et regi pernotus et gratus. In vidi malignique increpabant per seria et ludum saginati corporis sequi inutilem beluam: cum ipsi proelium imirent, oleo madentem praeparare ventrem epulis. [17] Eadem igitur in convivio Corratas Macedo iam temulentus exit probrare ei coepit et postulare, ut, si vir esset, postero die secum ferro decerneret: regem tandem vel de sua temeritate vel de illius ignavia iudicaturum. [18] Et a Dioxippo contemptim militarem eludente ferociam [p. 336] accepta condicio est. Ac postero die rex, cum etiam acrius certamen exposcerent, quia detertere non poterat, [19] destinata exequi passus est. Ingens vis militum, inter quos erant Graeci, Dioxippo studebant. Macedo iusta arma sumpserat, aereum clipeum hastamque — sarisam vocant — laeva tenens, dextera lanceam gladioque cinctus, velut cum pluribus simul dimicaturus: [20] Dioxippus oleo nitens et coronatus laeva puniceum amiculum, dextra validum nodosumque stipitem praeferibat. [21] Ea ipsa res omnium animos expectatione suspenderat: quippe armato congredi nudum dementia, non temeritas videbatur. Igitur Macedo, haud dubius eminus interfici posse, lanceam emisit. Quam Dioxippus cum exigua corporis declinatione vitasset, [22] antequam ille hastam transferret in dextram, adsiluit et stipite mediam eam fregit. Amisso utroque telo Macedo gladium coeperat stringere, cum occupatum complexu pedibus repente subductis Dioxippus arietavit in terram ereptoque gladio pedem super cervicem iacenti inposuit stipitem intentans elisurusque eo victum, [23] ni prohibitus esset a rege. Tristis spectaculi eventus non Macedonibus modo, sed etiam Alexandro fuit, maxime quia barbari adfuerant: quippe celebratam Macedonum fortitudinem ad ludibrium recidissee querebatur. [24] Hinc ad criminationem invidorum adapertae sunt regis aures. Et post paucos dies inter epulas aureum poculum ex composito subducitur, ministrique, quasi amisissent, [25] quod amoverant, regem adeunt. Saepe minus est [p. 337] constantiae in rubore, quam in culpa: coniectum oculorum, quibus ut fur destinabatur, Dioxippus ferre non potuit et, cum excessisset convivio, litteris conscriptis, quae regi redderentur, ferro se interemit. [26] Graviter mortem eius tulit rex existimans indignationis esse, non paenitentiae testem, utique postquam falso insimulatum eum nimium invidorum gaudium ostendit.

VII. While this was going on in India, the Greek soldiers who had lately been established by the king in colonies round about Bactra, since disagreement had arisen among them, had revolted, not so much through hostility to Alexander, as from fear of [2] punishment. For the stronger faction, having killed some of their countrymen, began to think of armed action, and after having seized the citadel of Bactra, which through belief in its safety had been carelessly guarded, they had forced the barbarians also to join [3] in their revolt. Their chief was Athenodorus, who had even assumed the title of king, not so much from a desire for power, as for returning to his fatherland along with those who acknowledged his authority.

[4] Against him a certain Biton of the same nation, but hostile to Athenodorus

because of rivalry, laid a plot, and having invited him to a banquet, had him assassinated at table by a Bactrian called Boxus.

[5] On the following day Biton called an assembly and convinced the majority that Athenodorus without provocation had plotted to take his life; but others suspected imposture on the part of Biton and the [6] suspicion gradually began to spread to more. Accordingly, the Greek soldiers armed themselves, intending to kill Biton if an opportunity offered; but their leading men appeased the wrath of the multitude.

[7] Biton, rescued from imminent danger contrary to his expectation, a little later plotted against those who had saved him. But when his treachery became [8] known, they seized both him and Boxus. The latter they ordered to be put to death at once and Biton also, but after suffering torture. And they were already applying the instruments of torture to his body, when the Greeks — for what reason is uncertain [9] — as if crazed, rushed to arms. When their tumult was heard, those who had been ordered to torture Biton, left him, for fear that they would be prevented from carrying out their orders by the cries of the [10] rioting soldiers. He, stripped naked as he was, came to the Greeks, and the pitiable aspect of the man who had been condemned to death suddenly changed their feelings to pity, and they gave orders to let him go.

[11] Twice freed from punishment in this way, he returned to his native land with the rest who had left the colonies established by Alexander. This is what happened in the region of Bactra and the frontiers of Scythia.

[12] In the meantime a hundred envoys came to the king from the two nations of which mention has been made. All rode in chariots and were men of uncommon stature and dignified bearing; their robes were of linen, embroidered with inwrought gold and [13] purple. They said that they surrendered to him themselves, their cities, and their lands, and would entrust for the first time the liberty which they had preserved inviolate for so many ages to his protection and authority; that it was the gods that advised their submission to him, not fear, since they assumed the yoke while their strength was [14] unimpaired. The king, after holding a council, admitted the surrendered peoples into his protection, imposing upon them the tribute which both nations were paying to the Arachosii; besides, he ordered them to furnish 2500 horsemen. All these commands [15] were faithfully carried out by the barbarians. Then he invited the envoys and the petty kings of the nations to a banquet, and ordered a magnificent feast to be prepared. A hundred golden couches had been placed at a small distance from each other; the couches he had hung about with purple tapestries gleaming with gold, displaying in that banquet all that was corrupt in the ancient luxury of the Persians or in the new fashions adopted by the Macedonians, thus intermingling the vices of both nations.

[16] There was present at the feast Dioxippus, an Athenian, a celebrated boxer, and because of the extraordinary greatness “of his strength already both well known to the king and a favourite of his. Some through jealousy and malice carped at him with mingled seriousness and jest, saying that they had as a companion a useless brute with an over-fed body; that while they entered battle, he, dripping [17] with oil, was preparing his belly for feasts. Thus it was that at the banquet Corratas, a Macedonian, already overcome by wine, began to upbraid Dioxippus, and to demand that, if he were a man, he should fight with him on the following day with swords; that the king at last would have an opportunity to judge of Corratas’ rashness or the other’s [18] cowardice. And the challenge was accepted by Dioxippus, who contemptuously made sport of the soldier’s bravado. And on the next day the king, since they even more earnestly demanded the contest, and he was unable to dissuade them, allowed [19] what they desired to be carried out. A great number of soldiers, including the Greeks, favoured Dioxippus. The Macedonian had assumed his usual arms, holding in his left hand a bronze shield and a spear — they call it *sarisa* — in his right a lance, and girt with a sword, as if he were going to fight with [20] several men at once; Dioxippus, gleaming with oil and wearing a garland, displayed a purple cloth in his left hand, and in his right a stout knotted club. This very thing had filled the minds of all with eager anticipation; since for a naked man to fight with one in full armour seemed not only rashness, but madness.

Then the Macedonian, not doubting that his foe could be killed at long range, hurled his lance. Dioxippus avoided it by a slight movement of his body, and before the other could transfer his spear to his right hand, leaped upon him and broke the spear in [22] two with his club. Having lost both his missiles, the Macedonian had begun to draw his sword, when Dioxippus seized him in his arms, suddenly knocked his feet from under him, and butted him to the ground; then snatching his sword from him, he set his foot upon the Macedonian’s neck as he lay prostrate, and poising his club to strike him, would have crushed his defeated adversary with it, had he not been prevented by the king.

[23] The result of this spectacle was displeasing, not only to the Macedonians, but to the king, especially because the barbarians had witnessed it; for he regretted that the famous valour of the Macedonians was [24] exposed to ridicule. For this reason the ears of the king were opened to the calumnies of jealous rivals. And a few days later at a feast a golden cup was purposely abstracted, and the attendants went to the king, pretending to have lost what they had [25] actually hidden. Often there is less firmness in innocent embarrassment than in genuine guilt. Dioxippus could not endure the gaze of all eyes by which he was marked as a thief, and leaving the banquet, he wrote a letter to be delivered to the king, and [26] killed himself with his sword. The king was greatly grieved by his death, believing it to be a sign of indignation

rather than of repentance, especially after the excessive joy of his rivals showed that he had been falsely accused.

Indorum legati dimissi domos paucis post diebus cum donis revertuntur. CCC erant equites, MXXX currus, quos quadriugi equi ducebant, lineae vestis aliquantum, mille scuta Indica et ferri candidi talenta C leonesque raras magnitudinis et tigres, [2] utrumque animal ad mansuetudinem domitum, lacertarum quoque ingentium pelles et dorsa testudinum. [3] Cratero deinde imperat rex, haud procul amne, per quem erat ipse navigaturus, copias duceret: eos autem, qui comitari eum solebant, inponit in naves et in fines Mallorum secundo amne devehitur. [4] Inde Sambagras adiit, validam Indiae gentem, quae populi, non regum imperio regebatur. LX milia peditum habebant, equitum VI milia: has copias currus D sequebantur. in duces spectatos virtute bellica elegerant. [5] At, qui in agris erant proximis flumini — frequentes autem vicos maxime in ripa habebant — ut videre totum amnem, qua prospici poterat, navigiis constratum et tot militum arma fulgentia, terri nova facie deorum exercitum et alium Liberum Patrem, celebre in illis gentibus nomen, adventare credebant. [p. 338] [6] Hinc militum clamor, hinc remorum pulsus variaque nautarum voces hortantium pavidas aures inpleverant. [7] Ergo universi ad eos, qui in armis erant, currant furere clamitantes et cum dis proelium inituros: navigia non posse numerari, quae invictos viros veherent. Tantumque in exercitum suorum intulere terroris, ut legatos mitterent gentem dedituros. [8] His in fidem acceptis ad alias deinde gentes quarto die pervenit. Nihilo plus animi his fuit, quam ceteris fuerat. [9] Itaque oppido ibi condito, quod Alexandream appellari iusserat, fines eorum, qui Musicani appellantur, intravit. Hic de Teriolte satrape, quem Parapanisadis praefecerat, isdem argumentibus cognovit multaque avare ac superbe fecisse convictum interfici iussit. [10] Oxyartes, praetor Bactrianorum, non absolutus modo, sed etiam iure amoris amplioris imperii donatus est finibus. Musicanis deinde in dicionem redactis urbi eorum praesidium inposuit. [11] Inde per silvas ad asperam Indiae gentem, perventum est. Porticanus rex erat, qui se munitae urbi cum magna manu popularium incluserat. Hanc Alexander tertio die, quam coeperat obsidere, expugnavit. [12] Et Porticanus, cum in arcem confugisset, legatos de condicione deditionis misit ad regem. Sed antequam adirent eum, duae turres cum ingenti fragore prociderant: per quarum ruinas Macedones evasere in arcem. Qua capta Porticanus cum paucis repugnans occiditur. [13] Diruta igitur arce et omnibus captivis venundatis [p. 339] Sambi regis fines ingressus est multisque oppidis in fidem acceptis validissimam gentis urbem cuniculo cepit. [14] Barbarie simile monstri visum est rudibus militarium operum: quippe in media ferme urbe armati terra existebant nullo suffossi specus ante vestigio facto. [15] LXXX milia Indorum in ea regione caesa Clitarchus est auctor multosque captivos sub corona venisse. [16] Rursus Musicani defecerunt: ad quos opprimendos missus est Pithon, qui captum principem gentis eundemque defectionis auctorem adduxit ad regem. Quo Alexander in crucem sublato rursus amnem,

in quo classem expectare se iusserat, repetit. [17] Quarto deinde die secundo amne pervenit ad oppidum, quod in regno imo erat Sambi. Nuper se ille dediderat, sed oppidani detrectabant imperium et clausurant portas. [18] Quorum paucitate contempta rex D Agrianos moenia subire iussit et sensim recedentes elicere extra muros hostem, secuturum profecto, si fugere eos crederet. [19] Agriani, sicut imperatum erat, lacessito hoste subito terga verterunt: quos barbari effuse sequentes in alios, inter quos ipse rex erat, incidunt. Renovato ergo proelio ex III milibus barbarorum DC caesi sunt, M capti, ceteri moenibus urbis inclusi. [20] Sed non ut prima specie laeta victoria, ita eventu quoque fuit: quippe barbari veneno tinxerant gladios. Itaque saucii subinde expirabant, nec causa tam strenuae mortis excogitare poterat a medicis, cum etiam leves plagae insanabiles essent. [21] Barbari autem speraverant in- [p. 340] cautum et temerarium regem excipi posse. Sed forte inter promptissimos dimicans intactus evaserat. [22] Praecipue Ptolomaeus, laevo humero leviter quidem saucius, sed maiore periculo quam vulnere adfectus, regis sollicitudinem in se converterat. Sanguine coniunctus erat, et quidam Philippo genitum esse credebant: certe pelice eius ortum constabat. [23] Idem corporis custos promptissimusque bellator et pacis artibus quam militiae maior et clarior: modico civilique cultu, liberalis inprimis adituque facili nihil ex fastu regiae adsumpserat. [24] Ob haec regi an popularibus carior esset, dubitari poterat: tum certe primum expertus suorum animos, adeo ut fortunam, in quam postea ascendit, in illo periculo Macedones ominati esse videantur. [25] Quippe non levior illis Ptolomaei fuit cura quam regi. Qui et proelio et sollicitudine fatigatus cum Ptolomaeo adsideret, lectum, in quo ipse adquiesceret, iussit inferri. [26] In quem ut se recepit, protinus altior insecutus est somnus. Ex quo excitatus per quietem vidisse se exponit speciem draconis oblatam herbam ferentis ore, [27] quam veneni remedium esse monstrasset: colorem quoque herbae referebat agniturum, si quis repperisset, adfirmans. Inventam deinde — quippe a multis simul erat requisita — vulneri inposuit, protinusque dolore finito intra breve spatium cicatrix quoque obducta est. [28] Barbaros ut prima spes fefellerat, se ipsos urbemque dediderunt. Hinc in proximam gentem Patalium perventum est. [p. 341] Rex erat Soeris, qui urbe deserta in montes profugerat: [29] itaque Alexander oppido potitur agrosque populatur. Magnae inde praedae actae sunt pecorum armentorumque, magna vis reperta frumenti. [30] Ducibus deinde sumptis amnis peritis defluxit ad insulam medio ferme alveo enatam.

VIII. After the envoys of the Indians had been sent home, they returned a few days later with gifts. These consisted of 300 horsemen, 1030 chariots, each drawn by four horses abreast, a quantity of linen cloth, 1000 Indic shields, 100 talents of white iron, [2] lions and tigers of unusual size (both species of animals being broken in and tamed), also some skins [3] of huge lizards, and shells of tortoises. Then the king ordered Craterus to lead on his forces at no great distance from the river down which he was going to sail, but those who were accustomed to attend him he embarked upon ships and sailed

downstream to the lands of the Malli.

[4] From there he went on to the Sambagrae, a strong race of India, which was governed by the will of the people, not the power of kings. They had 60,000 infantry and 6000 cavalry; these forces were followed by 500 chariots. They had chosen three leaders [5] distinguished for valour in war. But the people in the fields adjoining the river — and they had many villages, especially on its bank — when they saw the whole stream as far as they could see covered with ships, and shining arms of so many soldiers, stunned by the novel sight, believed an army of gods was coming and another Father Liber, a name celebrated [6] among those nations. Hence the shouting of the soldiers, hence the beat of the oars and the confused cries of the rowers, as they encouraged one another, [7] had filled their ears with terror. Therefore they all ran to those who were under arms, crying that they were mad and were about to do battle with gods; that the ships were innumerable and carried invincible heroes. And they struck such terror into the army of their countrymen that they sent envoys to surrender the nation. g When these had been received in submission, Alexander came next on the fourth day to another nation. These had no more courage than the others had had. Accordingly, after founding a town there, which he ordered to be called Alexandria, he entered the territories of those who are called the [9] Musicani. Here, because of charges made by the Parapanisadae, he tried the satrap Terioltes,” whom he had made their governor, and since he was convicted of many acts of greed and arrogance, ordered [10] him to be put to death. Oxyartes, ruler of the Bactriani, was not only acquitted, but because of his tie of affection with the king was given the territories of a more extensive rule. Then, having reduced the Musicani to submission, Alexander put a garrison in charge of their capital.

[11] From there he came through forests to a rude race of India. Its king was Porticanus, who with a great force of his subjects had shut himself up in a fortified city. This Alexander took by assault on the third [12] day after he had begun to besiege it. And Porticanus, having taken refuge in the citadel, sent envoys to the king to discuss conditions of surrender. But before they reached Alexander two towers had fallen with a mighty crash, and through their ruins the Macedonians burst into the citadel. After this had been taken, Porticanus, who was resisting with a few of his men, was slain.

[13] Having therefore razed the citadel, and sold all the prisoners, Alexander entered the domain of King Sambus, and after receiving many towns in surrender took the strongest city of the nation by a [14] subterranean passage. To the barbarians, who were inexperienced in military operations, this seemed like a prodigy; for armed men came up out of the earth almost in the middle of the city, no indication having been given beforehand of the digging of the passage-

[15] way. Clitarchus states that 80,000 Indi were killed in that region, and many

captives sold at auction.

[16] Again the Musicani revolted; Pithon was sent to subdue them, captured the principal man of the race, who was also the instigator of the rebellion and brought him to Alexander. The king had him crucified, and returned again to the river, on which he had ordered the fleet to wait for him.

[17] Then, three days later, he sailed down the river to a town at the extremity of the realm of Sambus. That king had lately given himself up, but the people of the city rejected his authority and had closed the [18] gates of the town. The king, despising the smallness of their number, ordered 500 of the Agriani to advance to the wall, and by slowly retiring to lure the enemy outside of the town; for they would be sure to follow, if they believed that the Agriani were [19] in flight. The Agriani, as had been ordered, after attacking the enemy, suddenly turned their backs; the barbarians, hotly pursuing them, fell in with other troops, among whom was King Alexander himself. Hence the battle was renewed, and of 3000 barbarians 600 were killed, 1000 captured, and the [20] rest shut within the walls of the city. But the victory was not so happy in its outcome as it appeared to be at first sight; for the barbarians had poisoned their swords. In consequence the wounded died one after the other, and no cause for so speedy a death could be imagined by the physicians, since even slight wounds were incurable.

[21] Now the barbarians had hoped that the incautious and rash king might be one of the victims. But although he fought among the foremost, he was [22] fortunate enough to escape untouched. Ptolemy, who was wounded in the left shoulder, slightly it is true but with greater danger than that caused by the wound, had caused the king special anxiety. He was a blood-relation, and some believed him to be a son of Philip; at any rate it was known for certain that he was the offspring of one of that king's [23] concubines. He was also a member of Alexander's body-guard and a most valiant warrior, and even greater and more distinguished in the arts of peace than in those of war; modest and affable in his manner of life, particularly generous and easy of access, he had assumed none of the haughtiness of [24] royal origin. Because of these qualities it could be doubted whether he was dearer to the king or to the people; at all events, it was at that time that he first realized the affection of his countrymen; which was so great that in that time of his peril the Macedonians seemed to have presaged the rank to which he afterwards rose.

[25] Indeed their solicitude for Ptolemy was no weaker than that of the king. For when Alexander, wearied by fighting and by anxiety, had taken his place beside Ptolemy, he ordered a bed for himself [26] to sleep on to be brought in. As soon as he lay down upon it, he immediately fell into a profound sleep. When he awoke, he said that in a dream a serpent had appeared to him, carrying an herb in its mouth, which it had indicated to be a cure for the [27] poison; and the king declared too that he would recognize the colour of the

herb if anyone could find it. Then, when it was found — for it was sought by many at the same time — he placed it upon the wound; and immediately the pain ceased and within a short [28] time the wound was scabbed over. The barbarians, since their first hope had proved vain, surrendered themselves and the city.

From there they came to the next nation, that of the Patalii. Their king was Soeris, who had abandoned his city, and taken refuge in the mountains.

[29] Alexander took the town and pillaged the fields. From there great booty was driven off, in the form of flocks and herds, and a great store of grain was found.

[30] Then, taking guides acquainted with the river, he sailed down to an island which arose in about the middle of the channel.

Ibi diutius subsistere coactus, quia duces socordius adservati profugerant, misit, qui conquirent alios. Nec repertis pervicit cupido visendi Oceanum adeundique terminos mundi sine regionis peritis flumini ignoto caput suum totque fortissimorum virorum salutem permittere: [2] navigabant ergo omnium, per quae ferebantur, ignari. Quantum inde abesset mare, quae gentes colerent, quam placidum amnis os, quam patiens longarum navium esset, anceps et caeca aestimatio augurabatur: unum erat temeritatis solacium perpetua felicitas. [3] Iam CCCC stadia processerant, cum gubernatores agnoscere ipsos auram maris et haud procul videri sibi Oceanum abesse indicant regi. [4] Laetus ille hortari nauticos coepit, incumberent remis: adesse finem laboris omnibus votis expetitur: iam nihil gloriae deesse, nihil obstare virtuti, sine ullo Martis discrimine, sine sanguine oram terrae ab illis capi: ne naturam quidem longius posse procedere: brevi incognita nisi immortalibus esse viuros. [5] Paucos tamen navigio emisit in ripam, qui agrestes vagos exciperent, e quibus certiora nosci posse sperabat. Illi scrutati omnia tuguria tandem latentes repperere. [6] Qui interrogati, quam procul abessent mari, responderunt nullum ipsos mare ne fama [p. 342] quidem accepisse: ceterum tertio die perveniri posse ad aquam amaram, quae corrumpet dulcem. Intellectum est mare destinari ab ignaris naturae eius. [7] Itaque ingenti alacritate nautici remigant, et proximo quoque die, quo propius spes admovebatur, crescebat : ardor animorum. Tertio iam die mixtum flumini subibat mare leni adhuc aestu confundente dispares undas. [8] Tum aliam insulam medio amni sitam evecti paulo lentius, quia cursus aestu reverberabatur, adplicant classem et ad commeatus petendos discurrunt, [9] securi casus eius, qui supervenit ignaris. Tertia ferme hora erat, cum stata vice Oceanus exaestuans invehī coepit et retro flumen urgere. Quod primo coercitum, deinde vehementius pulsum maiore impetu adversum agebatur. [10] quam torrentia praecipiti alveo incurrunt. Ignota vulgo freti natura erat, monstraque et irae deum indicia cernere videbantur, identidem intumescens mare et in campos paulo ante siccos descendere superfusum. [11] Iamque

levatis navigiis et tota classe dispersa, qui expositi erant, undique ad naves trepidi et improviso malo a attoniti recurrunt. [12] Sed in tumultu festinatio quoque tarda est. Hi contis navigia pellebant, hi, dum remos aptari prohibebant, [13] consederant, quidam enavigare properantes, sed non expectatis, qui simul esse debebant, clauda et inhabilia navigia languide moliebantur, aliae a navium inconsulte ruentes non receperant: pariterque et multitudo et paucitas festinantes morabatur. [14] Clamor hinc expectare, hinc ire iubentium dissonaeque voces numquam idem atque unum tendentium non oculorum [p. 343] modo usum, sed etiam aurium abstulerant. [15] Ne in gubernatoribus quidem quicquam opis erat, quorum nec exaudiri vox a tumultuantibus poterat nec imperium a territis inconpositisque servari. [16] Ergo conlidi inter se naves abstergerique invicem remi et alii aliorum navigia urgere coeperunt. Crederes non unius exercitus classem vehi, sed duorum navale inisse certamen. [17] Incutiebantur puppibus prorae, premebantur a sequentibus, qui antecedentes turbaverant: iurgantium ira perveniebat etiam ad manus. [18] Iamque aestus totos circa flumen campos inundaverat tumulis dumtaxat eminentibus velut insulis parvis, in quos plerique trepidi omissis navigiis enare properant. [19] Dispersa classis partim in praealta aqua stabat, qua subsederant valles, partim in vado haerebat, utcumque inaequale terrae fastigium occupaverant undae: cum subito novus et pristino maior terror incutitur. [20] Reciprocari coepit mare magno tractu aquis in suum fretum recurrentibus reddebatque terras paulo ante profundo salo mersas. Igitur destituta navigia alia praecipitantur in proras, alia in latera procumbunt. Strati erant campi sarcinis, armis, avulsarum tabularum remorumque fragmentis. [21] Miles nec egredi in terram nec in nave subsistere audebat identidem praesentibus graviora, quae sequerentur, expectans. Vix, quae perpetiebantur, videre ipsos credebant, in sicco naufragia, in amni mare. [22] Nec finis malorum: quippe aestum paulo post mare relaturum, quo navigia adlevarentur, ignari famem et [p. 344] ultima sibimet ominabantur. Beluae quoque fluctibus destitutae terribiles vagabantur. [23] Iamque nox adpetebat, et regem quoque desperatio salutis aegritudine adfecerat. Non tamen invictum animum curae obruunt, quin tota nocte persederet in speculis equitesque praemitteret ad os amnis, ut, cum mare rursus exaestuare sensissent, praecederent. [24] Navigia quoque et lacerata refici et eversa fluctibus erigi iubet paratosque esse et intentos, cum rursus mare terras inundasset. [25] Tota ea nocte inter vigilias adhortationesque consumpta celeriter et equites ingenti cursu refugere et secutus est aestus. Qui primo aquis leni tractu subeuntibus coepit levare navigia, mox totis campis inundatis etiam inpulit classem. [26] Plaususque militum nauticorumque insperatam salutem inmodico celebrantium gaudio litoribus ripisque resonabat. Unde tantum redisset subito mare, quo pridie refugisset, quatenam esset eiusdem elementi natura modo discors, modo imperio temporum obnoxia, mirabundi requirebant. [27] Rex cum ex eo, quod acciderat, coniectaret post solis ortum statum tempus esse, media nocte, ut aestum occuparet, cum paucis navigiis secundo amne defluxit evectusque os

eius CCCC stadia processit in mare tandem voti sui compos. Praesidibusque et maris et locorum dis sacrificio facto ad classem rediit.

IX. Being compelled to stay there for a longer time, because the guides, who had been carelessly guarded, had made their escape, he sent men to look for others. When none were found, the desire of visiting the Ocean and going to the ends of the world prevailed upon him, without guides who knew the region, to entrust his own life and the safety of so [2] many valiant men to an unknown river; and so they sailed on, knowing nothing of the country through which they were being carried. How far off from there the sea was, what nations dwelt there, how quiet the mouth of the river was, whether it was navigable by ships of war, was divined by uncertain and blind conjecture; the sole consolation for the rash enterprise was the king's perpetual good fortune.

[3] Already they had gone on for 400 stadia, when the pilots made known to the king that they felt sea air [4] and that the Ocean was not far distant. He, filled with joy, began to urge the sailors to bend to the oars, saying that the end of their labours, so ardently desired, was at hand; now nothing was wanting to complete their glory, nothing left to oppose their valour, without any decision of Mars, without blood-shed, they were taking the very edge of the world; not even Nature could go farther, soon they would see what [5] was unknown except to the immortals. Nevertheless he sent a few men ashore in a boat, to take some of the peasants who were roving about, from whom he hoped to get more accurate information. They, after searching all the huts, at last found some hidden [6] in them. These, when asked how far away the sea was, answered that they had never even heard of any sea; but that on the third day they could reach bitter water, which spoiled the fresh water.

It was clear that this was a description of the sea by those who were not acquainted with its nature; [7] and so the boatmen rowed on with great eagerness, and each succeeding day, as the fulfilment of their hopes drew nearer, their ardour increased. By the third day sea water mixed with the river met them, as the tide, which was still gentle, mingled the different [8] waters. Then carried to another island, situated in the middle of the river, somewhat more slowly because their speed being retarded by the tide, they brought their fleet to the shore and ran about to look for supplies, with no thought of the accident which befell them in their ignorance. It was nearly the third hour, when the Ocean, in its regular change, began to be carried on a flood-tide into the river, and pushed it back. The stream, at first checked and then pushed more violently, was driven upstream with greater speed than that of torrents running in a [10] precipitous channel. The nature of the sea was unknown to the common soldiers, who thought that they were witnessing portents and signs of the anger of the gods when the sea continually swelled and overflowed to flood fields that shortly before were dry.

[11] Now the ships were lifted and the whole fleet was scattered, and those who

had gone on shore, alarmed and amazed by the unexpected calamity, ran from
[12] every side back to the ships. But in times of confusion even haste is slow. Some were pushing at the ships with poles, others had taken their seats while
[13] they prevented the oars from being put in place, some in their haste to sail, without waiting for those who ought to have been with them, were weakly struggling with crippled and unmanageable ships, other ships had taken all those who rushed inconsiderately into them; and equally too great and too small numbers [14] delayed their haste. Here some were shouting to wait, there others, to go on, and the contradictory cries of those who never demanded one and the same action had prevented the use, not only of the eyes, [15] but also of the ears. And there was no help even in the pilots, for their voice could not be heard in the tumult, nor could their orders be carried out by the frightened and disordered sailors.

[16] Hence the ships began to be dashed together, and the oars to be shorn off in turn, and the crews to foul one another's ships. You would have supposed, not that it was the fleet of one army, but that the fleets of two armies were engaged in a sea-fight.

[17] Prows were dashed against sterns, those ships that damaged ships in front of them were in turn injured by ships behind them; from angry words they even came to blows.

[18] And now the tide had flooded all the plains about the river except for mounds projecting like small islands, to which many in their trepidation hastened [19] to swim, deserting the ships. The scattered fleet stood, a part in very deep water, where valleys had made low ground, a part were stranded on shoals, wherever the waters had covered land of uneven but rising level; when on a sudden a new cause of terror, greater than the former one, surprised [20] them. The sea began to flow back with great pull, as the waters ran back to their own channel and restored the lands which a little before had been submerged in deep surge. Hence some of the ships, being thus stranded, were thrown upon their prows, others fell upon their sides. The fields were strewn with baggage, arms, and fragments of [21] broken planks and oars. The soldiers dared neither to land nor to stay aboard, since they were awaiting more serious calamities than the present that might follow at any time. They could hardly believe that they actually beheld what they were experiencing, shipwreck on dry land, the sea in the river.

[22] And there was no end to their troubles; for since they did not know that the sea would a little later bring back the tide by which their ships would be floated, they foresaw famine and the utmost extremities. Horrible sea-beasts too, left by the tide, were [23] roaming about. And already night was drawing near, and despair of safety had disturbed even the king himself. However his cares did not so master his indomitable spirit as to keep him from spending the whole night on the watch and sending horsemen ahead to the mouth of the

river, in order that when they saw that the tide was rising again, they might ^[24] outstrip it. He also gave orders that the ships which were damaged should be repaired, that those which had been overturned by the waves should be raised, and that everyone should be prepared and alert ^[25] when the sea had again flooded the lands. When all that night had been spent in watching and in encouraging the army, at the same time the horsemen came fleeing for safety at top speed, and the tide followed. This at first, as the waters came under them with gentle flow, began to lift the ships, and then, when all the fields were flooded, even set the fleet in motion.

^[26] Then the hand-claps and cheers of the soldiers and boatmen, hailing with unrestrained joy the unexpected safety, made the shores and banks resound. In wonder they asked one another whence so great a sea had suddenly returned, whither it had fled the day before, what was the nature of this same element which was at one moment at variance with the strict laws of time, and at another so subject to them.

^[27] The king, since from what had happened he conjectured that the regular tune was after sunrise, in the middle of the night, in order to anticipate the tide, with a few ships went down the river and, carried out to its mouth, proceeded 400 stadia into the sea, at last accomplishing the object of his prayers. Then, after sacrificing to the gods presiding over the sea and the region, he returned to the fleet.

Hinc adversum flumen subit classis et altero die adpulsa est haud procul lacu salso, cuius incognita natura plerosque decepit temere ingressos aquam. Quippe scabies corpora invasit, et contagium morbi etiam in alios vulgatum est. ^[2] Oleum remedio fuit. Leonnato ^[p. 345] deinde praemisso, ut puteos foderet, qua terrestri itinere ducturus exercitum videbatur — quippe sicca erat regio — , ipse cum copiis subsistit vernum tempus expectans. ^[3] Interim et urbes plerasque condidit et Nearcho atque Onesicrito nauticae rei peritis imperavit, ut validissimas navium deducerent in Oceanum progressique, quoad tuto possent, naturam maris noscerent: vel eodem amne vel Euphrate subire eos posse, cum reverti ad se vellent. ^[4] Iamque mitigata hieme et navibus, quae inutiles videbantur, crematis terra ducebat exercitum. ^[5] Nonis castris in regionem Arabiton, inde totidem diebus in Cedrosiorum perventum est. Liber hic populus concilio habito dedit se, nec quicquam deditis praeter commeatus imperatum est. ^[6] Quinto hinc die venit ad flumen: Arabum incolae appellant. Regio deserta et aquarum inops excipit: quam emensus in Horitas transit. Ibi maiorem exercitus partem Hephaestioni tradidit, levem armaturam cum Ptolomaeo Leonnatoque partitus est. ^[7] Tria simul agmina populabantur Indos, magnaeque praedae actae sunt: maritimos Ptolomaeus, ceteros ipse rex et ab alia parte Leonnatus urebant. In hac quoque regione urbem condidit, deductique sunt in eam Arachosii. ^[8] Hinc pervenit ad maritimos Indos. Desertam vastamque regionem late tenent ac ne cum

finitimis quidem ullo commercii iure miscentur. [9] Ipsa solitudo [p. 346] natura quoque ininitia efferavit ingenia: prominent ungues numquam recisi, comae hirsutae et intonsae sunt. [10] Tuguria conchis et ceteris purgamentis maris instruunt. Ferarum pellibus tecti piscibus sole duratis et maiorum quoque beluarum, [11] quas fluctus eiecit, carne vescuntur. Consumptis igitur alimentis Macedones primo inopiam, deinde ad ultimum famem sentire coeperunt radices palmarum — namque sola ea arbor gignitur — ubique rimantes. [12] Et cum haec quoque alimenta defecerant, iumenta caedere adgressi ne equis quidem abstinebant. Et cum deessent, quae sarcinas veherent, spolia de hostibus, propter quae ultima Orientis peragraverant, [13] cremabant incendio. Famem deinde pestilentia secuta est. Quippe insalubrium ciborum noxii suci, ad hoc itineris labor et aegritudo animi vulgaverant morbos, et nec manere sine clade nec progredi poterant: [14] manentes fames, progressos acrior pestilentia urgebat. Ergo strati erant campi paene pluribus semivivis quam cadaveribus. Ac ne levius quidem aegri sequi poterant: quippe agmen raptim agebatur tantum singulis ad spem salutis ipsos proficere credentibus, quantum itineris festinando praeciperent. [15] Igitur, qui defecerant, notos ignotosque, ut adlevarentur, orabant: sed nec iumenta erant, quibus excipi possent, et miles vix arma portabat, imminetisque et ipsis facies mali ante oculos erat. Ergo saepius revocati ne respicere quidem suos sustinebant misericordia in formidinem versa. [16] Illi relictos deos testes et sacra communia regisque inplorabant opem, cumque frustra surdas aures fatigarent, in [p. 347] rabiem desperatione versi parem suo exitum similesque ipsis amicos et contubernales precabantur. [17] Rex dolore simul ac pudore anxius, quia causa tantae cladis ipse esset, ad Phrataphernen, Parthyaeorum satrapen, misit; qui iuberet camelis cocta cibaria adferri, aliosque finitimarum regionum praefectos certiores necessitatis suae fecit. [18] Nec cessatum est ab his. Itaque fame dumtaxat vindicatus exercitus tandem in Cedrosiae fines perducitur. Omnium rerum solo fertili regio est: in qua stativa habuit, ut vexatos milites quiete firmare! [19] Hic Leonnati litteras accepit conflixisse ipsum cum VIII milibus peditum et CCCC equitibus Horitarum prospero eventu. A Cratero quoque nuntius venit Ozinen et Zariaspen, nobilis Persas, defectionem molientes oppressos a se in vinculis esse. [20] Praeposito igitur regioni Sibyrtio — namque Menon, praefectus eius, nuper interierat morbo — in Carmaniam ipse processit. [21] Astaspes erat satrapes gentis, suspectus res novare voluisse, dum in India rex est: quem occurrentem dissimulata ira comiter adlocutus, dum exploraret, quae delata erant, in eodem honore habuit. [22] Cum inde praefecti, sicut imperatum erat, equorum iumentorumque iugali vim ingentem ex omni, quae sub imperio erat, regione misissent, quibus deerant inpedimenta, as restituit. [23] Arma quoque ad pristinum refecta sunt cultum: quippe haud procul a Perside aberant non pacata [p. 348] modo, sed etiam opulenta. [24] Igitur, ut supra dictum est, aemulatus Patris Liberi non gloriam solum, quam ex illis gentibus deportaverat, sed etiam pompam, sive illud triumphus fuit ab eo primum institutus sive bacchantium lusus, [25] statuit imitari animo super

humanum fastigium elato. Vicos, per quos iter erat, floribus coronisque sterni iubet, liminibus aedium creterras vino repletas et alia eximiae magnitudinis vasa disponi, vehicula deinde constrata, ut plures capere milites possent, [26] in tabernaculorum modum ornari, alia candidis velis, alia veste pretiosa. Primi ibant amici et cohors regia variis redimita floribus coronisque: alibi tibicinum cantus, alibi lyrae sonus audiebatur: item vehiculis pro copia cuiusque adornatis comissabundus exercitus armis, quae maxime decora erant, circumpendentibus. Ipsum convivasque currus vehebat creterris aureis eiusdemque materiae ingentibus poculis praegravis. [27] Hoc modo per dies VII bacchabundum agmen incessit, parata praeda, si quid victis saltem adversus comissantes animi fuisset: mille, hercule, viri modo et sobrii VII dierum crapula graves in suo triumpho capere potuerunt. [28] Sed fortuna, quae rebus famam pretiumque constituit, hoc quoque militiae probrum vertit in gloriam. Et praesens aetas et posteritas deinde mirata est per gentes nondum satis domitas incessisse temulentos barbaris, quod temeritas erat, fiduciam esse credentibus. [29] Hunc apparatus carnifex sequebatur: [p. 349] quippe satrapes Astaspes, de quo ante dictum est, interfici iussus est: [30] adeo nec luxuriae quicquam crudelitas nec crudelitati luxuria obstat.

X. Next the fleet went up the river, and on the second day was moored near a salt lake, the unknown nature of which deceived those who rashly entered its waters. For a scabby itch attacked their bodies and the contagion of the ailment was [2] communicated also to others. A remedy was oil. Then Leonnatus was sent ahead, to dig wells along the route by which he seemed likely to lead the army in a march by land — for the region was dry — while Alexander himself with his troops remained where he was, [3] waiting for the springtime. Meanwhile he both founded several cities and ordered Nearchus and Onesicritus, who were skilled in navigation, to sail the strongest ships down to the Ocean, and having gone as far as they safely could, to make themselves acquainted with the nature of the sea, saying that when they wished to return to him, they could come up either by that same river or by the Euphrates.

[4] And when the winter was nearly over, he burned the ships which seemed useless, and led the army [5] by land. On the ninth day he came into the region of the Arabitae, and from there in the same number of days into that of the Cedrosii. This free people, after having held a council, surrendered themselves, and nothing was demanded of the surrendered [6] except supplies. Next, on the fifth day, he came to a river which the natives call the Arabus. A region barren and poor in water met him; having passed through this, he crossed into the land of the Horitae. There he handed over the greater part of the army to Hephaestion and shared the light-armed troops [7] with Ptolemy and Leonnatus. Three armies at the same time were pillaging the Indi, and a great amount of booty was driven off; Ptolemy was burning the maritime regions, the king himself and in another direction Leonnatus, the rest of the

country. In this region also he founded a city, and colonized it with Arachosii.

[8] From there he came to the Indi who dwell along the sea-coast. They occupy a great extent of country which is barren and desolate, and mingle in no kind of [9] intercourse even with their neighbours. Their very solitude has made quite wild their dispositions, which are savage even by nature; their nails grow long, never having been cut, their hair is shaggy and unshorn.

[10] They adorn their huts with shells and other things thrown up by the sea. Clad in the skins of wild beasts, they feed upon fish cured in the sun, and also on the flesh of larger animals cast up by the sea.

[11] Therefore, since their supplies were used up, the Macedonians began to suffer at first scarcity, and finally starvation, grubbing everywhere for the roots of palms — for that is the only kind of tree that grows [12] there. And when even this nourishment had failed them, they began to kill their draught animals, not even abstaining from the horses. And when they had nothing to carry their packs, they burned the spoils taken from the enemy, for the sake of which they had traversed the remotest parts of the Orient.

[13] Then pestilence followed hunger. For the harmful juices of the unwholesome viands, added to the labour of marching and anxiety of mind, had spread diseases, and they could neither remain where they were nor advance without danger of death; if they remained, famine, if they went on, a deadlier enemy, pestilence, [14] assailed them. Hence the plains were strewn with almost more bodies of the dying than of the dead. And not even those who were slightly ill were able to follow; for the army was led on rapidly, since each man believed that the army was making the more progress towards the hope of safety, the more [15] they cut short their journey by hurrying. Therefore those who had given out besought those whom they knew, and strangers as well, to succour them; but there were no animals by which they could be taken on, and the soldiers could barely carry their arms and the sight of the evil which threatened themselves was before their eyes. Therefore, though often called back, they could not endure even to look upon their comrades, but pity was overcome by fear.

[16] Those others, being left behind, called upon the gods as witnesses, on their common sacred rites, and on the aid of the king, and when they found that they were wearying deaf ears to no purpose, despair turned to madness and they prayed that those to whom they appealed might have a fate like their own and friends and comrades as cruel as themselves.

[17] The king, oppressed by grief, and at the same time by shame, because he himself was the cause of such a great disaster, sent messengers to Phrataphernes, satrap of the Parthyaei, to order cooked food to be brought on camels, and informed other governors of [18] neighbouring regions of his

necessities. And they did not delay. And so the army, saved at least from starvation, was at last led into the country of Cedrosia. That is a land with a soil productive of all fruits; there he encamped for some time, in order [19] to recuperate the suffering soldiers with rest. Here he received a letter from Leonnatus, saying that he had fought with 8000 infantry and 400 cavalry of the Horitae with successful result. From Craterus also came the news that he had defeated Ozines and Zariaspes, Persian nobles who were attempting [20] a revolt, and that they were in fetters. Therefore, having made Sibyrtius governor of that region — for Menon, its prefect, had lately fallen ill and died

[21] he himself advanced into Carmania. The satrap of that nation was Astaspes, who was suspected of having wished to revolt while the king was in India. When Astaspes came to meet him, Alexander dissembled his anger, and, addressing him graciously, kept him in his same rank until he could inquire into what had been reported.

[22] Then, when the governors, as had been ordered, had sent a great supply of horses and yoked draught-cattle from all the region which was under their rule, the king restored their equipment to those who [23] lacked it. Their arms also were replaced with equally handsome ones; for they were not far from Persia, [24] which was not only subdued, but also rich. Therefore, as was said before, rivalling not only the glory of Father Liber which he had carried off from those nations, but also his procession, whether that was a triumph first invented by that god or the sport of drunken revellers, he decided to imitate it, in a spirit [25] raised above the level of human greatness. To this end, he ordered the villages through which his route lay to be strewn with flowers and garlands, mixing-bowls filled with wine, and other vessels of unusual size to be placed everywhere on the thresholds of the houses, then carriages to be spread, so that each might hold many soldiers, and to be equipped like tents, some with white curtains, and others with costly tapestries.

[26] At the head marched the king's friends and the royal troop, wreathed with chaplets made of a variety of flowers; on one side was heard the music of flute-players, on another the notes of the lyre; the army also joined the revels in vehicles adorned according to the means of each man and hung around with their most beautiful arms. The king and his companions rode in a chariot loaded down with golden [27] bowls and huge beakers of the same material. In this way the army for seven days marched in a riotous procession, an easy prey if the conquered had had any courage even against revellers; a single thousand, by Heaven!, provided they were real men and sober, could have captured in the midst of their triumph those who for seven days had been heavy with [28] drunkenness. But Fortune, who assigns renown and value to actions, turned to glory even this disgrace to an army. Both the age of that time, and afterwards posterity, regarded it as wonderful that they marched

drunken through nations not wholly subdued, and that the barbarians took this rash conduct for ^[29] confidence. This splendid exhibition was followed by the executioner; for it was ordered that the satrap Astaspes, of whom mention was made before, should ^[30] be put to death; so true is it that cruelty is no obstacle whatever to luxury, nor luxury to cruelty.

BOOK X.

Isdem fere diebus Cleander et Sitalces et cum Agathone Heracon superveniunt, qui Parmenionem iussu regis occiderant. [2] V milia peditum cum equitibus M, sed et accusatores eos e provincia, cui praefuerant, sequebantur. [3] Nec tot facinora, quot admiserant, compensare poterat caedis perquam gratae regi ministerium. Quippe cum omnia profana spoliassent, ne sacris quidem abstinerant, virginesque et principes feminarum stupra perpressae corporum ludibria deflebant. [4] Invisum Macedonum nomen avaritia eorum ac libido barbaris fecerat. [5] Inter omnes tamen eminebat Cleandri furor, qui nobilem virginem constupratam servo suo pelicem dederat. [6] Plerique amicorum Alexandri non tam criminum, quae palam obiciebantur, atrocitatem, quam [p. 351] memoriam occisi per illos Parmenionis, quod tacitum prodesse reis apud regem poterat, intuebantur laeti reccidisse iram in irae ministros nec ullam potentiam scelere quaesitam cuiquam esse diuturnam. [7] Rex cognita causa pronuntiavit ab accusatoribus unum et id maximum crimen esse praeteritum, desperationem salutis suae: numquam enim talia ausuros, qui ipsum ex India sospitem aut optassent reverti aut credidissent reversurum. [8] Igitur hos quidem vinxit, DC autem militum, qui saevitiae eorum ministri fuerant, interfici iussit. [9] Eodem die sumptum est supplicium de iis quoque, quos auctores defectionis Persarum Craterus adduxerat Haud multo post Nearchus et Onesicritus, [10] quos longius in Oceanum procedere iusserat, superveniunt. [11] Nuntiabant autem quaedam audita, alia conperta: insulam ostio amnis obiectam auro abundare, inopem equorum esse — singulos eos conpererant ab iis, qui ex continenti traicere auderent, singulis talentis emi. [12] plenum esse beluarum mare: aestu secundo eas ferri magnarum navium corpora aequantes, tubae cantu deterritas sequi classem cum magno aequoris strepitu velut demersa navigia subisse aquas. [13] Cetera incolis crediderant, inter quae: Rubrum mare non a colore undarum, ut plerique crederent, sed ab Erythro rege appellari: [14] esse haud procul a continenti insulam pal- [p. 352] metis frequentibus consitam et in medio fere nemore columnam eminere, Erythri regis monumentum, litteris gentis eius scriptam. [15] Adiciebant navigia, quae lixas mercatoresque vexissent, famam auri secutis gubernatoribus in insulam esse transmissa nec deinde ab iis postea visa. [16] Rex cognoscendi plura cupidine accensus rursus eos terram legere iubet, donec ad Euphratis os adpellerent classem: inde adverso amne Babylona subituros. [17] Ipse animo infinita complexus statuerat omni ad orientem maritima regione perdomita ex Syria petere Africam, Carthagini infensus, inde Numidiae solitudinibus peragratis cursum Gadis dirigere — ibi namque columnas Herculis esse fama vulgaverat — , [18] Hispanias deinde, quas Hiberiam Graeci a flumine Hiberno vocabant, adire et praetervehi Alpes Italiaeque oram, unde in Epirum brevis cursus est. [19] Igitur Mesopotamiae praetoribus imperavit ut materia in Libano monte caesa devectaque ad urbem Syriae Thapsacum septingentarum carinas navium ponere: septemremis

omnes esse deducique Babylona. Cypriorum regibus imperatum, ut aes stuppamque et vela praeberent.

I. AT about that same time Oleander and Sitalces, and Heracon with Agathon arrived, who at the king's 2 order had killed Parmenion. 5000 infantry with 1000 horsemen followed them, but also accusers from the provinces of which they had been governors. And the service rendered by the assassination, although very pleasing to the king, could not make amends for the many crimes which they had committed. For not only had they pillaged everything secular, but they had not even withheld their hands from sacred objects, and maidens and women of high station who had suffered violation were weeping for [4] the insult to their persons. Their greed and lust had made the name of the Macedonians hateful to the [5] barbarians. Among them all, however, the mad passion of Cleander was prééminent, who after having assaulted a maiden of high birth had given her to one of his slaves as a concubine.

[6] Very many of Alexander's friends had an eye, not so much to the atrocity of the crimes that were openly laid to the charge of these men, as to the memory that they had killed Parmenion, which might secretly help the accused with the king; and they rejoiced that his anger had recoiled upon the tools of his anger, and that no power gained through crime was lasting [7] for anyone. The king, having examined the case, declared that the accusers had passed over one crime, and that the greatest of all, namely, despair of his safety; for they never would have ventured on such conduct, if they had either wished him to return safely from India or had believed that he would [8] return. Therefore he bound these men in fetters, but ordered the 600 soldiers who had been the [9] instruments of their cruelty to be put to death. On the same day punishment was inflicted upon those also whom Craterus had brought in, who were responsible for the revolt of the Persians.

[10] Not long afterwards Nearchus and Onesicritus arrived, whom he had ordered to advance some distance [11] into the Ocean. They reported some things from hearsay, others which they had learned from observation: that there was an island opposite the mouth of the river, which abounded in gold, but lacked horses — these, they had learned, were bought at a talent apiece from those who ventured to bring them from the mainland — that the sea was full of [12] whales; that these, huge as great ships, floated with the course of the tide, and when frightened off by the blast of the trumpet, from following the ships, plunged under the water with a great roaring of the sea, like so many sunken vessels.

[13] As to other matters they had taken the word of the natives; that the Red Sea was so called, not from the colour of its waters, as most people believed, but [14] from a King Erythrus; that there was, not far from the mainland, an island thickly planted with palm-groves, and that in about the middle of the wood a lofty column arose, marking the grave of King Erythrus and inscribed

in the characters of that ^[15] nation. They added that ships carrying sutlers and merchants, whose pilots had followed the report of gold, had crossed to the island, but after that had ^[16] never been seen by them again. The king, fired with eagerness to know more, bade them go back and coast along the shore until they brought the fleet to the mouth of the Euphrates; from there they would go up the river to Babylon.

^[17] Alexander himself, having embraced infinite plans in his mind, had determined, after thoroughly subduing the entire seacoast of the Orient, to cross from Syria to Africa, being incensed against the Carthaginians, then passing through the deserts of Numidia, to direct his course to Gades — for the report had spread abroad that the pillars of Hercules were there ^[18] — then to visit Spain, which the Greeks called Hiberia from the river Hiberus, to approach and skirt the Alps and the seacoast of Italy, from which it is ^[19] only a short voyage to Epirus. With this in view he ordered the governors of Mesopotamia to cut timber on Mt. Libanus, transport it to Thapsacus, a city of Syria, and lay the keels of 700 ships; all were to be septiremes, and to be taken to Babylon. The kings of the Cypriotes were ordered to furnish copper, hemp and sails.

^[20] Haec agenti Pori et Taxilis regum litterae traduntur, Abisaren morbo, Philippum, praefectum ipsius, ex ^[p. 353] vulnere interisse oppressosque, qui vulnerassent eum. ^[21] Igitur Philippo substituit Eudaemonem — dux erat Thracum — , Abisaris regnum filio eius attribuit. ^[22] Ventum est deinde Parsagada: Persica est gens, cuius satrapes Orsines erat, nobilitate ac divitiis inter omnes barbaros eminens. ^[23] Genus ducebat a Cyro, quondam rege Persarum: opes et a maioribus traditas habebat et ipse longa imperii possessione cumulaverat. ^[24] Is regi cum omnis generis donis, non ipsi modo ea, sed etiam amicis eius daturus, occurrit. Equorum domiti greges sequebantur currusque argento et auro adornati, pretiosa supellex et nobiles gemmae, aurea magni ponderis vasa vestesque purpureae et signati argenti talentum III milia. ^[25] Ceterum tanta benignitas barbaro causa mortis fuit. Nam cum omnes amicos regis donis super ipsorum vota coluisset, Bagoae spadoni, qui Alexandrum obsequio corporis devinxerat sibi, ^[26] nullum honorem habuit admonitusque a quibusdam Bagoam Alexandro cordi esse respondit, amicos regis, non scorta se colere nec moris esse Persis, mares ducere, qui stupro effemarentur. ^[27] His auditis spado potentiam flagitio et dedecore quaesitam in caput nobilissimi et insontis exercuit. Namque gentis eiusdem levissimos falsis criminibus clam struxit, monitos tum demum ea deferre, cum ipse iussisset. ^[28] In- ^[p. 354] terim, quotiens sine arbitris erat, credulas regis aures inplebat, dissimulans causam irae, quo gravior criminantis auctoritas esset. ^[29] Nondum suspectus erat Orsines, iam tamen vilior: reus enim in secreto agebatur latentis periculi ignarus. Et inportunissimum scortum ne in stupro quidem et dedecoris patientia fraudis oblitum, quotiens amorem regis in se accenderat, Orsinen modo avaritiae, interdum etiam defectionis arguebat. ^[30]

Iam matura erant in perniciem innocentis mendacia, et fatum, cuius inevitabilis sors est, adpetebat. Forte enim sepulchrum Cyri Alexander iussit aperiri, in quo erat conditum eius corpus, cui dare volebat inferias. [31] Auro argentoque conditorium repletum esse crediderat — quippe ita fama Persae vulgaverant —, sed praeter clipeum eius putrem et arcus duos Scythicos et acinacem nihil repperit. [32] Ceterum corona aurea inposita amiculo, cui adsuerat ipse, solium, in quo corpus iacebat, velavit miratus tanti nominis regem tantis praeditum opibus haud pretiosius sepultum esse, quam si fuisset e plebe. [33] Proximus erat lateri spado: qui regem intuens: ‘Quid mirum,’ inquit, ‘est inania sepulchra esse regum, cum satraparum domus aurum inde egestum capere non possint?’ [34] Quod ad me attinet, ipse hoc bustum antea non videram, sed ex Dareo ita accepi in milia talentum condita esse cum Cyro. [35] Hinc ilia benignitas in te, ut, quod inpune habere non poterat Orsines, donando etiam gratiam iniret.’ [36] Concitaverat iam animum in iram, cum ii, quibus negotium idem dederat, [p. 355] superveniunt. Hinc Bagoas, hinc ab eo subornati falsis criminibus occupant aures. [37] Antequam accusari se suspicaretur Orsines, in vincula est traditus. Non contentus supplicio insontis spado ipse morituro manum iniecit. Quem Orsines intuens: ‘Audieram,’ inquit, ‘in Asia olim regnasse feminas: hoc vero novum est regnare castratum!’ [38] Hic fuit exitus nobilissimi Persarum nec insontis modo, sed eximiae quoque benignitatis in regem. [39] Eodem tempore Phradates regnum adfectasse suspectus occiditur. Coeperat esse praeceps ad repraesentanda supplicia, item ad deteriora credenda: [40] scilicet res secundae valent commutare naturam, et raro quisquam erga bona sua satis cautus est. Idem enim paulo ante Lyncestem Alexandrum delatum a duobus indicibus damnare non sustinuerat, [41] humiliores quoque reos contra suam voluntatem, quia ceteris videbantur insontes, passus absolvi, hostibus victis regna reddiderat: [42] ad ultimum vitae tantum ab semetipso degeneravit, ut invicti quondam adversus libidinem animi arbitrio scorti aliis regna daret, aliis adimeret vitam. [43] Isdem fere diebus litteras a Coeno accipit de rebus in Europa et Asia gestis, dum ipse Indiam subegit. [44] Zopyrio, Thraciae praepositus, cum expeditionem in Getas faceret, tempestatibus procellisque subito [p. 356] [45] coortis cum toto exercitu oppressus erat. Qua cognita clade Seuthes Odrysas, populares suos, ad defectionem compulerat. Amissa propemodum Thracia ne Graecia quidem tumultibus inconcussa mansit. Nam Alexander punita insolentia satraparum quorundum, qui, dum in extremo orbe Indorum armis retinetur, summa scelera atque flagitia in provinciales exercuerant, ceteris metum iniecerat. Hi in paribus delictis eandem facinorum poenam veriti ad mercennariorum militum fidem confugerunt illorum manibus, si ad supplicium poscerentur, se tutaturi aut pecunia, quanta poterat, coacta fuga salutem petiverunt. Qua re cognita litterae ad omnes Asiae praetores missae sunt, quibus inspectis e vestigio omnes peregrinos milites, qui stipendia sub ipsis facerent, dimittere iuebantur. Erat inter eos Harpalus, quem Alexander, quod propter ipsius amicitiam olim a Philippo eiectus solum verterat, inter

fidissimos habebat et post Mazaei mortem satrapeam Babyloniae attribuerat thesaurorumque custodiae praefecerat. Is igitur cum fiduciam, quam in singulari regis gratia habere poterat, magnitudine flagitiorum consumpsisset, quinque milia talentorum ex gaza regia abstulit conductaque sex milium mercennariorum manu in Europam evasit. Iampridem enim luxu et libidinibus in praeceps tractus desperataque regis venia adversus iram eius alienum subsidium circumspexerat et Athenienses, quorum cum potentiam et auctoritatem apud ceteros Graecos, tum occultum in Macedonas odium norat, sedulo coluerat. Itaque spem suis ostendit Athenienses adventu suo cognito copiisque et pecuniis, quas adduceret, coram inspectis protinus arma consiliaque esse sociaturos. Nam a populo inperito et mobili per homines improbos et venales omnia se muneribus conseculurum existimabat. [p. 357]

[20] While he was thus engaged, letters of Kings Porus and Taxiles were delivered to him, reporting that Abisares had died a natural death, and Philippus, his satrap, as the result of a wound, and that those who had wounded the latter had been punished.

[21] Accordingly, he appointed, in place of Philippus Eudaemon — he was a general of the Thracians — and gave the kingdom of Abisares to that king's son.

[22] From there they came to Parsagada; that is a Persian race, whose satrap was Orsines, prominent among all the barbarians for high birth and wealth.

[23] He traced his descent from Cyrus, formerly king of the Persians; he had wealth, both what he had inherited from his forefathers and what he himself had amassed during long possession of sovereignty.

[24] He met the king with gifts of every kind, intending to give presents not only to Alexander but to his friends as well. Troops of tamed horses followed him and chariots adorned with silver and gold, costly furniture and splendid gems, golden vases of great weight, purple vestments, and 3000 talents of coined [25] silver. But this great generosity of the barbarian was the cause of his death. For when he had honoured all the friends of the king with gifts beyond their highest hopes, to Bagoas, a eunuch who had won the regard of Alexander through prostitution, he [26] paid no honour, and on being admonished by some that Bagoas was dear to Alexander, replied that he was honouring the friends of the king, not his harlots, and that it was not the custom of the Persians to mate with males who made females of themselves by prostitution.

[27] On hearing this, the eunuch exercised the power which he had gained by shame and disgrace against the life of an eminent and guiltless man. For he secretly supplied the most worthless fellows of that same nation with false accusations, warning them not to make them public until he himself should

have ^[28] given the word. Meanwhile, whenever no witnesses were present, he filled the credulous ears of the king with lies, concealing the reason for his anger, in order to add greater weight to his accusations.

[29] Orsines as yet was not suspected, but nevertheless was already less esteemed; for he was secretly being incriminated without being aware of the hidden danger. And that most shameless harlot, not forgetting his deception even amid debauchery and the endurance of shame, whenever he had aroused the king's passion for himself, charged Orsines now with avarice, sometimes even with treason.

[30] And now the calumnies were ripe for the ruin of a blameless man, and Fate was on hand, whose will is inescapable. For it chanced that Alexander ordered the tomb of Cyrus to be opened, in which his body had been laid at rest, and to which Alexander wished ^[31] to pay funereal honours. He had believed it to be a storehouse filled with gold and silver — for that was common rumour among the Persians — , but except the king's mouldering shield, two Scythian bows, ^[32] and a scimitar he found nothing. However, having placed a crown of gold upon the coffin in which the body lay, he covered it over with the robe which he himself was accustomed to wear, expressing surprise that a king of such renown and endowed with such power had been buried no more sumptuously than ^[33] if he had been one of the common folk. The eunuch was at Alexander's side; looking significantly at him, he said: "What wonder if the tombs of kings are empty, when the houses of their satraps cannot contain the gold that they have amassed from them?"

[34] For my part, I had never seen the tomb before, but I learned from Darius that 3000 talents of gold were ^[35] buried with Cyrus. Hence that generosity to you, in order that what Orsines could not keep with safety, he might even curry favour by giving away."

[36] He had already aroused the king's mind to anger, when those to whom he had entrusted the same business arrived. On one side Bagoas, on the other those whom he had suborned, filled the king's ears ^[37] with false charges. Before Orsines suspected that he was being accused he was delivered into bondage. Not content with the punishment of an innocent man, the eunuch laid his hand upon him as he was about to be executed. Orsines with a glance at him said: "I had heard that women once reigned in Asia; this however is something new, for a eunuch to ^[38] reign!" Such was the end of one of the noblest of the Persians, who was not only blameless but of ^[39] remarkable kindness towards the king. At the same time Phradates, suspected of aspiring to royal power, was put to death. Alexander had begun to be too hasty in inflicting prompt punishment, and also in ^[40] believing calumnies; so true is it that success is able to change one's nature, and that rarely is anyone cautious enough towards his own good fortune. For this same man shortly before had not been able to bring himself to punish Lyncestes Alexander ^[41] though he

had been charged by two witnesses, had even suffered humbler criminals to be acquitted against his desire because the rest believed them innocent, and had restored their thrones to [42] vanquished enemies; but towards the end of his life he had so degenerated from his true self, that though formerly of a mind proof against lust, at the caprice of a catamite he gave kingdoms to some and took life from others.

[43] At about that same time Alexander received a letter from Coenus about what had happened in Europe and Asia while the king subdued India.

[44] Zopyrion, governor of Thrace, while making an expedition against the Getae, had been overwhelmed with his whole army by tempests and gales which [45] suddenly arose. On learning of this disaster Seuthes had forced his subjects the Odrysae to revolt. While Thrace was almost lost, Greece also did not remain unshaken by disturbances. For Alexander, by punishing the insolence of certain satraps who, while he was detained at the end of the world by war with the Indi, had practised the greatest and most disgraceful crimes against the provincials, had inspired fear in the rest. These, being guilty of like offences and fearing the same punishment for their crimes, took refuge in the protection of the mercenary soldiers, expecting by such troops as these to defend themselves if they should be demanded for punishment, or after exacting as much money as they could, sought safety in flight. After this was known, letters were sent to all the governors of Asia, and when these were read, they found that they were ordered to disband on the spot all the foreign soldiers who were serving under them.

Among these was Harpalus. Alexander, because years before Philip, just on account of the friendship between Harpalus and his son, had driven him out and Harpalus had fled the country, regarded him as one of his most faithful friends. And after the death of Mazaeus he had made him satrap of Babylon and had appointed him custodian of the royal treasures. Harpalus, then, having by his flagrant offences lost the confidence which he could have felt in the remarkable favour of the king, abstracted 5000 talents from the royal treasure, hired a band of 6000 mercenaries, and escaped to Europe. For long since, driven headlong by extravagance and his passions, and despairing of pardon from the king, he had looked about for help from others against Alexander's anger, and had sedulously courted the Athenians, whose power and influence with the rest of the Greeks he knew, as well as their secret hatred of the Macedonians. Therefore he pointed out to his followers that the Athenians, knowing of his arrival and seeing before their eyes the forces and the money which he was bringing, would join forces and plans with them at once. For he thought that from an inexperienced and fickle people by making use of unprincipled and venal persons he could gain everything by bribes.

Igitur XXX navibus Sunium transmittunt — promuntorium est Atticae terrae — , unde portum urbis petere decreverant. [2] His cognitis rex Harpalo

Atheniensibusque iuxta infestus classem parari iubet Athenas protinus petiturus. [3] Quod consilium clam agitant litterae redduntur Harpalum intrasse quidem Athenas, pecunia conciliasse sibi principum animos: mox concilio plebis habito iussum urbe excedere ad Graecos milites pervenisse, navibus inde Cretam transvectum amico quodam auctore interemptum per insidias. [4] His laetus in Europam traiciendi consilium omisit, sed exules praeter eos, qui civili sanguine aspersi erant, recipi ab omnibus Graecorum civitatibus, quis pulsi erant, iussit. [5] Et Graeci haud ausi imperium aspernari, quamquam solvendarum legum id principium esse censebant, bona quoque, quae extarent, restituere damnatis. [6] Soli Athenienses, non sui modo, sed etiam Graeciae vindices, colluvionem ordinum hominumque aegre ferebant non regio imperio, [7] sed legibus moribusque patriis regi adsueta: prohibuere igitur exules finibus omnia potius toleraturi quam purgamenta quondam urbis suae, tunc etiam exilii admitterent. [8] Alexander senioribus militum in patriam remissis XIII milia peditum et II milia equitum, quae in Asia retineret, eligi iussit existimans modico exercitu continere posse Asiam, quia pluribus locis praesidia [p. 358] disposuisset unperque conditas urbes colonis replisset res retinere cupientibus. [9] Ceterum priusquam excerneret, quos erat retenturus, edixit, ut omnes milites aes alienum profiterentur. Grave plerisque esse conpererat et, [10] quamquam ipsorum luxu contractum erat, dissolvere tamen ipse decreverat. Illi temptari ipsos rati, quo facilius ab integris sumptuosos discerneret, prolatando aliquantum extraxerant temporis. Et rex satis gnarus, professioni aeris pudorem, non contumaciam obstare, [11] mensas totis castris poni iussit et X milia talentum proferri. Tum demum cum fide facta professio est. Nec amplius ex tanta pecunia quam C et XXX talenta superfuere. Adeo ille exercitus, tot divitissimarum gentium victor, plus tamen victoriae quam praedae deportavit ex Asia. [12] Ceterum ut cognitum est alios remitti domos, alios retineri, perpetuam eum regni sedem in Asia habiturum rati vaecordes et disciplinae militaris inmemores seditiosis vocibus castra conplent regemque ferocius quam alias adorti omnes simul missionem postulare coeperunt deformia ora cicatricibus canitiemque caput ostentantes. [13] Nec aut praefectorum castigatione aut verecundia regis deterriti tumultuoso clamore et militari violentia volentem loqui inhibebant, palam professi nusquam inde nisi in patriam vestigium esse moturos. [14] Tandem silentio facto magis, quia motum esse credebant, quam quia ipsi moveri poterant, [p. 359] quidnam acturus esset, expectabant: [15] cum ille: ‘Quid haec,’ inquit, ‘repens consternatio et tam procax atque effusa licentia denuntiat? Eloqui metuo, palam certe: rupistis imperium, et precario rex sum, cui non adloquendi, non noscendi monendique aut intuendi vos ius reliquistis. [16] Equidem cum alios dimittere in patriam, alios mecum paulo post deportare statuerim, tam illos adclamantes video, qui abituri sunt, quam hos, cum quibus praemissos subsequi statui. [17] Quid hoc est rei? dispari in causa idem omnium clamor est! Pervelim scire, utrum, qui discedunt, an, qui retinentur, de me querantur.’ [18] Crederes uno ore omnes sustulisse clamorem: ita pariter ex tota contione responsum est omnes queri.

[19] Tum ille: ‘Non, hercule,’ inquit, ‘potest fieri, ut adducar querendi simul omnibus hanc causam esse, quam ostenditis, in qua maior pars exercitus non est, utpote cum plures dimiserim, quam retenturus sum. [20] Subest nimirum altius malum, quod omnes avertit a me. Quando enim regem universus deseruit exercitus? Ne servi quidem uno grege profugiunt dominos, sed est quidam in illis pudor a ceteris destitutos relinquendi. [21] Verum ego tam furiosae consternationis oblitus remedia insanabilibus conor adhibere. Omnem, hercule, spem, quam ex vobis conceperam, damno nec ut cum militibus meis — iam enim esse desistis — , [22] sed ut cum ingratis operis agere decrevi. Secundis rebus, quae circumfluunt vos, insanire coepistis [p. 360] obliti status eius, quem beneficio exuistis meo, digni, hercule, qui in eodem consenescaitis, quoniam facilius est vobis adversam quam secundam regere fortunam. [23] En insolentiam! Illyriorum paulo ante et Persarum tributariis Asia et tot gentium spolia fastidio sunt! modo sub Philippo seminudis amacula ex purpura sordent! aurum et argentum oculi ferre non possunt! Ligna enim vasa desiderant et ex cratibus scuta robiginemque gladiatorum. [24] Hoc cultu nitentes vos accepi et D talenta aeris alieni, cum omnis regia supellex esset haud amplius quam LX talenta, meorum mox operum fundamenta. Quibus tamen — absit invidia — [25] Imperium maximae terrarum parti inposui. Asiaene pertaesum est, quae vos gloria rerum gestarum dis pares fecit? In Europam ire properatis rege deserto, cum pluribus vestrum defuturum viaticum fuerit, ni aes alienum luissem, nempe in Asiatica praeda. [26] Nee pudet profundo ventre devictarum gentium spolia circumferentes reverti velle ad liberos coniugesque, quibus pauci praemia victoriae potestis ostendere: nam ceterorum, dum etiam spei vestrae obviam istis, arma quoque pignori sunt. [27] Bonis vero militibus cariturus sum, pelicum suarum concubinis, quibus hoc solum ex tantis opibus superest, in quod inpenditur! Proinde fugientibus me pateant limites! facessite hinc ocus! ego cum Persis abeuntium terga tutabor. Neminem teneo: [28] liberate oculos meos, ingratis cives! Laeti vos excipient parentes liberique sine vestro rege [p. 361] redeuntes! obviam ibunt desertoribus transfugisque! [29] Triumphabo, mehercule, de fuga vestra et, ubicumque ero, expetam poenas hos, cum quibus me relinquitis, colendo praeferendoque vobis. Iam autem scietis, et quantum sine rege valeat exercitus, et quid opis in me uno sit.’ [30] Desiluit deinde frendens de tribunali et in medium armatorum agmen se inmisit, notatos quoque, qui ferocissime oblocuti erant, singulos manu corripuit nec ausos repugnare XIII adservandos custodibus corporis tradidit.

II. Therefore with thirty ships they cross to Sunium — it is a promontory of the land of Attica — from which they had decided to go to the port of [2] the city. Alexander, having learned this, and being equally incensed at Harpalus and the Athenians, ordered a fleet to be made ready, intending to go [3] at once to Athens. As he was secretly considering this plan, a letter was delivered to him, saying that Harpalus had in fact entered Athens, and by his money had won the support of the leading men but that presently, after an assembly of the

people had been held, he was ordered to leave the city and had taken refuge with his Greek soldiers; then he had crossed to Crete in his ships and at the instigation of a friend had been treacherously slain.

[4] Alexander, rejoicing at this, gave up his design of crossing into Europe, and issued orders that the exiles, except such as were stained by the blood of citizens, should be received by all the Greek cities [5] from which they had been banished. And the Greeks, not daring to disregard his order, although they thought that it marked the beginning of the breakdown of their laws, even restored to those who had been condemned such of their property as was [6] left. The Athenians alone, defenders not only of themselves but also of Greece, could not tolerate such a cesspool of classes and men, being accustomed to be governed, not by the command of a king, but [7] by the laws and ancestral customs; therefore they shut out the exiles from their territories, preferring to endure anything rather than admit what was once the off-scourings of their city, and then even of their places of exile.

[8] Alexander, having sent the older of his soldiers to their native land, ordered 13,000 infantry and 2000 horsemen to be selected for him to retain in Asia, thinking that Asia could be held by an army of moderate size, because he had distributed garrisons in many places and had filled the newly founded cities with colonists desirous of maintaining [9] the *status quo*. But before selecting those whom he intended to retain, he ordered all the soldiers to make a declaration of their debts. He had learned that many had heavy indebtedness, and although it had been contracted by their own extravagance, he had nevertheless decided to liquidate it himself.

[10] The soldiers, thinking that they were being tested, in order that he might more easily separate the wastrels from the frugal, had delayed for some time in making their reports. And the king, knowing well that it was shame and not stubbornness which kept them from confessing their indebtedness, ordered tables to be set up throughout the whole [11] camp, and 10,000 talents to be brought out. Then at last, when they were satisfied that he was in earnest, they declared their debts. And out of so great a sum of money not more than 130 talents remained. To such an extent had that army, though victor over so many of the richest nations, yet carried off from Asia more victory than booty.

[12] But when it was known that some were being sent home and others retained, the soldiers, thinking that he would establish the permanent seat of his kingdom in Asia, frenzied and forgetful of military discipline, filled the camp with mutinous talk, and assailing the king more boldly than ever before, began all together to demand their discharge, displaying their faces [13] disfigured with scars and their hoary heads. Prevented by neither the rebukes of their officers nor by respect for the king, with rebellious shouts and military violence they interrupted Alexander when he wished to speak, and openly declared that they would move a step from there in no direction except

towards 14 their native land. At last, when silence had been made rather because they thought that he had been influenced than because they could be, they were waiting to see what he would do, when he said: [15] “What does this sudden disturbance and such insolent and furious lawlessness threaten? I fear to speak, at least plainly; you have broken my authority and I am king on sufferance, to whom you have not left the privilege of addressing you, of knowing and advising you, or even of looking you in the face.

[16] In fact, when I have decided to send some to their native land and a little later to take others with me, I witness the same uproar from those who are to go as from those with whom I decided to follow those [17] who had been sent in advance. What does this mean? The shouting of all is the same for different reasons! I should very much like to know whether it is those who are to go, or those who are to be retained who complain of me.”

[18] You would have believed that all with one voice raised a shout; so unanimously came the reply from [19] the whole assembly that they all complained. Then the king continued: “By Heaven! it is impossible for me to be led to believe that you all have the reason for complaint which you allege, in which the greater part of the army does not join, inasmuch as I dismissed more than I am intending to retain.

[20] Undoubtedly there is some deeper evil which turns you all from me. For when has a whole army abandoned its king? Not even slaves run away from their masters in a single body, but even they feel some shame in leaving those who have been [21] deserted by the rest. But I, forgetting such mad mutiny, am trying to apply remedies to those that are incurable. By Heaven! I reject all the hope which I had conceived from you, and I have decided to treat with you, not as with my soldiers — for that you have already ceased to be — but as the most [22] ungrateful of hired hands. You have begun to be crazed by the prosperity which surrounds you, forgetting the condition from which you were saved by my kindness, in which, by Heaven! you deserve to grow old, since it is easier for you to master bad fortune than good.

[23] “There’s insolence! You, who a short time ago were paying tribute to the Illyrians and the Persians, are disdainful of Asia and the spoils of so many nations. Those who but now were half-naked under Philip find purple robes mean! Their eyes cannot endure gold and silver! For they desire wooden bowls, wicker shields, and rusty swords!

[24] Such was the splendid equipment in which I received you, besides a debt of 500 talents, when the whole royal equipment was not more than 60 talents, the foundation of the deeds which I afterwards accomplished. With which nevertheless — may envy withhold her hand! — I imposed my rule upon the [25] greatest part of the earth. Are you wearied of Asia, which by the glory of your deeds has made you equal to the gods? You are in a hurry to desert your

king and go into Europe, when to very many of you your travelling expenses would have been lacking if I had not liquidated your debts, and that too in booty from ^[26] Asia. And you are not ashamed, carrying about in your bottomless bellies the spoils of conquered nations, to wish to return to your wives and children, to whom few of you can show the fruits of victory; for of the rest your very arms have been pawned, even while you are on the way to the realization of your hopes.

^[27] “Fine soldiers truly I am going to lose, bed-mates of mistresses; men to whom this alone remains out of such great riches, and on this, wealth is being spent. Therefore let the ways be opened for those who desert me! Get out from here! And quickly too! I with the Persians will protect your backs as you flee. I detain no one; free my eyes, most ^[28] ungrateful of citizens! Joyfully will your parents and children receive you, returning without your king! They will come out to meet deserters and ^[29] runaways! I shall triumph, by Heaven! in your flight, and wherever I shall be, I shall punish you by honouring and preferring to you those with whom you leave me. Moreover, you will soon knowhow much an army is worth without a head, and what help there is in my single person.” Then in a rage he leaped down from the tribunal and plunged into the midst of the array of armed soldiers, and having noted those who had spoken most mutinously, he seized them one by one, none daring to resist, and handed over thirteen of them to his bodyguard to be kept in custody.

Quis crederet saevam paulo ante contionem obtorpuisse subito metu, ^[2] etiam cum ad supplicium videret trahi nihilo ausos graviora quam ceteros? ^[3] Sive nominis, quod gentes, quae sub regibus vivunt, reges inter deos colunt, sive propria ipsius veneratio sive fiducia tanta vi exercentis imperium contrahit eos: ^[4] singulare certe ediderunt patientiae exemplum adeoque non sunt accensi supplicio commilitonum, cum sub noctem interfectos esse cognoscent, ut nihil omiserint, quod singuli magis oboedienter et pie facerent. ^[5] Nam cum postero die prohibiti aditu fuissent Asiaticis modo militibus admissis, lugubrem totis castris edidere clamorem denuntiantes protinus sese morituros, si rex perseveraret irasci. ^[6] At ille pervicacis ad omnia, quae agitasset, animi peregrinorum militum contionem advocari iubet Macedonibus intra castra cohibitis et, cum frequentes coissent, adhibito interprete talem orationem habuit: ^[7] ‘Cum ex Europa traicerem in Asiam, multas nobiles gentes, magnam vim hominum imperio meo me additurum esse sperabam. Nec deceptus sum, ^[p. 362] ^[8] quod de his credidi fama. Sed ad illa hoc quoque accessit, quod video fortes viros erga reges suos pietatis invictae. ^[9] Luxu omni fluere credideram et nimia felicitate mergi in voluptates: at, hercules, munia militiae hoc animorum corporumque robore aequae in pigre toleratis et, cum fortes viri sitis, non fortitudinem magis quam fidem colitis. ^[10] Hoc ego vero nunc primum profiteor, sed olim scio. Itaque et dilectum e vobis iuniorum habui et vos meorum militum corpori inmiscui. Idem habitus, eadem arma sunt vobis: obsequium vero et patientia imperii longe praestantior est

quam ceteris. [11] Ergo ipse Oxyartis Persae filiam mecum in matrimonio iunxi non dedignatus ex captiva liberos tollere. [12] Mox deinde cum stirpem generis mei latius propagare cuperem, uxorem Darei filiam duxi proximisque amicorum auctor fui ex captivis generandi liberos, ut hoc sacro foedere omne discrimen victi et victoris excluderem. [13] Proinde genitos esse vos mihi, non ascitos milites credite! Asiae et Europae unum atque idem regnum est, Macedonum vobis arma do, inveteravi peregrinam novitatem: et cives mei estis et milites. [14] Omnia eundem ducunt colorem: nec Persis Macedonum morem adumbrare nec Macedonibus Persas imitari indecorum. Eiusdem iuris esse debent, qui sub eodem rege victuri sunt.’ Hac oratione habita Persis corporis sui custodiam credidit, Tersas satellites, Persas apparitores fecit. Per [p. 363] quos cum Macedones, qui huius seditionis principes erant, vincti ad supplicia traherentur, unum ex iis auctoritate

III. Who would have believed that an assemblage recently so savage was paralysed by sudden fear, even when they saw those who had dared nothing more serious than the rest dragged off to punishment?....

[3]Whether veneration for the mere name, since nations which live under kings honour their kings among the gods, or a particular veneration for Alexander himself, or the confidence with which he exercised his authority with such force, struck them all with⁴ terror; at any rate, they showed a remarkable instance of patience, and were so far from being exasperated by the execution of their fellow-soldiers when towards nightfall they learned that they had been put to death, that there was nothing that they left undone to make each man act with more obedience and loyalty. For on the following day, when they had been refused access to the king, and only Asiatic soldiers were admitted, they uttered mournful cries throughout the whole camp, declaring that they wished to die forthwith if the king persisted in being angry. But he, determined to carry out everything upon which he had resolved, ordered an assembly of the foreign troops to be called, while the Macedonians were kept within their camp, and when the foreign troops had come together in great numbers, he summoned an interpreter and addressed them as follows: [7] “When I was crossing from Europe into Asia, I hoped that I should add many famous nations and a great force of men to my kingdom. And I was not deceived in believing what was reported about them [8] But to that report this also is added, that I behold brave men of invincible loyalty towards their kings.

[9] I had supposed that luxury prevailed everywhere, and that by excess of good fortune you were plunged into pleasures; but, by Heaven! you endure with equal indefatigability, such is that strength of yours of both mind and body, the duties of military service, and while you are brave men, you cultivate loyalty [10] no less than courage. This, it is true, I now declare for the first time, but have long known it therefore I have both made a selection from the men of military age among you, and have incorporated them with my

soldiers. You have the same equipment, the same arms; but in obedience and submission to discipline you are far superior to the rest.

[11] “It is for this reason that I myself united in marriage with me Roxanê, daughter of the Persian Oxyartes, not disdaining to rear children from a [12] captive. Then later, when I desired to propagate the stock of my race more extensively, I took to wife a daughter of Darius and set the example to my nearest friends of begetting children from captives, in order that by this sacred alliance I might abolish all distinction between vanquished and victor.

[13] Therefore believe that in my eyes you are soldiers of OUT blood, not brought in from outside. Asia and Europe now belong to one and the same kingdom; I give you the arms of the Macedonians, I have made you old soldiers instead of new and foreign ones; you are both my citizens and my [14] soldiers. All things take on the same colour; it is neither unbecoming for the Persians to simulate the manners of the Macedonians, nor for the Macedonians to copy those of the Persians. Those ought to have the same rights who are to live under the same sovereign.” *After having made this address, Alexander entrusted to Persians the guardianship of his person, made his attendants Persians, his servants Persians. When the Macedonians who mere leaders in this mutiny mere being led by these in bonds to execution, they say that one of them, a man of weight in authority and in years, spoke as follows to the king:*

et aetate gravent ad regem ita locutum ferunt: ‘Quousque,’ inquit, ‘animo tuo etiam per supplicia et quidem externi moris obsequeris? Milites tui, cives tui incognita causa et captivis suis ducentibus trahuntur ad poenam. Si mortem meruisse iudicas, saltem ministros supplicii muta.’ Amico animo, [2] si veri patiens fuisset, admonebatur, sed in rabiem ira pervenerat. Itaque rursus — nam parumper, quibus imperatum erat, dubitaverant — [3] mergi in amnem, sicut vincti erant, iussit. Ne hoc quidem supplicium seditionem militum movit. Namque copiarum duces atque amicos eius manipuli adeunt petentes, ut, si quos adhuc pristina noxa iudicaret esse contactos, iuberet interfici. Offerre se corpora irae: trucidaret. Tandem prae dolore vix mentis compotes universi concurrunt ad regiam armisque ante fores proiectis tunicati astantes, ut nuda et obnoxia poenis corpora admitterentur, fientes orabant. Non se deprecari, quin suppliciis sontium expiarentur, quae per contumaciam deliquissent. Regis iracundiam sibi morte tristiores esse. Cumque dies noctesque ante regiam persistentes miserabili clamore habituque paenitentiam suam adprobarent, biduum tamen adversus humillimas suorum preces iracundia regis duravit. Tertio die victus constantia supplicum processit incusataque leniter exercitus inmodestia non sine multis utrimque lacrimis in gratiam se cum ipsis redire professus est. Digna tamen res visa [p. 364] est, quae maioribus hostiis expiaretur. Itaque sacrificio magnifice perpetrare Macedonum simul Persarumque primores invitavit ad epulas. Novem milia eo

convivio excepsisse proditum est memoriae eosque omnes invitante rege ex eadem creterra libatisse, Graecis barbarisque vatibus cum alia fausta vota praeuntibus, tum inprimis, ut utriusque imperii societas in idem corpus coalita perpetua esset. Maturata deinde est missio, et infirmissimus quisque exauctorati. Amicorum quoque seniorum quibusdam commeatum dedit. Ex quibus Clitus cognomine Albus Gorgiasque et Polydamas et Antigenes fuere. Abeuntibus non modo praeteriti temporis stipendia cum fide persolvit, verum etiam talentum adiecit in singulos milites viatici nomine. Filios ex Asiaticis uxoribus susceptos — ad decem milia fuisse traduntur — apud se relinqui iussit, ne in Macedoniam cum parentibus transgressi et coniugibus liberisque prioribus permixti familias contentionibus et discordiis inplerent: sibi curae fore pollicitus, ut patrio more instituti militiae artes edocerentur. Ita plus decem milia veteranorum dimissa sunt, additusque est, qui eos deduceret, Craterus, ex praecipuis regis amicis. Cui si quid humani accidisset, Polyperconti parere iussi sunt. Litteris etiam ad Antipatrum scriptis honorem emeritis haberi iussit, ut, quotiens ludi atque certamina ederentur, in primis ordinibus coronati spectarent, utque fato functorum liberi inpuberes in paterna stipendia succederent. Craterum Macedoniae finitimisque regionibus cum imperio praeesse placuit, Antipatrum autem cum supplemento iuniorum Macedonum ad regem venire. Verebatur enim, ne per discordiam praefecti cum Olympiade gravis aliqua clades acciperetur. Nam multas ad Alexandrum epistulas mater, multas Antipater miserat, vicissimque alter alterum adroganter et acerbe pleraque facere criminabantur, quae ad dedecus aut detrimentum regiae maiestatis pertinerent. Postquam enim rumor occisi regis temere vulgatus in Macedoniam manavit, mater eius sororque Cleopatra [p. 365] tumultum moverant, et haec quidem patenum regnum, Olympias Epirum occupaverat. Forte, dum eiusmodi litterae redduntur, Hephaestion, qui omnium arcanorum particeps haberetur, resignatas ah Alexandro simul inspiciebat. Neque retinuit eum rex, sed detractum digito anulum ori legentis admovit, nihil eorum, quae perscripta essent, in alios efferendum significans. Incusasse autem ambos fertur et matris insolentia permotus exclamasse, eam pro habitatione decem mensium, quam in utero sibi praebuisset, gravem mercedem exigere, Antipatrum vero suspectum habuisse parta ex Spartanis victoria tollere animos et imperio tot iam annos prorogato supra praefecti modum esse elatum. Itaque cum eius gravitas atque integritas a quibusdam praedicaretur, respondit exterius quidem album videri, sed si penitus introspiceretur, Mum esse purpureum. Pressit tamen suspicionem suam neque ullum manifestius abalienati animi indicium protulit. Credidere tamen plerique Antipatrum arcessi se supplicii causa ratum inpiis insidiis mortis regis, quae paulo post secuta est, auctorem extitisse. Interea rex, ut inminuti exercitus detrimenta sarciret, optimum quemque Persarum in Macedonicos ordines adlegit: mille etiam praestantissimos segregavit ad corporis custodiam: aliam hastatorum manum, haud pauciores decem milibus, ad regium tabernaculum excubias agere iussit. Haec agenti Peucestes supervenit

cum viginti milibus sagittariorum funditorumque, quos ex sua provincia coegerat. His per exercitum distributis profectus est Susis et Pasitigri amne traiecto apud Caras castra metatus est. Inde quadriduo per Sittacenem ductis copiis Sambana processit ibique per septem dies substitit. Tridui deinde itinere emenso Celonas perventum est. Oppidum hoc tenent Boeotia profecti, quos Xerxes ex sedibus suis excitos in Orientem transtulit: servabantque argumentum originis peculiarem sermonem ex Graecis plerumque vocibus constantem, ceterum propter commercii necessitatem finitimorum barbarorum lingua utebantur. [p. 366] Inde Bagistanen ingressus est, regionem opulentam et abundantem arborum amoeno et fecundo fetu ceterisque ad vitae non usum modo, verum etiam delectationem pertinentibus. Gravis inter haec Eumeni cum Hephaestione similtas inciderat. Nam servos Eumenis e deversorio, quod pro domino suo occupaverant, Hephaestio proturbavit, ut Euius tibicen eo reciperetur. Neque multo post, cum iam sopita odia viderentur, nova orta contentione adeo recruduerunt, ut etiam in atrox iurgium et acerba utrimque convicia prorumperent. Sed Alexandri intercessione imperioque inimicitiae saltem in speciem abolitae sunt, cum ille Hephaestioni etiam minatus esset, qui in summa regis gratia Eumenem quamvis cupidum reconciliationis pertinacius aversabatur. Perventum deinde est in Mediae campos, ubi maximi equorum greges alebantur: Nisaeos appellant, magnitudine et specie insignes. Plus quinquaginta milia ibi reperta esse cum Alexander eo transiret, a comitibus eius adnotatum est: olim triplicem numerum fuisse, sed inter bellorum turbas maximam eorum partem praedones abegisse. Ad triginta dies ibi substitit rex. Eo Atropates, Mediae satrapes, centum barbaras mulieres adduxit equitandi peritas peltisque et securibus armalas: unde quidam crediderunt Amazonum ex gente reliquias fuisse. Septimis deinde castris Ecbatana, Mediae caput, pervenit. Ibi sollemnia dis sacrificia fecit ludosque edidit et conviviis festisque diebus laxavit animum, ut ad nova opera validior esset. Sed ista volentem velut iniecta manu fatum alio traxit vitamque carissimo amicorum eius neque multo post ipsi quoque regi eripuit. Pueros in stadio certantes spectabat, cum nuntiatum est deficere Hephaestionem, qui ex crapula septimum iam diem aeger cubabat. Exterritus amici periculo statim surrexit et ad hospitium eius celeriter se contulit. Neque tamen prius eo pervenit, quam illum mors occupavit. Id regi omnium, quae in vita pertulerat, adversorum luctuosissimum accidisse certum habetur eumque magnitudine [p. 367] dosoris in lacrimas et lamenta victum multa animi de gradu deiecti argumenta edidisse. Sed ea quidem varie traduntur: illud inter omnes constat, Alexandrum, ut quam decentissimas exequias ei duceret, noluisse Ecbatanis eum sepeliri, sed Babylonem, quo ipse profecturus esset, a Perdicca deferri: ibique funus inaudito exemplo duodecim milibus talentum locavisse. Per Universum certe imperium lugeri eum iussit et, ne memoria eius in exercitu exolesceret, equitibus, quibus praefuerat, nullum praefecit ducem, sed Hephaestionis alam appellari voluit et, quae ille signa instituisset, ea non inmutari. Funebria certamina ludosque, quales numquam editi fuissent,

meditatus tria milia artificum coegit: qui non multo post in ipsius exequiis certasse traduntur. Nee amici tam effuso adfectu ad conciliandam eius gratiam segniter usi certatim repperere, per quae memoria defuncti clarior honoratiorque fieret. Eumenes igitur cum se ob simultatem cum Hephaestione in regis indignationem incurrisset, multis auctor fuit seque et arma sua Hephaestioni consecrandi pecuniasque ad cohonestandum funus large contulit. Hoc exemplum imitati sunt ceteri: eoque processit adsentantium impudentia, ut regi maerore et desiderio defuncti insanienti persuasum tandem sit, deum esse Hephaestionem. Quo quidem tempore ex copiarum ducibus Agathocles Samius in extremum periculum venit, quod eius tumultum praeteriens inlacrimasse visus est. Ac nisi Perdicas venanti sibi Hephaestionem adparuisse ementitus per deos omnes ipsumque Hephaestionem deierasset, ex ipso se cognovisset, Agathoclem non ut mortuum et vanae divinitatis titulis frustra ornatum flevisse, verum propter memoriam pristinae sodalitatis lacrimas non tenuisse, vir fortis et de rege bene meritus pietatis in amicum graves poenas innoxius pendisset. Ceterum ut paulisper a luctu avocaret animum, in Cossaeorum terram expeditionem suscepit. Iuga Mediae vicina Cossaei tenent, aspera et bellicosa et rapto vivere [p. 368] assueta gens. Ab his Persarum reges annuo tributo pacem redimere solebant, ne in subiectam terram decurrentes latrocinii regionem facerent infestant. Nam vim temptantes Persas facile reppulerant asperitate locorum defensi, in quae se recipiebant, quotiens armis superati erant. Idem muneribus quotannis placabantur, ut regi Ecbatanis, ubi aestiva solebat agere, Babylonem remigranti tutus per ea loca transitus esset. Hos igitur Alexander bipartito agmine adgressus intra quadraginta dies perdomuit. Nam ab ipso rege et Ptolomaeo, qui partem exercitus ducebat, saepe victi, ut captivos suos reciperent, permisere se victori. Ille validas urbes opportunis locis condiiussit, ne abducto exercitu fera gens iugum exueret. Motis inde castris, ut militent expeditione recenti fessum reficeret, lento agmine Babylonem processit. Iamque vix triginta ab urbe stadia aberat, cum Nearchus occurrit, quem per Oceanum et Euphratis ostia Babylonem praemiserat, oravitque, ne fatalem sibi urbem vellet ingredi. Conpertum id sibi ex Chaldaeis, qui multarum iam praedictionum eventu artis suae fidem abunde probavissent. Rex fama eorum hominum constantique adseveratione motus dimissis in urbem amicorum plerisque alia via praeter Babylonem ducit ac ducenta inde stadia stativa conlocat. Sed ab Anaxarcho philosophe edoctus contemptis Chaldaeorum monitis, quorum disciplinam inanem aut supervacuum arbitrabatur, urbem intrat. Legationes eo ex universo ferme orbe confluerant. Quibus per conplures dies studiose auditis deinceps ad Hephaestionis exequias animum advertit. Quae summo omnium studio ita celebratae sunt, ut nullius ad id tempus regis feralia magnitudine sumptuum apparatusque celebritate non vicerint. Post haec cupido incessit regi per Pallacopam amnem ad Arabum confinia navigandi: quo delatus urbi condendae commoda sede reperta Graecorum aetate aut vulneribus invalidos et, si qui sua sponte

remanserant, ibi conlocat. Quibus ex sententia perfectis iam futuri securus [p. 369] Chaldaeos inridebat, quod Babylonem non ingressus tantum esset incolumis, verum etiam excessisset. Verum enimvero revertenti per paludes, quas Euphrates in Pallacopam effusus efficit, foedum omen oblatum est. Quippe rami desuper independentes detractum capiti regis diadema proiecerunt in fluctus. Cum deinde alia atque alia prodigia nuntiarentur, procurandis eis Graeco simul barbaroque ritu continua sacra facta sunt. Neque tamen expiari nisi morte regis potuere. Qui cum Nearchum excepisset convivio iamque cubitum iturus esset, Medii Larisaci obnixis precibus dedit, ut ad eum commissatum veniret. Ubi postquam tota node perpotavit, male habere coepit. Ingravescens deinde morbus adeo omnes vires intra sextum diem exhaustit, ut ne vocis quidem potestas esset. Interea milites sollicitudine desiderioque eius anxii, quamvis admonentibus ducibus, ne valitudinem regis onerarent, expresserunt, ut in conspectum eius admitterentur.

IV. "How long will you gratify your mind even with punishments, and those too of a foreign kind? Your soldiers, your citizens, without a trial and led by their captives, are dragged off to death. If it is your judgement that we deserve death, at least [2] change those who inflict the penalty." The king was admonished in a friendly spirit, if he had been willing to listen to the truth, but his wrath had changed to madness. Therefore he ordered again — for those to whom the order had been given had hesitated — that the mutineers be drowned in the river, bound as [3] they were. Not even such a punishment as this roused mutiny among the soldiers. On the contrary, the companies went to the leaders of the forces and to the king's friends, asking that if he judged that there were any besides who were stained with the same guilt, he should order them to be put to death; that they offered their bodies to his anger; let him slaughter them. *At last, almost beside themselves with grief, they ran to the royal quarters in a body, and throw-in down their arms before the doors and standing in their tunics, begged with tears that their bodies, unarmed and submissive to punishment, might be admitted. That they did not refuse by the punishment of the guilty to expiate the faults that they had committed through insubordination. That the anger of the king was to them more terrible than death.* —

But although, continuing to stand day and night before the royal quarters, they manifested their repentance by pitiful outcries and attire, yet the king's wrath held out for two days against his men's most abject prayers. On the third day, overcome by their constant entreaties he came out, and after mildly censuring the lack of discipline of the army, declared, not without the shedding of many tears by both sides, that he was reconciled with them. Nevertheless the event seemed to call for expiation by greater victims. Accordingly, after offering a splendid sacrifice, he invited the chief men of the Macedonians and at the same time those of the Persians to a feast. It is reported that he entertained 9000 men at that banquet, and that they all, at

the king's invitation, made libation from the same bowl, while the priests of the Greeks and of the barbarians dictated not only other propitious prayers but especially that a union of the two kingdoms should be consolidated for all time in the same body. Then the discharge was hastened, and all the weakest soldiers were mustered out. He also granted a furlough to some of his friends of greater age. Among these were Clitus, surnamed Albus, Gorgias, Polydamas, and Antigenes. To those who left he not only faithfully gave pay for their past services, but also added a talent to each soldier for travelling expenses.

He gave orders that the sons whom they had begotten from Asiatic wives—they are said 10000 — should be left with him, for fear that if they returned to Macedonia with their fathers and the former wives and children of these, they might fill families with strife and discord; he promised that he would take care that the children should be trained in the customs of their country and taught the principles of military service. So, more than 10,000 veterans were discharged and Craterus, one of the king's special friends, was appointed to lead them. If anything to which is liable should befall him, they were ordered to obey Polypercon. A letter was also written to Antipater with orders that honour should be paid to the veterans, so that whenever games and athletic contests were celebrated, they should witness them from the first rows of seats and with garlands on their heads, and that the ungrown children of those who should have died should inherit their fathers' pay. He appointed Craterus governor of Macedonia and the adjacent districts, but gave orders that Antipater should come to the king with a reinforcement of younger Macedonians. For that through the discord between the governor and Olympias some grave calamity might be suffered his mother had sent many letters to Alexander and Antipater many, in which they charged each numerous arrogant and hostile acts which tended to the disgrace or the impairment of the royal majesty, after the rumour of the king's death falsely spread abroad, had seeped into mother and his sister Cleopatra had set on foot a revolution, and his sister had taken possession of her father's kingdom, and Olympias, of Epirus.

It happened that while letters of that kind were being delivered, Hephaestion, who was wont to be regarded as the confidant of all the king's secrets, was at the same time looking over the letters that had been opened by Alexander. And the king did not prevent him, but taking of his ring from his finger, he laid it upon the reader's lips, signifying that nothing of what had been written should be communicated to others. But he is said to have railed at them both, and, angered by the insolence of his mother, to have said that she for a lodging of ten months which she had furnished him in her womb was exacting a heavy price, but that he had held Antipater in suspicion, on the ground that having gained a victory over the Spartans he was growing arrogant, and because of power already prolonged over so many years had risen above the

conduct becoming a prefect. Accordingly, when Antipater's dignity and uprightness were praised by certain men, Alexander replied that he seemed white on the outside, but if he was looked into deeply, he was all purple. Nevertheless he concealed his suspicion and showed no clearer indication of an alienated feeling. Yet very many believed that Antipater, thinking that he was summoned for punishment, was responsible by disloyal plots for the death of the king, which followed shortly afterward.

Meanwhile the king, in order to patch up the losses in his diminished army, mustered all the best of the Persians into the ranks of the Macedonians; he also set aside a thousand of the most distinguished for a body-guard; another troop of spearmen, not fewer than 10,000, he ordered to keep watch by night at the royal quarters. As he was doing this, Peucestes appeared with 20,000 archers and stingers which he had mustered from his own province. When these had been distributed, through the army, the king set out from Susa, and, having crossed, the Pasitigris River, measured of a camp at Carae. Then, having led his forces for four days through Sittacene, he advanced to Sambana, and remained there for seven days. Then, after making a march of three days, he arrived at Celonae. This town is occupied by people from Boeotia, whom Xerxes drove from their transferred to the Orient; and they retained as a proof of their origin a language of their own, the most part of Greek words, but because of the necessity of commerce they used the speech of the neighbouring barbarians. Then he entered Bagistane, a rich region, abounding in a handsome and prolife growth of and in other things which contribute not only to the necessities, but also to the enjoyment of life.

Meanwhile a serious quarrel had arisen between and Hephaestion. For Hephaestion slaves from the lodging of which they had taken for their master, in order that be put up in it. And not long afterwards when their haired seemed to be already put to sleep, through a new cause of strife that arose it revived to such an extent that they even broke out into a dreadful wrangle and Utter abuse of each other. But by the intervention of Alexander and at his command their enmity at least in appearance, after he had even Hephaestion, who, since he enjoyed the kings greatest favour, persistently repulsed Eumenes, although the latter of Media, and they are conspicuous for their size and beauty. More than 50,000 were found there when Alexander crossed into that country, as was noted by his companions; that formerly there had been three times that number, but amid the confusion of the wars brigands had driven off the greatest part of them. There the king halted for about thirty days. Thither Atropates, satrap of Media, brought a hundred barbarian women skilled in horsemanship and armed with round shields and axes; this equipment led some to believe that they were survivors of the race of the Amazons. Then in seven days he came to Ecbatana, the capital of Media. There he offered solemn sacrifices to the gods, exhibited games, and relaxed his mind with banquets and festal days, in order to be stronger for new tasks.

But as he was meditating on these tasks, Fate, as if laying her hand upon him, drew him elsewhere and snatched away the life of the dearest of his friends, and not long afterwards of the king himself. He was viewing the boys contesting in the stadium when it was announced that Hephaestion was failing; he had already been sick abed for seven days from over-indulgence in wine. Alarmed by the danger of his friend, the king at once rose from his seal and quickly went to Hephaestion's lodging. Yet he did not reach there before death had anticipated him. This is certainly regarded as the most grievous of all the losses which Alexander had suffered in his whole lifetime? and that he was so overcome by the greatness of his sorrow as to burst into tears and lamentations gave strong proof of a loss of his usual spirit. But there are various reports of his conduct; this much is agreed by all, that Alexander, in order to give his friend the most splendid obsequies, did not wish him to be buried at Ecbatana, but to be taken by Perdiccas to Babylon, to which place he himself was on the point of going; and that there he had arranged for a funeral of unheard-of splendour at a cost of 12,000 talents. Certain it is that he gave orders for Hephaestion to be mourned throughout the whole empire, and in order that his memory might not be lost in the army, Alexander appointed no leader of the cavalry which he had commanded, but wished it to be called the troop of Hephaestion, and that the standards that he had established there should not be changed. The king planned funereal contests and games such as had never been given before, and brought together 3000 artists; and these not long after are said to have competed at Alexander's own funeral.

The king's friends also, not lacking in zeal to win his favour by such lavish demonstrations of sympathy, vied with one another in devising means of making the memory of the deceased more glorious and more honoured. Accordingly Eumenes, since he felt that he had incurred the king's indignation because of his quarrel with Hephaestion, induced many men to consecrate themselves and their arms to Hephaestion and he himself contributed generously to join in honouring his funeral. The rest followed this example, and their shameless flattery went so far that the king, insane with grief and longing for his dead friend, was at last persuaded that Hephaestion was a god.

At that time, indeed, among the leaders of the forces Agathocles the Samian fell into extreme danger because when passing the tomb of Hephaestion he was seen to have wept over him. And had not Perdiccas falsely said that while he was hunting Hephaestion had appeared to him, and had he not sworn by all the gods and by Hephaestion himself that he had learned from him that Agathocles had not wept as over a dead mortal who had vainly been honoured with the title of divinity, but that it was because of the memory of their former comradeship that he had been unable to restrain his tears, a brave man, who had deserved well of the king, although blameless, would

have suffered severe punishment because of his affection for his friend.

But in order for a time to call away his mind from grief, the king undertook an expedition into the land of the Cossaei. They dwell in the mountains near Media, a rude and warlike race, accustomed to live by plunder. From that people the kings of the Persians were wont to purchase peace by an annual tribute, to prevent them from running down into the land below them and infesting it with brigandage. For when the Persians resorted to force they had easily defeated them, defended as they were by the ruggedness of the places in which they took refuge whenever they were overcome by arms. They were also placated by annual gifts, in order that the king on his return to Babylon from Ecbatana, where he regularly spent the summer, might have a safe passage through those lands. These people, then, Alexander attacked with his force in two divisions, and completely subdued them within forty days. For after being often defeated by the king himself and by Ptolemy, who was leading one part of the army, they surrendered to the victor, in order to recover their men who had been made prisoner.

Alexander gave orders that strong cities be founded in strategic places, for fear that when the army was withdrawn the savage race might throw off the yoke. Then he moved his camp, and in a leisurely march, in order to give rest to the soldiers, who were wearied by the recent campaign, he went on to Babylon. And already he was only thirty stadia distant from the city, when Nearchus, whom he had sent ahead to Babylon by way of the Ocean and the mouths of the Euphrates, met him, and entreated him not to think of entering the city, which was destined to be fatal to him. He said that he had learned this from the Chaldeans, who had already abundantly proved the credibility of their art by the result of many predictions. The king, influenced by the reputation of the Chaldeans and by their persistent assertion, having sent many of his friends to the city, led the army by another road past Babylon and pitched a permanent camp 200 stadia from the city. But, advised by the philosopher Anaxarchus, he scorned the warnings of the Chaldeans, whose teachings he thought false or superfluous, and entered the city. Thither deputations from almost the whole world had flocked together. After giving attentive audience to these for several days, he then turned his thoughts to the obsequies of Hephaestion. These were celebrated with such great and general devotion that there was no king up to that time whose funeral rites they did not surpass in the greatness of their cost and the magnificence of their equipment.

After this a longing seized the king to sail over the river Pallacopas to the lands of the Arabians; having arrived there and having discovered a suitable site for founding a city, he settled in it those of the Greeks who were disabled by age or by wounds, as well as any who had remained behind of their own volition. When these things had been finished to his satisfaction, now at ease

about the future, he laughed at the Chaldeans because he had not only entered Babylon but also had left it unharmed. But in fact, as he was returning through the marshes which the Euphrates makes by pouring into the Pallacopas, a direful omen was offered. For some overhanging branches dragged the diadem from the king's head and cast it into the river. When after this prodigies were announced one after the other, continual sacrifices were offered to avert them, at the same time by Greek and by barbarian rites.

Nevertheless they could not be expiated except by the Icings death. And when he had entertained Nearchus with a banquet and he was already about to go to bed, he yielded to the urgent entreaties of Medius of Larissa that he would come to him for a drinking-bout. After he had drunk deeply there all night, he began to feel ill. Then his illness grew so much worse that within six days it had so exhausted all his strength that he could not even speak. Meanwhile the troops, overcome by anxiety and longing to see him, although their leaders warned them not to burden the king in his illness, extorted permission to be admitted to his presence.

Intuentibus lacrimae abortae praebuere speciem iam non regem, sed funus eius visentis exercitus: [2] maeror tamen circumstantium lectum eminebat. Quos ut rex aspexit: 'Invenietis,' inquit, 'cum excessero, dignum talibus viris regem?' Incredibile dictu audituque, [3] in eodem habitu corporis, in quem se composuerat, cum admissurus milites esset, durasse, donec a toto exercitu illud ultimum persalutatus est. Dimissoque vulgo velut omni vitae debito liberatus fatigata membra reiecit propiusque adsidere iussis amicis — [4] nam et vox deficere iam coeperat — detractum anulum digito Perdiccae tradidit adiectis mandatis, ut corpus suum ad Hamm(?)nem ferri iuberent. [5] Quaerentibusque his, cui [p. 370] relinqueret regnum, respondit, ei, qui esset optimus: ceterum providere iam se, ob id certamen magnos funebres ludos parari sibi. [6] Rursus Perdicca interrogante, quando caelestes honores haberi sibi vellet, dixit, tum velle, cum ipsi felices essent. [7] Suprema haec vox fuit regis, et paulo post extinguitur. Ac primo ploratu lamentisque et planctibus tota regia personabat: mox velut in vasta solitudine omnia tristi silentio muta torpebant ad cogitationes, quid deinde futurum esset, dolore converso. [8] Nobiles pueri custodiae corporis eius adsueti nec doloris magnitudinem capere nec se ipsos intra vestibulum regiae tenere potuerunt. Vagique et furentibus similes tantam urbem luctu ac maerore compleverant nullis questibus omissis, [9] quos in tali casu dolor suggerit: ergo, qui extra regiam adstiterant, Macedones pariter barbarique, concurrunt. Nec poterant victi a victoribus in communi dolore discerni: Persae iustissimum ac mitissimum dominum, Macedones optimum ac fortissimum regem invocantes certamen quoddam maeroris edebant. [10] Nec maestorum solum, sed etiam indignantium voces exaudiebantur, tam viridem et in flore aetatis fortunaeque invidia deum ereptum esse rebus humanis. Vigor eius et vultus educentis in proelium milites, obsidentis urbes, [11] evadentis in muros, fortes viros pro contione donantis occurrebant oculis.

Tum Macedones divinos [p. 371] honores negasse ei paenitebat, inpiosque et ingratos fuisse se confitebantur, quod aures eius debita appellatione fraudassent. Et cum diu nunc in veneratione, nunc in desiderio regis haesissent, in ipsos versa miseratio est. [12] Macedonia profecti ultra Euphraten in mediis hostibus novum imperium aspernantibus destitutos se esse cernebant: sine certo regis herede, sine herede regni publicas vires ad se quemque tracturum. [13] Bella deinde civilia, quae secuta sunt, mentibus augurabantur: iterum non de regno Asiae, sed de rege ipsis sanguinem esse fundendum, novis vulneribus veteres rumpendas cicatrices: [14] senes, debiles modo petita missione a iusto rege nunc morituros pro potentia forsitan satellitis alicuius ignobilis. [15] Has cogitationes volventibus nox supervenit terroremque auxit. Milites in armis vigilabant, Babylonii alius e muris, alius culmine sui quisque tecti prospectabant quasi certiora visuri. [16] Nec quisquam lumina audebat accendere et, quia oculorum cessabat usus, fremitus vocesque auribus captabant ac plerumque vano metu territi per obscuras semitas, alius alii occurrentes, invicem suspecti ac solliciti ferebantur. [17] Persae comis suo more detonsis in lugubri veste cum coniugibus ac liberis non ut victorem et modo ut hostem, sed ut gentis suae iustissimum regem vero desiderio, lugebant ac sueti sub rege vivere non alium, qui imperaret ipsis, digniorem fuisse confitebantur. [18] Nec muris urbis luctus continebatur, sed [p. 372] proximam regionem ab ea, deinde magnam partem Asiae cis Euphraten tanti mali fama pervaserat. [19] Ad Darei quoque matrem celeri ter perlata est: abscissa ergo veste, quam induta erat, lugubrem sumpsit laceratisque crinibus humi corpus abiecit. [20] Adsidebat ei altera ex neptibus nuper amissum Hephaestionem, cui nupserat, lugens propriasque causas doloris in communi maestitia retractabat. [21] Sed omnium suorum mala Sisigambis una capiebat: illa suam, ilia neptium vicem flebat. Recens dolor etiam praeterita revocaverat. Crederes modo amissum Dareum et pariter miserae duorum filiorum exequias esse ducendas. Flebat simul mortuos vivosque. [22] Quem enim puellarum acturum esse curam? quem alium futurum Alexandrum? iterum esse se captas, iterum excidisse regnum. [23] Qui mortuo Dareo ipsas tueretur, repperisse, qui post Alexandrum respiceret, utique non reperturas. Subibat inter haec animum LXXX fratres suos eodem die ab Ocho, saevissimo regum, trucidatos adiectumque stragi tot filiorum patrem, e septem liberis, quos genuisset ipsa, unum superesse, ipsum Dareum floruisse paulisper, ut crudelius posset extingui. [24] Ad ultimum dolori succubuit obvolutoque capite accidentis genibus suis neptem nepotemque aversata cibo pariter abstinuit et luce. [25] Quinto, postquam mori statuerat, die extincta est. Magnum profecto Alexandri indulgentiae in eam iustitiaeque in omnes captivos documentum est mors huius: quae cum sustinuisset post Dareum vivere, Alexandro esse superstes erubuit. [p. 373] Et, [26] hercule, iuste aestimantibus regem liquet, bona naturae eius fuisse, vitia vel fortunae vel aetatis. [27] Vis incredibilis animi, laboris patientia propemodum nimia, fortitudo non inter reges modo excellens, sed inter illos quoque, [28] quorum

haec sola virtus fuit, liberalitas saepe maiora tribuens, quam a dis petuntur, clementia in devictos, tot regna aut redditae, quibus ademerat bello aut dono data, [29] mortis, cuius metus ceteros exanimat, perpetua contemptio, gloriae laudisque ut iusto maior cupido, ita in iuvene et in tantis neglegenda rebus, [30] iam pietas erga parentes, quorum Olympiada immortalitati consecrare decreverat, Philippum ultus erat, [31] iam in omnes fere amicos benignitas, erga milites benivolentia, consilium par magnitudini animi et, quantam vix poterat aetas eius capere, [32] sollertia, modus inmodicarum cupiditatum, veneris intra naturale desiderium usus nec ulla nisi ex permissio voluptas ingenii profecto dotes erant. [33] Illa fortunae: dis aequare se et caelestes honores accersere et talia suadentibus oraculis credere et dedignantibus venerari ipsum vehementius, quam par esset, irasci, in externum habitum mutare corporis cultum, imitari devictarum gentium mores, quos ante victoriam spreverat. [34] Nam iracundiam et cupidinem vini sicuti iuventa inritaverat, ita senectus mitigare potuisset. [35] Fatendum est tamen, cum pluri- [p. 374] mum virtuti debuerit, plus debuisse fortunae, quam solus omnium mortalium i(?) potestate habuit. Quotiens illum a morte revoca vit! [36] quotiens temere in pericula vectum perpetua felicitate protexit! Vitae quoque finem eundem illi quem gloriae statuit: expectavere eum fata, dum Oriente perdomito aditoque Oceano, quidquid mortalitas capiebat, inpleret. [37] Huic regi ducique successor quaerebatur, sed maior moles erat, quam ut unus subire eam posset: itaque nomen quoque eius et fama rerum in totum propemodum orbem reges ac regna diffudit, clarissimique sunt habiti, qui etiam minimae parti tantae fortunae adhaeserunt.

V. As they gazed at him, their rising tears gave the impression no longer of an army looking upon its [2] king, but of one attending his funeral; yet the grief of those who stood about his couch was still greater. When the king saw them he said: "After I am gone [3] will you find a king worthy of such men?" Incredible to tell and to hear of, he continued to hold his body in the same attitude in which he had composed himself when he was about to admit the soldiers, until he had been saluted by the whole army for that last time. And having dismissed the common throng, as if he had discharged every debt to life, he threw [4] back his exhausted frame, and after bidding his friends to seat themselves — for his voice too had already begun to give out — he drew his ring from his finger and handed it to Perdiccas, adding instructions that they should order his body to be taken to Ammon.

[5] When they asked to whom he left his kingdom, he replied, to him who was the best man, but that he already foresaw that because of that contest great [6] funeral games were in preparation for him. Again, when Perdiccas asked when he wished divine honours to be paid to him, he said that he wished it at the time when they themselves were happy. These were the king's last words, and shortly afterwards he died.

[7] And at first the whole royal quarters rang with wailing, lamentation, and beating of breasts; presently, as if in a desert waste, everything was mute and torpid, since grief was changed to thoughts of [8] what would happen next. The high-born boys who were his regular body-guard could neither contain the greatness of their grief nor keep themselves within the vestibule of the royal quarters. Wandering about and as if crazed, they had filled that city, great as it was, with grief and sorrow, omitting no complaints which sorrow suggests in such a disaster; [9] therefore those who had stood without the royal quarters, Macedonians and foreigners alike, rushed together. And in their common sorrow the vanquished could not be distinguished from the victors; the Persians, calling upon a most just and mild lord, the Macedonians upon the best and bravest of kings, exhibited, as it were, a contest in mourning.

[10] And not only words of sorrow were heard, but also of indignation, that through the envy of the gods a man so vigorous and in the flower of his youth and his fortune had been torn from mankind. His vigour and his aspect as he led his soldiers to battle, besieged cities, scaled walls, and rewarded brave men before the assembled army, were before their minds eye.

[11] Then the Macedonians repented of having denied him divine honours, and they confessed that they had been impious and ungrateful in having cheated his ears of the title due him. And after they had continued for a long time, now in veneration, now in longing for the king, their pity was diverted to themselves.

[12] Having left Macedonia, they saw themselves abandoned beyond the Euphrates and in the midst of foes dissatisfied with the new rule; without a sure heir to their king, without an heir to the throne, each man would be trying to draw the public forces into his own power.

[13] Then they foresaw the civil wars that followed. Again they would have to pour out their blood, old scars must be broken by new wounds; not to gain the rule of Asia, but to appoint a king to reign [14] over themselves. Aged and infirm, they who had recently asked their discharge from a legitimate king would now die perhaps in defence of the power of [15] some obscure subordinate. As they were turning over such thoughts in their minds, night came on and increased their alarm. The soldiers kept vigil under arms, the Babylonians, some from the walls, others from the roof of their own houses, were each looking out as if to get more certain information.

[16] And none dared to light their lamps, but because they could not use their eyes, they caught with their ears the noise and outcries, and often terrified by unfounded fear, they ran through the dark streets, and as they met one another were in turn suspected and apprehensive.

[17] The Persians, having shaved their hair according to custom, in mourning

garb with their wives and children grieved for the king, not as their conqueror and recently their enemy, but with genuine longing as their own nation's most just ruler, and used as they were to live under a king, they confessed that none other had been more worthy to rule them.

[18] And their grief was not confined within the walls of the city, but the report of so great a disaster had spread through the region nearest to Babylon and then through a great part of Asia on the hither side [19] of the Euphrates. The news was quickly brought also to the mother of Darius; she, rending the garments which she wore, put on mourning garb and, tearing her hair, threw herself on the ground.

[20] Beside her sat one of her granddaughters, mourning for the recent loss of Hephæstion, whom she had married, and in the general sorrow was renewing her [21] own reasons for grief. But Sisigambis alone felt the misfortune that had befallen all her family; she wept for her own loss and for that of her granddaughters. This recent grief too had revived the sorrows of the past. You might think that she had just lost Darius, and that the unhappy woman had to perform the funeral rites of two sons; she wept at [22] once for the dead and for the living. For who would have a care for her girls? Who would be a second Alexander? Again they were taken prisoner, again they had lost royal rank. After the death of Darius they had found someone to protect them, but after Alexander they assuredly would find none to do so.

[23] Amid these thoughts it entered her mind that her eighty brothers had been killed on one and the same day by Ochus, most savage of kings, and that their father had been added to the slaughter of so many sons, and that of the seven children that she herself had borne only one was left. Even Darius had flourished for a time, only that he might meet a more cruel death. At last she gave way to grief and veiling her head and turning away from her granddaughter and her grandson, who fell at her knees, she at the same time abstained from food and shunned the light of day. The fifth day after she [25] had resolved to die, she passed away. Surely her death is a strong testimony to Alexander's indulgence towards her and to his just treatment of all the captives; for she who had had the fortitude to live after Darius was ashamed to survive Alexander.

[26] And, by Heaven! to those who judge the king fairly it is clear that his good qualities were natural, [27] his faults due to his fortune or to his youth. He possessed incredible strength of mind, an endurance of toil which was almost excessive, a courage excelling not only among kings but among those whose sole [28] merit it is, a generosity that often bestowed greater gifts than are asked of gods in prayer, clemency towards the vanquished, shown either by returning so many kingdoms to those from whom he had taken [29] them in war or by giving them as gifts, a constant contempt of death, the fear of which appals the rest of mankind, a desire for glory and renown which, although it

was greater than was proper, yet was to be overlooked in a young man who had done such ^[30] glorious deeds; also his devotion to his parents, of whom he had decided to consecrate Olympias among ^[31] the immortals and had avenged Philip, his kindness to almost all his friends, his goodwill to his soldiers, ^[32] his wisdom equal to the greatness of his spirit, and a keenness of judgement of which one of his years could hardly have been capable, a restraint of immoderate desires, the indulgence of passion only within natural requirements, and to have enjoyed no pleasures except such as were lawful, were certainly gifts of his own nature.

^[33] The following qualities were attributable to his fortune: to equal himself with the gods and to aspire to divine honours, to trust to oracles which advised such conduct, and to be more angry than was fitting with those who refused to venerate him, to change his attire to that of foreign nations, to imitate those customs of the conquered races which he had scorned ^[34] before his victory. As for his hot temper and his love of wine, just as these were intensified by youth, ^[35] greater age might have moderated them. Yet it must be confessed that although he owed much to his own merit, yet he owed still more to Fortune, over whom he alone of all mortals had control. often did she save him from death! How often, when rashness brought him into danger, did she protect ^[36] him by perpetual good luck! She likewise fixed the same end for his life and for his glory; the Fates waited for him until, having thoroughly subdued the Orient, and having reached the Ocean, he fulfilled every task of which mortality was capable.

^[37] This was the king and leader for whom a successor was sought, but the burden was too great for the shoulders of one man; hence even his name and the fame of his exploits spread kings and kingdoms throughout almost the whole world, and those were considered most glorious who had retained even the least part of so great a fortune. —

Ceterum Babylone — inde enim devertit oratio — corporis eius custodes in regiam principes amicorum ducesque cupiarum advocavere. Secuta est militum turba cupientium scire, in quem Alexandri fortuna esset trans itura. ^[2] Multi duces frequentia militum exclusi regiam intrare non poterant, cum praeco exceptis, qui nominatim citarentur, adire prohiberet. ^[3] Sed precarium spernebatur imperium. Ac primum eiulatus ingens ploratusque renovatus est, deinde futuri expectatio inhibitis lacrimis silentium fecit. ^[4] Tunc Perdicca regia sella in conspectum volgi data, in qua diadema vestisque Alexandri cum armis erant, anulum sibi pridie traditum a rege in eadem sede posuit. Quorum aspectu rursus obortae omnibus lacrimae integravere luctum, et Perdicca: ^[5] ‘Ego quidem,’ inquit, ‘anulum, quo ille regni atque imperii res obsignare erat solitus, ^[6] traditum ab ipso mihi reddo vobis. Ceterum quam- ^[p. 375] quam nulla clades huic, qua adfecti sumus, par ab iratis dis excogitari potest, tamen magnitudinem rerum, quas egit, intuentibus credere licet, tantum virum deos

adcommodasse rebus humanis, quarum sorte completa cito repeterent eum suae stirpi. [7] Proinde quoniam nihil aliud ex eo superest, quam quod semper ab immortalitate seducitur, corpori utique quam primum iusta solvamus haud obliti, in qua urbe, inter quos simus, quali praeside ac rege spoliati. [8] Tractandum est, commilitones, cogitandumque, ut victoriam partam inter hos, de quibus parta est, obtinere possimus. Capite opus est: hoc nominare in vestra potestate est. Illud scire debetis, militarem sine duce turbam corpus esse sine spiritu. [9] Sextus mensis est, ex quo Roxane praegnans est: optamus, ut marem enitatur, cuius regnum dis adprobandis sit futurum, quandoque adoleverit. Interim a quibus regi velitis, destinate.’ Haec Perdicca. [10] Tum Nearchus Alexandri modo sanguinem ac stirpem regiae maiestati convenire, neminem ait posse infitari, [11] ceterum expectari nondum ortum regem et, qui iam sit, praeteriri, nec animis Macedonum convenire nec tempori eorum. Esse e Barsine filium regis: [12] huic diadema dandum. Nulli placebat oratio: itaque suo more hastis scuta quatientes obstrepere perseverabant. Iamque prope ad seditionem pervenerant Nearchus pervacius tuente sententiam, cum Ptolomaeus: [13] ‘Digna [p. 376] prorsus est suboles,’ inquit, ‘quae Macedonum imperet genti, Roxanes vel Barsines filius, cuius nomen quoque Europam discere pigebit maiore ex parte captivi!’ [14] Est, cur Persas vicerimus, ut stirpi eorum serviamus, quod iusti illi reges, Dareus et Xerxes, tot milium agminibus tantisque classibus nequiquam petiverunt? [15] Mea sententia haec est, ut sede Alexandri in regia posita, qui consiliis eius adhibebantur, coeant, quotiens in commune consulto opus fuerit, eoque, quod maior pars eorum decreverit, [16] stetur, duces praefectique copiarum his pareant.’ Ptolomaeo quidam, pauciores Perdiccae adsentiebantur. Tum Aristonius orsus est dicere, Alexandrum consultum, cui relinqueret regnum, voluisse optimum deligi: iudicatum autem ab ipso optimum Perdiccam, cui anulum tradidisset. [17] Neque enim unum eum adsedissem morienti, sed circumferentem oculos ex turba amicorum delegisse, cui traderet. Placere igitur, summam imperii ad Perdiccam deferri. [18] Nec dubitare, quin vera censeret. Itaque universi procedere in medium Perdiccam et regis anulum tollere iuebant. Haerebat inter cupiditatem pudoremque et, quo modestius, quod spectabat, adpeteret, pervacius obluros esse credebatur. [19] Itaque cunctatus diuque, quid ageret, incertus ad ultimum tamen recessit et post eos, qui sedi erant proximi, constitit. [20] At Meleager, unus e du- [p. 377] cibis, confirmato animo, quem Perdiccae cunctatio exererat: ‘Nec di sient,’ inquit, ‘ut Alexandri fortuna tantique regni fastigium in istos humeros ruat: homines certe non ferent. Nihil dico de nobilioribus, quam hic est, sed de viris tantum, quibus invitis nihil perpeti necesse est. [21] Nec vero interest, Roxanes filium, quandoque genitus erit, an Perdiccan regem habeatis, cum iste sub tutelae specie regnum occupaturus sit. Itaque nemo ei rex placet, nisi qui nondum natus est, et in tanta omnium festinatione non iusta modo, sed etiam necessaria exactos menses solus expectat et iam divinat marem esse conceptum. Quem vos dubitetis paratum esse vel subdere? [22] Si, me dius fidius, Alexander hunc

nobis regem pro se reliquisset, id solum ex iis, quae imperasset, non faciendum esse censerem. [23] Quin igitur ad diripiendos thesauros discurretis? harum enim opum regiarum utique populus est heres.’ Haec elocutus per medios annatos erupit, [24] et, qui abeunti viam dederant, ipsum ad pronuntiatam praedam sequebantur.

VI. But in Babylon — for it was from there that made a digression — his body-guards called to the royal quarters the chief of the king’s friends and the leaders of his forces. A throng of soldiers followed, eager to know to whom the fortune of Alexander [2] would pass. Many generals, shut out by the great number of soldiers, had been unable to enter the royal quarters, since a herald forbade access except to those who had been summoned by name. But this order, [3] being of uncertain origin, was disregarded. And first of all the great wailing and lamentation was renewed, then expectation of what was coming checked their [4] tears and caused silence. Then Perdiccas, having put in view of the public the royal throne, on which were the diadem and the robe of Alexander together with his arms, placed on the same throne the ring which had been handed to him the day before by the king.

At the sight of these the whole assembly again burst into tears and renewed the mourning, and [5] Perdiccas said: “For my part, I return to you the ring handed to me by the late king himself, with which he was wont to seal the documents pertaining to his [6] kingdom and his power. Furthermore, although no calamity equal to this which has befallen us can be devised by the angry gods, yet those who consider the greatness of what he accomplished may well believe that so great a man was merely loaned to mankind by the gods, in order that, when his allotted service to humanity was completed, they might quickly take [7] him back into their own family. Therefore, since nothing else is left of him except what is always separated from immortality, let us pay as soon as possible the rites due to his body at least, not forgetting in what city and among whom we are, and of what a chief and what a king we have been [8] despoiled. We must therefore, fellow-soldiers, give attention and consider how we may secure the victory which he has won among those from whom it was won. We have need of a head; to name one is in your power. One thing you must know, that a throng of soldiers without a leader is a body without [9] a soul. It is five months from the time when Roxanê became with child; we pray that she may bear a son, who shall rule over us with the gods’ approval, when he comes of age. Determine by what men you wish to be ruled in the meantime.” Thus spoke Perdiccas.

[10] Then Nearchus said that no one could deny that only the blood and stock of Alexander was suited to [11] royal majesty, but that to wait for a king who was not yet born, and to pass over one who was already living, suited neither the desires of the Macedonians nor their exigencies; that the king had a son by Barsinê; he ought to be presented with the crown.

[12] His speech was approved by no one; and so, clashing their shields with their spears after their custom, they persisted in uproar. And already, as Nearchus maintained his opinion too persistently, they had almost reached the point of mutiny, when Ptolemy [13] said: “Truly a most worthy stock to rule the race of the Macedonians is the son of Roxanê or Barsinê, whose very name Europe will be ashamed to hear, since it is that of one who is in greater part a captive.

[14] Is that why we have conquered the Persians, that we may serve their stock, a thing which those legitimate kings, Darius and Xerxes, sought in vain with armies of so many thousands and such great fleets?

[15] My advice is this, that the throne of Alexander be set up in the royal quarters, and that those who were summoned to his counsels should come together whenever there shall be need of general consultation, and that what the majority of them shall decide shall stand approved, and that the generals and commanders of troops shall obey those men.

[16] Some agreed with Ptolemy, fewer with Perdiccas. Then Aristonus began to speak, saying that Alexander, when he was asked to whom he left his kingdom, wished the best man to be chosen; moreover, he had himself judged that Perdiccas, to whom he [17] had handed his ring, was the best man. For he was not the only one who sat by Alexander when he was dying, but, the king, looking about, had chosen him from his throng of friends to give it to. Therefore it was Alexander’s wish that the supreme power [18] should be bestowed upon Perdiccas. And there was no doubt that Aristonus’ opinion was the truth. Therefore all bade Perdiccas to come forward and take up the king’s ring. He wavered between inclination and shame, and believed that the more modestly he sought what he coveted the more persistently they [19] would press it upon him. So, after delaying and being for a long time uncertain what to do, he finally retired to the back part of the assembly, and stood behind those who were nearest to the throne.

[20] But Meleager, one of the generals, taking the courage which the hesitation of Perdiccas had aroused, said: “May the gods themselves not permit that the fortune of Alexander and the burden of so great a kingdom should fall upon such shoulders, certainly men will not allow it. I say nothing of those of nobler birth than this fellow, but only of brave men, who need to endure nothing against their [21] will. And truly it makes no difference whether you have for king the son of Roxanê, whenever he shall be born, or Perdiccas, since that fellow will usurp the royal power under the guise of regency.

That is why no king pleases him except one who is not yet born, and amid the great haste of all, which is not only reasonable but even necessary, he alone waits for the completion of months, and already divines that a male child has been conceived. And could you doubt that he is even ready to suborn one?

[22] If, by the God of Faith! Alexander had left this man to be king in his place, that would be the only one of his commands that I should think ought not [23] to be obeyed. Why then do you not run to plunder the treasures? for surely the people alone are the [24] heirs to these riches of the king.” Having said this, he burst through the midst of the armed men, and those who had made way for him when he left followed him to the booty which had been proclaimed.

Iamque armatorum circa Meleagrum frequens globus erat in seditionem ac discordiam versa contione, cum quidam plerisque Macedonum ignotus ex intima plebe: ‘Quid opus est,’ inquit, ‘armis civilique bello habentibus regem, [2] quem quaeritis? Arrhidaeus, Philipppo genitus, Alexandri paulo ante regis frater, sacrorum caerimoniarumque consors modo, nunc solus heres, praeteritur a vobis. Quo suo merito? quidve fecit, cur [p. 378] etiam gentium communi iure fraudetur? Si Alexandre) similem quaeritis, numquam reperietis: [3] si proximum, hic solus est.’ His auditis contio primo silentium velut iussa habuit, conclamant deinde pariter Arrhidaeum vocandum esse mortemque meritos, [4] qui contionem sine eo habuissent. Tum Pithon plenus lacrimarum orditur dicere, nunc vel maxime miserabilem esse Alexandrum, qui tam bonorum civium militumque fructu et praesentia fraudatus esset. Nomen enim memoriamque regis sui tantum intuentes ad cetera caligare eos. [5] Haud ambigue tum in eum, cui regnum destinabatur, ingessit probra: at, quae obiecerat, magis ipsi odium quam Arrhidaeo contemptum attulerunt. [6] Quippe dum miserentur, etiam favere coeperunt. Igitur non alium regem se quam eum, qui ad hanc spem genitus esset, passuros pertinaci adclamatione declarant vocarique Arrhidaeum iubent. [7] Quem Meleager infestus invisusque Perdiccae strenue perducit in regiam: et milites Philippum consalutatum regem appellant. [8] Ceterum haec vulgi erat vox, principum alia sententia. E quibus Pithon consilium Perdiccae exequi coepit tutoresque destinat filio ex Boxane futuro [p. 379] Perdiccam et Leonnatum, stirpe regia genitos. [9] Adiecit, ut in Europa Craterus et Antipater res administrarent. Tum iusiurandum a singulis exactum futuros in potestate regis geniti Alexandro. [10] Meleager — haud iniuria metu supplicii territus cum suis secesserat — rursus Philippum trahens secum inrupit regiam clamitans suffragari spei de novo rege paulo ante conceptae robur aetatis: experirentur modo stirpem Philippi, et filium ac fratrem regum duorum: sibimet ipsis potissimum crederent. [11] Nullum profundum mare, nullum vastum fretum et procellosum tantos ciet fluctus, quantos multitudo motus habet, utique si nova et brevi duratura libertate luxuriat. [12] Pauci Perdiccae modo electo, plures Philipppo, quem spreverant, imperium dabant. Nec velle nec nolle quicquam diu poterant, paenitebatque modo consilii, modo paenitentiae ipsius. Ad ultimum tamen in stirpem regiam inclinavere studiis. [13] Cesserat ex contione Arrhidaeus principum auctoritate contreritus, et abeunte illo conticuerat magis quam elanguerat militaris favor: itaque revocatus vestem fratris, eam ipsam, quae in sella posita fuerat, induitur. [14] Et Meleager thorace sumpto capit arma, novi regis satelles. Sequitur phalanx hastis clipeos quatiens, expletura se sanguine illorum, qui [p.

380] [15] adfectaverant nihil ad ipsos pertinens regnum. In eadem domo familiaque imperii vires remansuras esse gaudebant: hereditarium imperium stirpem regiam vindicaturam: aduetos esse nomen ipsum colere venerarique, nec quemquam id capere nisi geni tum, ut regnaret. [16] Igitur Perdicca territus conclave, in quo Alexandri corpus iacebat, obserari iubet: DC cum ipso erant spectatae virtutis, Ptolomaeus quoque se adiunxerat ei puerorumque regia cohors. [17] Ceterum haud difficulter a tot milibus armatorum claustra perfracta sunt. Et rex quoque inruperat stipatus satellitum turba, quorum princeps Meleager ibat: [18] itaque Perdicca hos, qui Alexandri corpus tueri vellent, sevocat. Sed, qui inruperant, eminus tela in ipsum iaciebant. Multisque vulneratis tandem seniores demptis galeis, quo facilius nosci possent, precari eos, qui cum Perdicca erant, coepere, ut absisterent bello regique et pluribus cederent. [19] Primus Perdicca arma deposuit, ceterique idem fecere. Meleagro deinde suadente, ne a corpore Alexandri discederent, [20] insidiis locum quaeri rati diversa regiae parte ad Euphraten fugam intendunt. Equitatus, qui ex nobilissimis iuvenum constabat, Perdiccam et Leonnatum frequens sequebatur, placebatque excedere urbe et tendere in campis. [21] Sed Perdicca ne pedites quidem secuturos ipsum desperabat: itaque, ne [p. 381] abducendo equites abruptis a cetero exercitu videretur, in urbe subsistit.

VII. And already there was a large body of armed men around Meleager, and the assembly was on its way to sedition and discord, when a man unknown to most of the Macedonians, one of the lowest of the common people, said: "What need is there of arms and civil war, when you have the king whom you [2] seek? Arrhidaeus, son of Philip, brother of Alexander, who was shortly before king, recently his associate in sacrifices and ceremonies, and now his sole heir, is passed over by you. Why has he deserved this? Or what has he done to be cheated even of the common law of nations? If you seek a king like Alexander, you will never find one; if one next in blood, Arrhidaeus is the only choice."

[3] After hearing these words the assembly at first kept silence, as if ordered to do so, then they shouted with one voice that Arrhidaeus ought to be summoned, and that those who had held an assembly without him deserved death.

[4] Then Pithon, bathed in tears, began to say that now Alexander was more than ever to be pitied, since he had been defrauded of the use and company of such good citizens and soldiers. For having an eye only to the name and the memory of their king, they were [5] blind to all else. Then in plain language he heaped abuse upon the one to whom the throne was being awarded, but his insulting words brought more hatred upon himself than contempt upon Arrhidaeus. For in pitying him the assembly began to favour him.

[6] Therefore with persistent acclamation they declared that they would tolerate no other king than one who had been born to such a hope, and they

ordered ^[7] Arrhidaeus to be called. Him Meleager, being hostile to Perdiccas, whom he hated, promptly brought into the royal quarters, and the soldiers hailed him as king under the name of Philippos.

^[8] But this was the voice of the common people, the opinion of the chief men was different. Of these Pithon began to follow the plan of Perdiccas, and named Perdiccas and Leonnatus, both born of royal stock, as guardians of the son to be born of Roxane.

^[9] He added that Craterus and Antipater should have direction of affairs in Europe. Then an oath was exacted of each man that they would submit to a ^[10] king begotten of Alexander. Meleager — naturally terrified for fear of punishment, he had withdrawn with his partisans — again burst into the royal quarters dragging Philippos with him and crying that his vigorous youth favoured the hope which they had just conceived for the new king; let them only try the offspring of Philip, son and brother to two kings; let them trust their own judgement rather than that of others.

^[11] No deep sea, no vast and storm-swept ocean rouses such great billows as the emotions of a multitude, especially if it is exulting in a liberty which is new ^[12] and destined to be short-lived. A few were for giving the power to Perdiccas, who had recently been chosen, more to Philippos, whom they had scorned. But they could not favour nor oppose anything for long, and now repented of their resolution, and now of the very fact of having repented. At last, however, their ^[13] favour inclined to the royal stock. Arrhidaeus had left the assembly greatly alarmed by the authority of the leading men, and as he went out the favour of the soldiers was rather silenced than diminished; hence, on being recalled he put on the robe of his brother, the very one which had been placed upon ^[14] the throne. And Meleager, having put on his cuirass, armed himself as an attendant upon the new king. The phalanx followed his example, clashing their spears against their shields as a sign that they would sate themselves with the blood of those who ^[15] aspired to a rule to which they had no claim. They rejoiced that the strength of the empire would remain in the same house and family; that the inheritance of empire would defend the royal stock; they were accustomed to honour and venerate the name itself, and no one assumed it unless born to rule. —

^[16] Therefore Perdiccas in terror ordered the room in which the body of Alexander was lying to be bolted; he had with him 600 men of tried valour, Ptolemy ^[17] also had joined him and the royal band of pages. But the barriers were easily broken through by so many thousands of soldiers. And the king also had rushed in, surrounded by a throng of attendants, of whom ^[18] Meleager took the lead; accordingly, Perdiccas called aside those who wished to protect the body of Alexander. But those who had broken in were throwing javelins at him at long range. And after many had been wounded, at last the older men, taking off their helmets in order to be more easily recognized,

began to entreat those who favoured Perdiccas to cease from war and yield to the king and to superior ^[19] numbers. Perdiccas was the first to lay down his arms, and the rest followed his example. Then, when Meleager tried to persuade them not to leave the body of Alexander, they, thinking that he was looking for an opportunity for treachery, through another door of the palace took flight in the direction of the ^[20] Euphrates. The cavalry, which was composed of the noblest of the youth, in great numbers followed Perdiccas and Leonnatus, and advised leaving the ^[21] city and encamping in the plains. But Perdiccas did not give up hope that even the infantry would follow him; and therefore, for fear that by leading away the horsemen he might seem to have separated from the rest of the army, he remained in the city.

At Meleager regem monere non destitit, ius imperii Perdiccae morte sanciendum esse: ni occupetur inpotens animus, res novaturum. Meminisse eum, quid de rege meruisset, neminem autem ei satis fidum esse, quem metuat. ^[2] Rex patiebatur magis quam adsentiebatur: itaque Meleager silentium pro imperio habuit misitque regis nomine, qui Perdiccam accerserent. Isdem mandatum, ^[3] ut occiderent, si venire dubitaret. Perdicca nuntiato satellitum adventu sedecim omnino pueris regiae cohortis comitatus in limine domus suae constitit castigatosque et Meleagri mancipia identidem appellans sic animi vultusque constantia terruit, ut vix mentis compotes fugerint. ^[4] Perdicca pueros equos iussit conscendere et cum paucis amicorum ad Leonnatum pervenit, iam firmiore praesidio vim propulsaturus, si quis inferret. ^[5] Postera die indigna res Macedonibus videbatur, Perdiccam ad mortis periculum adductum, et Meleagri temeritatem armis ultum ire decreverant. ^[6] * * * * Atque ille seditione provisa, cum regem adisset, interrogare eum coepit, an Perdiccam comprehendere ipse iussisset. Ille Meleagri instinctu se iussisse respondit: ceterum non debere tumultuari eos: Perdiccam enim vivere. ^[7] Igitur contione dimissa Meleager equitum se maxime defectione perterritus inopsque consilii — quippe in ipsum periculum reciderat, quod inimico ^[p. 382] paulo ante intenderat — triduum fere consumpsit incerta consilia volvendo. ^[8] Et pristina quidem regiae species manebat: nam et legati gentium regem adibant, et copiarum duces aderant, et vestibulum satellites armatique compleverant. ^[9] Sed ingens sua sponte maestitia ultimae desperationis index erat, suspectique invicem non adire propius, non conloqui audebant secretas cogitationes intra se quoque solvente, et ex conparatione regis novi desiderium excitabatur amissi. ^[10] Ubi ille esset, cuius imperium, cuius auspiciu secuti erant, requirebant: destitutos se inter infestas indomitasque gentes expetituras tot suarum cladum poenas, quandoque oblata esset occasio. ^[11] His cogitationibus animos exedebant, cum adnuntiatur equites, qui sub Perdicca essent, ^[12] occupatis circa Babylona campis frumentum, quod in urbem vehebatur, retinuisse. Itaque inopia primum, deinde fames esse coepit, et, qui in urbe erant, aut reconciliandam cum Perdicca gratiam aut armis certandum esse censebant. ^[13] Forte ita acciderat, ut, qui in agris erant, populationem villarum vicorumque veriti

confugerent in urbem, oppidani, cum ipsos alimenta deficerent, urbe excederent, utrique generi tutior aliena sedes quam sua videretur. [14] Quorum consternationem Macedones veriti in regiam coeunt, quaeque ipsorum sententia esset, exponunt. Placebat autem legatos ad equites mitti et de finienda discordia armisque ponendis. [15] Igitur a rege legatur Pasiās Thessalus et Damyllus Megalopolitanus et Perilaue: qui cum [p. 383] mandata regis edidissent, non aliter posituros arma equites, quam si rex discordiae auctores dedidisset, tulere responsum. [16] His renuntiatis sua sponte arma milites capiunt. Quorum tumultu e regia Philippus excitus: ‘Nihil,’ inquit, ‘seditione est opus: nam inter se certantium praemia, qui quieverint, occupabunt. [17] Simul mementote rem esse cum civibus: quibus spem gratiae cito abrumpere ad bellum civile properantium est. [18] Altera legatione, an mitigari possint, experiamur. Et credo nondum regis corpore sepulto ad praestanda ei iusta omnis esse coituros. [19] Quod ad me attinet, reddere hoc imperium malo quam exercere civium sanguine: et si nulla alia concordiae spes est, oro quaesoque, [20] eligite potius.’ Obortis deinde lacrimis diadema detrahit capiti dexteram, qua id tenebat, protendens, [21] ut, si quis se digniorem profiteretur, acciperet. Ingentem spem indolis ante eum diem fratris claritate suppressae tam moderata excitavit oratio. Itaque cuncti instare coeperunt, ut, quae agitasset, exequi vellet. [22] Eisdem rursus legat petituos, ut Meleagrum tertium ducem acciperent. Haud aegre id inpetratum est: nam et abducere Meleagrum Perdicca a rege cupiebat et unum duobus inparem futurum esse censebat. [23] Igitur Meleagro cum phalange obviam egresso Perdicca equitum turmas antecedens occurrit. Utrumque agmen mutua salutatione facta coit in perpetuum, ut arbitrabantur, concordia et pace firmata. [p. 384]

VIII. But Meleager did not cease to warn the king that his right to rule ought to be confirmed by the death of Perdiccas; that if his ambitious spirit were not checked, he would start a revolution. That he remembered what he had deserved of the king, and besides no one was wholly loyal to one whom he [2] feared. The king rather listened to than accepted this advice; accordingly Meleager took his silence as a command and sent men in the name of the king to summon Perdiccas. They were directed to kill [3] him if he hesitated to come. Perdiccas, when the arrival of the messengers was known, attended only by sixteen youths of the royal cohort, took his place on the threshold of his house, and after upbraiding the messengers and repeatedly calling them slaves of Meleager, he so terrified them by the firmness of his courage and his expression, that they fled almost [4] beside themselves. Perdiccas ordered the youths to mount their horses and came with a few of his friends to Leonnatus, intending now to ward off violence with a stronger force, if anyone should offer it.

[6] On the following day it seemed to the Macedonians shameful that Perdiccas had been exposed to danger of death, and they decided to go and punish by

arms [6] the rash act of Meleager. But he, having foreseen a revolt, when he had come to the king began to ask him whether he himself had ordered Perdiccas to be seized. The king replied that he had ordered it at the instigation of Meleager, but that they ought not to make a disturbance; for Perdiccas was alive.

[7] Therefore when the assembly had been dismissed, Meleager, terrified especially by the desertion of the cavalry and not knowing what to do — for he had fallen into the very danger which he had shortly before devised for his enemy — spent nearly three [8] days in considering uncertain plans. And in fact the former appearance of the royal quarters continued; for envoys of the nations came to the king, and the leaders of the forces were present with him, and armed men and attendants had filled the vestibule.

[9] But the great seriousness which involuntarily showed itself was a sign of extreme desperation, and suspecting one another, they did not dare to approach nor to talk with anyone, but turned over secret thoughts each in their own minds, and from comparison with the new king longing was aroused for the one whom they had lost.

[10] They inquired where he was whose rule and auspices they had followed; they had been deserted amid hostile and unsubdued nations, who would seek to inflict punishment for their many disasters, when-

[11] ever an opportunity was offered. They were eating their hearts out by such thoughts as these, when it was announced that the cavalry who were under Perdiccas, having taken possession of the plains around Babylon, had held back the grain which was [12] being transported into the city. In consequence, there began to be at first scarcity and then famine, and those who were within the city maintained that they ought to come to terms with Perdiccas or fight [13] with him. By chance it had so happened that those who had been in the fields, fearing a devastation of the farmhouses and villages, were fleeing to the city, and that the townspeople, as provisions were failing them, were going out of the city, since to both classes the abode of the others seemed safer than their own.

[14] The Macedonians, fearing some disturbance from these, went in a body to the royal quarters and expressed their opinions. But it seemed best for envoys to be sent to the cavalry to discuss ending [15] the discord and laying down arms. Therefore the king sent Pusias the Thessalian and Damyllus of Megalopolis and Perilaus. When these had delivered the king's message, they received the reply that the horsemen would not lay down their arms unless the king should surrender the ringleaders of the discord.

[16] When this reply was announced, the soldiers of their own accord armed themselves. Philip, called from the royal quarters by their tumult, said: "There

is no necessity for an outbreak; for those who rest quiet will seize the prizes of those who engage in ^[17] mutual strife. At the same time remember that you are dealing with citizens, and that hastily to snatch from them the hope of grace is the part of ^[18] those eager for civil war. Let us try by a second deputation whether they can be reconciled. And I believe that, since the body of Alexander is not yet buried, all will unite to pay this pious duty which ^[19] we owe him. So far as I am concerned, I prefer to return this authority of mine rather than to exercise it at the expense of the blood of fellow-citizens; and if there is no other hope of harmony, I beg and entreat you, choose a better man.”

^[20] Then with tears in his eyes he took the diadem from his head, and extended his right hand, in which he was holding it, so that if anyone claimed to be ^[21] more worthy he might take it. This very moderate speech aroused great hope of his character, which before that day had been obscured by his brother’s fame. Accordingly, all began to urge him to consent ^[22] to carry out what he had planned. Again he sent the same envoys, to ask that they should receive Meleager as a third leader. This was granted without difficulty; for Perdiccas wished to separate Meleager from the king, and thought that alone he ^[23] would be no match for the other two. Therefore when Meleager came out to meet him with the phalanx, Perdiccas received him at the head of the squadrons of cavalry. Both armies exchanged salutations and united for ever, as they thought, in firm concord and peace.

Sed iam fatis admovebantur Macedonum genti bella civilia: nam et insociabile est regnum et a pluribus expetebatur. ^[2] Primum ergo conliserē vires, deinde disperserunt: et cum pluribus corpus, quam capiebat, onerassent, cetera membra deficere coeperunt, quodque imperium sub uno stare potuisset, dum a pluribus sustinetur, ruit. ^[3] Proinde iure meritoque populus Romanus salutem se principi suo debere profitetur, qui noctis, quam paene supremam habuimus, novum sidus inluxit. ^[4] Huius, hercule, non solis ortus lucem caliganti reddidit mundo, cum sine suo capite discordia membra trepidarent. ^[5] Quot ille tum extinxit faces! quot condidit gladios! quautam tempestatem subita serenitate discussit! Non ergo revirescit solum, sed etiam floret imperium. ^[6] Absit modo invidia, excipiet huius saeculi tempora eiusdem domus utinam perpetua, certe diuturna posteritas. ^[7] Ceterum, ut ad ordinem, a quo me contemplatio publicae felicitatis averterat, redeam, Perdicca unicam spem salutis suae in Meleagri morte reponebat: vanum eundem et infidum celeriterque res novaturum et sibi maxime infestum occupandum esse. ^[8] Sed alta dissimulatione consilium premebat, ut opprimeret incautum. Ergo clam quosdam ex copiis, quibus praeerat, ^[9] subornavit, ut, quasi ignoraret ipse, conquererentur palam Meleagrum aequatum esse Perdiccae. Quorum sermone Meleager ad se relato furens ira Perdiccae, quae ^[p. 385] conperisset, exponit. Ill velut nova re exterritus admirari, queri dolentisque speciem ostentare ei coepit: ad ultimum convenit, ut comprehenderentur tam seditiosae vocis

auctores. [10] Agit Meleager gratias amplexusque Perdiccam fidem eius in se ac benivolentiam conlaudat. [11] Tum communi consilio rationem opprimendi noxios ineunt. Placet exercitum patrio more lustrari: [12] et probabilis causa videbatur praeterita discordia. Macedonum reges ita lustrare soliti erant milites, ut discissae canis viscera ultimo in campo, in quem deduceretur exercitus, ab utraque abicerent parte, intra id spatium armati omnes starent, hinc equites, illinc phalanx. [13] Itaque eo die, quem huic sacro destinaverant, rex cum equitibus elephantisque constiterat contra pedites, quis Meleager praeerat. [14] Iam equestre agmen movebatur, et pedites subita formidine ob recentem discordiam haud sane pacati quicquam expectantes parumper addubitavere, an in urbem subducerent copias — [15] quippe pro equitibus planities erat — , ceterum veriti, ne temere commilitonum fidem damnarent, substitere praeparatis ad dimicandum animis, si quis vim inferret. Iam agmina coibant, parvumque intervallum erat, quod aciem utramque divideret: [16] itaque rex cum una ala obequitare peditibus coepit discordiae auctores, quos tueri ipse debebat, instinctu Perdiccae ad supplicia deposcens, minabaturque omnes turmas cum elephantis [p. 386] inducturum se in recusantes. [17] Stupebant inproviso malo pedites, nee plus in ipso Meleagro erat aut consilii aut animi. Tutissimum ex praesentibus videbatur expectare potius quam movere fortunam. [18] Tum Perdicca, ut torpentes et obnoxios vidit, XXX fere, qui Meleagrum erumpentem ex contione, quae prima habita est post mortem Alexandri, secuti erant, a ceteris discretos elephantis in conspectu totius exercitus obicit. Omnesque beluarum pedibus obtriti sunt nec prohibente Philippo nec auctore: [19] adparebatque id modo pro suo vindicaturum, quod adprobasset eventus. Hoc bellorum civilium Macedonibus et omen et principium fuit. [20] Meleager sero intellecta fraude Perdiccae tum quidem, quia ipsius corpori vis non adferebatur, in agmine quietus stetit, [21] sed mox damnata spe salutis, cum eius nomine, quem ipse fecerat regem, in perniciem suam abutentis videret inimicos, confugit in templum ac ne loci quidem religione defensus occiditur.

IX. But already by the Fates civil wars were being forced upon the Macedonian nation; for royal power desires no associate and was being sought by many.

[2] First therefore they brought their forces into collision, then separated them; and when they had weighted the body with more than it could carry, the limbs also began to give out, and an empire that might have endured under one man fell in ruins while it was [3] being upheld by many. Therefore the Roman people rightly and deservedly asserts that it owes its safety to its prince, who in the night which was almost our [4] last shone forth like a new star. The rising of this star, by Heaven! rather than that of the sun, restored light to the world in darkness, since lacking their head the limbs were thrown into disorder.

[6] How many firebrands did it extinguish! How many swords did it sheath! How great a tempest did it dispel with sudden prosperity! Therefore our empire [6] not only lives afresh but even flourishes. Provided only that the divine jealousy be absent, the posterity of that same house will continue the good times of this our age, it is to be hoped forever, at any rate for very many years.

[7] But to return to the series of events from which the contemplation of the public happiness had diverted me, Perdiccas rested the sole hope of his safety on the death of Meleager; he thought that a man who was vain, faithless and quick to revolt, and his own bitterest enemy, must be attacked first.

[8] But he hid his design with deep dissimulation, in order to crush him when he was off his guard.

Therefore he secretly suborned certain men from the troops which he commanded, who were to make open complaint, as if he himself knew nothing of it, that Meleager had been placed on an equality with [9] Perdiccas. When their talk was reported to Meleager, furious with anger at Perdiccas, he told him what he had learned. He, as if terrified by something of which he knew nothing, began to give utterance to surprise and complaint, and to show a pretence of displeasure; finally, he agreed that the authors of such seditious [10] talk ought to be arrested. Meleager embraced and thanked Perdiccas, and strongly commended his [11] loyalty and goodwill towards him. Then after consulting together they formed a plan for chastising the guilty parties.

It was decided to purify the army after the native fashion, and the past discord seemed to furnish a [12] reasonable cause for this. The kings of the Macedonians had been accustomed to purify the soldiers in the following manner; having disembowelled as dog in the farthest part of the plain into which they were going to lead the army, they throw the flesh on both sides; within that space all the soldiers stand under arms, on one side the cavalry, on the other [13] the phalanx. Accordingly on that day which they had appointed for this sacred ceremony the king with the horsemen and the elephants stood facing the [14] infantry which Meleager commanded. Already the cavalry force was advancing, and the infantry, not wholly recovered from the sudden fear caused by the recent discord and expecting something, hesitated for a time whether to withdraw their forces into the city — for the plain was advantageous for the horse-

[15] men — ; but fearing to condemn the good faith of their fellow-soldiers without sufficient reason, they halted, their minds prepared for fighting if anyone should offer violence.

Already the forces were coming together, and there was only a short space which divided the two lines.

[16] Then the king with one wing of the cavalry “began to ride up to the infantry, demanding for punishment, at the instigation of Perdicas, the authors of the discord, whom he himself was bound to protect, and threatened to lead all his squadrons against them, [17] as well as the elephants, if they refused. The infantry were dumbfounded by the unexpected danger, and not even Meleager himself had longer either judgement or courage. It seemed safest in the circumstances rather to await their fate than to [18] hasten it. Then Perdicas, seeing them paralysed and in his power, separated from the rest about thirty who had followed Meleager when he rushed forth from the first assembly which was held after the death of Alexander, and in the sight of the whole army cast them before the elephants. All were trampled to death by the feet of the beasts, while [19] Philip neither prevented nor authorized it; and it was plain that he would not admit anything as his own act except what the result should justify.

This was an omen and a beginning of civil wars [20] among the Macedonians. Meleager, learning too late the treachery of Perdicas, for the moment calmly kept his place in the formation, since no violence was offered to his own person, but presently, [21] abandoning hope of safety, since he saw that his enemies were usurping to effect his ruin the name of the man whom he himself had made king, he took refuge in a temple and there was killed, not being protected even by the sanctity of the place.

Perdicca perducto in urbem exercitu consilium principum virorum habuit, in quo imperium ita dividi placuit, ut rex quidem summam eius obtineret, satrapeam Ptolomaeus Aegypti et Africae gentium, quae in dicione erant: [2] Leomedonti Syria cum Phoenice data est, Philotae Cilicia destinata, Lyciam cum Pamphylia et Maiore Phrygia obtinere iussus Antigonus, in Cariam [p. 387] Cassander, Menander in Lydiam missi: Phrygiam Minorem Hellesponto adiunctam Leonnati provinciam esse iusserunt. [3] Cappadocia Eumeni cum Paphlagonia cessit: praeceptum est, ut regionem eam usque ad Trapezunta defenderet, bellum cum ^Inarathe gereret: [4] solus hic detrectabat imperium. Pithon Mediam, Lysimachus Thraciam adpositasque Thraciae Ponticas gentes obtinere iussi. Qui Indiae quique Bactris et Sogdianis ceterisque aut Oceani aut Rubri maris accolis praeerant, quibus quisque finibus habuisset, imperium obtinerent, decretum est: Perdicca ut cum rege esset copiisque praeesset, quae regem sequebantur. [5] Credidere quidam testamento Alexandri distributas esse provincias, sed famam eius rei, quamquam ab auctoribus tradita est, vanam fuisse conperimus. [6] Et quidem suas quisque opes divisim imperii partibus, ut videbantur sibi, fundaverant, si umquam adversus inmodicas cupiditates terminus staret. [7] Quippe paulo ante regis ministri specie imperii alieni procurandi singuli ingentia invaserant regna sublati certaminum causis, cum et omnes eiusdem gentis essent et a ceteris sui quisque imperii regione discreti. [8] Sed difficile erat eo contentos esse, quod obtulerat occasio: quippe sordent prima quaeque, cum maiora sperantur. Itaque omnibus expeditius

videbatur augere regna, quam fuisset accipere. [p. 388] [9] Septimus dies erat, ex quo corpus regis iacebat in solio, curis omnium ad formandum publicum statum a tam sollemni munere aversis.

X. Perdiccas, having led the army into the city, held a council of the leading men, in which it was decided that the rule should be so shared that the king should in fact hold the chief authority, that Ptolemy should be satrap of Egypt and the African races which were under the jurisdiction of the [2] Macedonians; to Leomedon was given Syria with Phoenicia, to Philotas Cilicia was assigned, Antigonus was ordered to hold Lycia with Pamphylia and Greater Phrygia, Cassander was sent to Caria, Menander to Lydia; they ordered that Lesser Phrygia that borders upon the Hellespont should [3] be the province of Leonnatus. Cappadocia fell to Eumenes with Paphlagonia; he was ordered to defend that region as far as Trapezus and to wage war with Ariarathes; he alone declined his [4] assignment. Pithon was ordered to hold Media, Lysimachus Thrace and the Pontic nations adjoining Thrace. It was decided that those who were in charge of India, and those in charge of Bactra, the Sogdiani, and the others who dwell near either the Ocean or the Red Sea should retain command and hold rule over the territories of which each had charge; that Perdiccas should remain with the king and command the forces which followed the king.

[5] Some have believed that the provinces were distributed by Alexander in his will, but we have learned that the report of such action was false, although handed [8] down by some authorities. Furthermore, when the parts of the empire were distributed, they each continued to protect their own holdings as they themselves had fixed them, except that no landmark could ever remain fixed in the face of unlimited [7] ambition. To be sure they had not long since as servants of the king, under pretext of exercising a delegated authority, individually usurped huge kingdoms, occasions for controversy having disappeared, since they were all of the same race and each one was separated from the rest by the situation [8] of his province. But it was difficult to be content with what occasion had granted them; for all first possessions seem mean when greater ones are hoped for. Hence it appeared to them all more convenient to increase their realms than it would have been to accept them as they were.

[9] It was the seventh day since the king's body had been lying in its coffin, for the attention of all was diverted from so solemn a duty to the establishment

[10] Et non alius quam Mesopotamiae regionis fervidior aestas existit, adeo ut pleraque animalia, quae in nudo solo deprehendit, extinguat: tantus est vapor solis et caeli, quo cuncta velut igne torrentur. [11] Fontes aquarum et rari sunt et incolentium fraude celantur: ipsis usus patet, ignotus est advenis. [12] Traditum magis quam creditum refero: ut tandem curare corpus exanimum amicis vacavit, nulla tæbe, ne minimo quidem livore corruptum videre, qui

intraverant. [13] Vigor quoque, qui constat ex spiritu, non dum destituerat vultum. Itaque Aegyptii Chaldaeiue iussi corpus suo more curare primo non sunt ausi admovere velut spiranti manus: deinde precati, ut ius fasque esset mortalibus attrectare deum, purgavere corpus, repletumque est odoribus aureum solium et capiti adiecta fortunae eius insignia. [14] Veneno necatum esse credidere plerique: filium Antipatri inter ministros, Iollam nomine, patris iussu dedisse. Saepe certe audita erat vox Alexandri Antipatrum regium adfectare fastigium maioremque esse praefecti opibus ac titulo Spartanae victoriae inflatum omnia a se data adserentem sibi. [15] Credebant etiam Craterum cum veterum militum manu ad interficiendum eum missum. [p. 389] Vim autem veneni, [16] quod in Macedonia gignitur, talem esse constat, ut ferrum quoque exurat, ungulam iumentum dumtaxat patientem esse constat suci: [17] Stygem appellant fontem, ex quo pestiferum virus emanat. Hoc per Cassandrum adlatum traditumque fratri Iollae et ab eo supremae regis potioni inditum. [18] Haec, utcumque sunt, credita eorum, quos rumor asperserat, mox potentia extinxit: regnum enim Macedoniae Antipater et Graeciam quoque invasit, [19] suboles dein de excepit interfectis omnibus, quicumque Alexandrum etiam longinqua cognatione contigerant. [20] Ceterum corpus eius a Ptolomaeo, cui Aegyptus cesserat, Memphim et inde paucis post annis Alexandream translatum est, omnisque memoriae ac nomini honos habetur. [p. 390]

[10] of public order. And no more burning heat exists than that of the region of Mesopotamia, so great that it destroys many animals which it overtakes on the bare ground; such is the heat of sun and sky, [11] by which everything is burned as by fire. Springs of water are rare and are hidden by the deceit of the natives; their use is available to them, but is unknown to strangers. I report what is recorded [12] rather than believed: when at last his friends had leisure to care for Alexander's lifeless body, those who had entered the room saw it corrupted by no decay, nor even by the slightest discoloration. The vigour too which comes from the breath of life had [13] not yet left his face. And so the Egyptians and Chaldeans who were ordered to care for the body after their manner, at first, as if he were still breathing, did not dare to lay their hands upon him; then after praying that it might be right and lawful for mortals to handle a god, they emptied the body of entrails, the golden coffin was filled with perfumes, and the emblem of his rank was placed upon the king's head.

[14] Many believed that he had been slain by poison; that a son of Antipater among his attendants, Iollas by name, had administered it by his father's command. Certain it is that Alexander was often heard to say that Antipater took upon himself the state of a king, that he was more powerful than a prefect ought to be, and that he was puffed up by the rich spoil and fame of his Spartan victory while he claimed [15] as his own all that the king had given him. They also believed that Craterus had been sent to kill [16] Alexander with a troop of the old soldiers. Now it is a fact that the power of the poison which

is produced in Macedonia is such that it even melts iron and that only the hoof of a draught-animal can ^[17] withstand the liquid; they call the fount from which the destructive poison flows the Styx. This was brought by Cassander and delivered to his brother Iollas, and by him was put in the last draught given to the king.

^[18] These tales, however much they were given credence, the power of those whom rumour had ^[19] aspersed presently suppressed; for Antipater seized the rule of Macedonia and of Greece as well, then his son succeeded him, after all who were related to Alexander, even by a distant connexion, had been ^[20] killed. But Ptolemy, under whose control Egypt had come, transported the king's body to Memphis, and from there a few years later to Alexandria where every honour was paid to his memory and his name.

The Biography



The ruins of Babylon from Saddam Hussein's Summer Palace — on either 10 or 11 June 323 BC, Alexander the Great died in the palace of Nebuchadnezzar II, in Babylon, aged 32.

INTRODUCTION TO QUINTUS CURTIUS RUFUS by J. C. Rolfe



THE WORK

ALTHOUGH the brilliant career and complex character of Alexander the Great received frequent mention from Latin writers, in particular the rhetoricians and the historians, only one work in Latin devoted exclusively to his life and exploits has come down to us, and that in an incomplete form. The First and Second of its ten books are wholly lost, and there are extensive gaps at the end of Book V and the beginning of Book VI (*pugnae discrimen immisit*), and in Book X from x. 1. 45 (*ne Graecia quidem*) to x. 2. 1 (*Igitur triginta navibus*), as well as some lesser *lacunae*. Supplements of the two lost books (I and II) and of the *lacunae* in the existing books were published by J. Freinshem in his editions (Strasburg, 1648 and 1670), who based them upon material furnished by Arrian, Diodorus Siculus, Justin, Plutarch, and others, and gave more or less full references in many instances to his sources of information. A translation of Freinshem's Summaries of Books I and II in a somewhat abbreviated form is given below (pp. 3-59). Freinshem's filling or the *lacunae* in Books III-X has been repeated by many subsequent editors, either in his original form or with more or less change of wording. Hedicke's versions belong to the latter class. They have been followed in this edition and are printed in *italics*.

The title of the work is given by Hedicke as *Historiae Alexandri Magni Macedonis*, which appears in the colophons of codices B and F. Other colophons, and the title of Codex V, have simply *Historiae* and Codex S has *Historiae Magni Macedonis Alexandri*. *Magnus* was applied to Alexander as early as the first century B.C. (Nepos, *De Regibus*, 2).

MANUSCRIPTS AND EARLY EDITIONS

The *Historiae* have been preserved in a considerable number of manuscripts, none of which is earlier than the ninth century. All the surviving codices are descended from a single ancient example, originally incomplete, as stated above. Of these the Bernensis (B), Florentinus (F), Leidensis (L), Parisinus (P), and Vossianus (V) are generally regarded as the best. Because of certain corruptions they are commonly divided into two classes. One consists of Parisinus 5716 (P), in the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris. It was written in Carolingian letters at the beginning of the tenth century, and emended by a *corrector*. In the fourteenth century it was revised in many places by a learned man, who used for the purpose B or a very similar codex; his alterations,

additions, and omissions corrupted rather than improved the manuscript. Its last leaves have been torn off and it ends with x. 10. 16, *armisque ponendis*.

The second class is represented by B, F, L, and V. B, Bernensis 451, is now in the Public Library at Berne. It was written in the ninth century in handsome Carolingian letters, and corrected and annotated at about the same time by another monk, who used an example of the same codex for the purpose. Afterwards there were others who attempted to emend the work of Curtius by corrections, or erasures, or annotations. F, Florentinus, is in the Laurentian Library at Florence (plut, lxiv, cod. 35). It has lost its first quaternion and begins with iii. 10. 6, *vix gladio futurum opus*. It was written in Carolingian letters at the end of the tenth or the beginning of the eleventh century, and revised and annotated by a *corrector*. Later it suffered alterations or erasures from two or three men. L, Leidensis 137, is in the University Library at Leyden. It has lost its last folio and ends with x. 10. 16, *dumtaxat patientem*. It was written in the tenth century, for the most part in Carolingian letters, and revised and annotated by a *corrector*. Unfortunately it was later badly corrupted by alterations, insertions, and omissions by many hands. V, Vossianus, is now in the University Library at Leyden among the *codices Vossiani*, Q. 20. It lacks the last oho and ends with the words *purgavere corpus*. It was written in Carolingian letters of the tenth century, and revised and annotated by a *corrector*. Afterwards, especially in the fifteenth century, it was further emended or corrupted by very many hands.

Although these codices are not lacking in errors, nor wholly free from interpolation, they are nevertheless without the blemish with which all the other extant manuscripts, designated by "I," are disfigured through the excessive lawlessness of their scribes, which makes it impossible to determine which of their readings are derived from their archetype and which are conjectures of the scribe. Each of the codices B, F, L, P, and V has its own merits and defects, so that no one of them can be wholly neglected. The agreement of both classes gives the reading of their archetype (A). Where they differ, careful consideration is necessary to determine which should be followed, taking into consideration the sense of the passage, the usage of the Latin language, and that of Curtius himself. If no decision can be reached in that way, Hedicke believes that an editor will perhaps be nearest to the truth in following P; this he regards as an inferior example of a better class, and the archetype of B, F, L, and V (C) as a better example of an inferior class. The latter archetype seems to have suffered some revision, since the four codices which are derived from it have marginal notes correcting or explaining the words of Curtius, such as often occur in manuscripts dating from the fall of the Roman empire. It is unfortunate that we have only one example of the former class, and hence cannot judge how many of its errors are due to its archetype and how many to the carelessness of the scribe.

It is highly probable that more manuscripts of this class once existed. Besides the Coloniensis, used by Franciscus Modius in his editions (Cologne,

1579 and 1591), which his notes show to have agreed in many places with P, a few fragments have come down to us of manuscripts of the tenth century whose readings agree with P and differ from those of the other class. These are D, Fragmentum Darmstadiense (cod. 3152), of the tenth century, containing iv. 2. 14, *territoque rege*, to iv. 2. 24, *interficiunt*; E, Frag. Einsidlense (476, folio 36), of the tenth century, containing vii. 1. 34, *-cere homo superbissimus*, to vii. 2. 8, *Amyntan mea sen-*; H, Frag. Herbigopolitanum, of the tenth century, xii containing viii. 1. 3, *ignarus*, to viii. 1. 7, *super*, and viii. 1.10, *quae appellatur Bacaira*, to viii. 1.14, *repulso et abire*. In the same category belongs S, Schedae Vindobonenses, three leaves of a codex now lost, which are preserved in the Imperial Library at Vienna, 492 (hist prof. 622). They were written in the tenth century, and contain x. 8. 22, *id inpeiratum est*, to the end of the work. Hedicke also somewhat hesitatingly includes R, Excerpta Rhenaugiensia now in the Public Library at Turin (cod. 95, p. 184); these were written in the ninth century, and although, as Hedicke says, they have almost no value for emendation and load the critical notes with a great number of errors, they pass from one class to the other in a remarkable manner, and even show readings which suggest interpolation. They contain vii. — 8. 12, *igilur unum ex*, to vii. 8. 30, *considera*, and viii. — 7. 3, *utor inquit beneficio*, to viii. 10. 2, *ducibus usurus*.

All the other codices, designated in the Sigla as I, *codices interpolati*," show undoubted indications of interpolation; they often give good readings, but it is impossible to determine whether the readings are due to the skill of an interpolator or to the testimony of a manuscript.

The main difference of opinion has been, whether B, F, L, and V are copies of P, or are from a separate archetype. The latter view is held by Hedicke, who bases his text upon the five codices B, F, L, P, and V, and is now generally accepted. Some help may be gained from certain of the early editions (see the Bibliographical Note). Those of Franciscus Modius, Cologne, 1579 and 1591, contain a rich collection of corrections from Janus Meller Palmer, some of which seem to have been based upon manuscripts. In the use of Modius's editions great caution is necessary, since, although they are on the whole excellent, they have many doubtful readings, due to an arbitrary treatment of critical problems. In the editions of J. Freinshem, mentioned above, is printed a *Variorum lectionum libellus*, in a more correct form in the edition of 1670; this was used by Snakenburg (Delft and Leyden, 1724) in his *Variantes Lectiones*, but with important inaccuracies. In 1250 (Voss, *De Poetis Latinis*) Bishop Philip Walter (Philippus Gualterus) wrote a poem entitled *Alexandreis*, of which the greater part of the material was taken from Curtius and a number of his phrases and words were embodied in the poem. Among these are many which in the manuscripts of Curtius show corruptions or variants. In some of these all the manuscripts show common corruptions (e.g. v. 9- 12). In other places Walter seems to have followed readings which belong only, or mainly, to the inferior class of manuscripts

(e.g. iv. 10. 27). On the contrary in other places he had before him readings which now are partly in the first class and partly in the majority of manuscripts (e.g. iii. 5. 13). The conclusion seems to be justified that in Walter's time the condition of the text of Curtius did not differ essentially from that which appears in our older and younger codices, and that Zumpt's idea, that the text of the interpolated manuscripts was formed in the fourteenth or fifteenth century, is at least improbable. For other early editions see the Bibliographical Note, pp xxxii-xxxiv.

THE SOURCES

While Alexander's expedition was in progress two separate accounts of it were being made; one was a record of each day's events, the *Ephemerides*, or Day Book, under the supervision of Eumenes of Cardia and Diodotus of Erythrae, the other a finished History by Callisthenes of Olynthus. After Alexander's death several of his contemporaries wrote histories of the expedition. The most important of these were Aristobulus and Ptolemy, son of Lagus, who based their accounts on Callisthenes (see Arrian, *Preface*). All these records, together with a group of histories composed in the next century or two, have been completely lost, except for a few fragments collected by C. Muller in Diibner's *Arrian* (Paris, 184.6). There are preserved, wholly or in part, the works of four historians and a biographer, who wrote several centuries after Alexander's death: Arrian, Diodorus Siculus, Justin, Curtius, and Plutarch. Four of these obtained their information from various sources; the fifth and best, Arrian, based his account mainly on the histories of Ptolemy and Aristobulus, hence on Callisthenes and the *Ephemerides*.

Alexander's Itinerary is the name given to a complete list of the places visited by him, collected from the works of the historians and the biographer mentioned above by C. A. Robinson, Jr. (*The Ephemerides of Alexander's Expedition*, Providence, Brown University, 1932, pp. 13 ff.). It falls into three divisions. In the first division it is in substantial agreement with the five authorities (they are not equally full, but there are few discrepancies); in the second division there are many discrepancies and general confusion; In the third division the authorities and the Itinerary are again in essential agreement. It seems clear that in the first and third divisions the later historians drew from a common source, while in the second they did not. From this Robinson concludes that the *Ephemerides* were available, directly or indirectly, to historians for the first and third divisions, but were completely lost for the second. The first division ends in 327 B.C., the year in which Callisthenes was arrested. Therefore until a short time before his arrest the *Ephemerides* were preserved through Callisthenes. This explains the agreement in the Itinerary thus far, since the historians of Alexander's conquests are based essentially on the work of Callisthenes (Prentice, *Trans. Amer. Phil. Assoc*, liv. (1927), pp. 74-78), so far as it went. Subsequently, although the secretaries continued to write *Ephemerides*, there was no one present whose task it was to compose a

formal history of the expedition, and when, sometime later, the *Ephemerides* were lost, there existed no authoritative source for the second division. In the third division, which extends to the end of the expedition, the various versions of the Itinerary are in essential agreement, for the *Ephemerides*, preserved in this division, form the basis of later accounts.

Arrian in his *Preface* says that he has accepted the statements of Ptolemy and Aristobulus where they agree, and where they disagree he has accepted the more credible, a plan which he does not consistently carry out. Arrian adds that he has incorporated in his narrative some statements of other writers, but he gives them merely as reports of Alexander's action. These, when he adheres to his plan and does not present them as facts, he generally quotes as 'legomena'.

The most complete quotations from the *Ephemerides* for the last days of Alexander are to be found in Arrian and Plutarch. They did not come directly from the *Ephemerides*, but from someone who was using and quoting them. In other words, Arrian and Plutarch did not quote directly from the *Ephemerides*. A story in Plutarch, *Eumenes* ii. 2-3, shows that the papers of Eumenes were destroyed at the time when Nearchus was about to sail from the Indus to the Persian Gulf (probably in Oct. 326 B.C., Arr viii. 21, note).

The *Ephemerides* may have been preserved, after the expedition, for the period covered by the third division of the Itinerary, which extends from the second crossing of the Hydaspes to the death of Alexander. This is suggested by a statement of Suidas (*s. v.* Strattis) that Strattis of Olynthus wrote five books about the *Ephemerides* of Alexander, and surely Strattis must have had something to write about; but the proof is the practical agreement of the various narratives of the third division with respect to the actual itinerary. The meagreness of details in this division, in contrast with the first, may be due to the possibility that the *Ephemerides* were no longer in the competent hands of Eumenes, for Arrian (viii. 18. 9) speaks of Evagoras as the accountant of the whole expedition which set out from the Hydaspes. We know from Arrian v. 24. 8 that Eumenes was sent with a military force to two other cities in connexion with the capture of Sangala (*cf.* Nepos, *Eumenes* i. 6; xiii. 1), so that he may have exchanged the position of a secretary for that of commander,

although Arrian still speaks of him as *Εὐμένη τὸν γραμματέα*. Robinson suggests that the *Ephemerides* were collected and published, possibly by Strattis, and soon after passed into the general body of literature.

Curtius's principal source is Clitarchus, son of Dinon (Pliny, *N.H.* x. (49) 136), who accompanied Alexander's expedition and wrote a highly coloured account of it. Clitarchus treated the expedition as a brilliant adventure and the king as a tyrant spoiled by Fortune. Curtius used Clitarchus in a changed and contaminated form, perhaps through Timagenes, whom he mentions in viii. 5. 21 in connexion with Clitarchus and Ptolemy. He modelled his style upon Livy, but at times, because of his strong tendency to rhetoric, he has more resemblance to Seneca. His word-order is pointed and studied, with short,

pithy sentences and frequent poetic colouring. He differs with Clitarchus in ix. 5. 21 and follows Ptolemy, censuring Clitarchus for carelessness or credulity; cf. Cicero, *De Leg* i. 2. 7 and *Brutus* xi. 42, Quintilian x. 1. 34. That Curtius was not a critical historian is shown by his words in vii. 8. 11 and ix. 1. 34, as well as in other ways.

THE AUTHOR

The name of the author is restored by Hedicke as Quintus Curtius Rufus and is generally accepted in that form, although some call him simply Quintus Curtius. The nomen and cognomen are found in the title of codex V; B, F, L, and P lack a title. The praenomen is found in the titles of many inferior manuscripts and in the colophons of B, F, L, and P, but not in that of V. It is possible that the cognomen arose from the identification of the author with one of three men, Q. Curtius, Curtius Rufus, and Q. Curtius Rufus, known in the late republican and early imperial periods. These are a *bonus et eruditus adulescens* who prosecuted Memmius *de Ambitu* (Cic. *Ad Quint. Fratrem* iii. 2); a Q. Curtius Rufus, named in the Index of Suetonius, *De Rhet.* (L.C.L. Suetonius ii p. 395), where he appears between M. Porcius Latro and L. Valerius Primanus; a Curtius Rufus mentioned by Tacitus, *Ann* xi. 20-21, and by Pliny, *Epist* vii. 27.

Since the date of Cicero's letter is 55 B.C., it seems hardly probable that the first-named Curtius outlived Augustus. The life of the last-named seems to have fallen in the period of Tiberius, Caligula, and Claudius. It seems improbable that he wrote the *Historiae*, because of the nature of his career, the failure of Tacitus to mention any literary work in his full account of the man, and the inexactness of the author of the *Histonae* in military matters. The Q. Curtius Rufus mentioned by Suetonius may have appeared first under Tiberius (see M. Seneca, *Controv* ii. 10 and ii. 12 on M. Porcius Latro) and he may have continued to teach under Caligula and Claudius and have lived into the time of Vespasian. That he wrote the *Historiae* at an advanced age under Vespasian, although held by some, seems untenable, since that work shows no signs of the hand of an aged man.

There are two passages in the *Historiae* from which conclusions about the author's date have been drawn. The first is iv. 4. 21, where he says of Tyre: "multis ergo casibus defuncta, et post excidium renata, nunc tamen, longa pace cuncta refovente, sub tutela Romanae mansuetudinis adquiescit." From this passage Niebuhr assigned the writer's time to that of Septimius Severus, who gave Tyre the rights of a colony as a reward for its support in the war against Niger. The condition of Rome when Severus became emperor corresponds in some respects with the conditions related in the second passage (x. 9- 3-6), but *subita serenitas* cannot apply to the battles with Pescennius Niger and Clodius Albinus, not to mention other objections. Of

these it may be emphasized that in the time of Antigonos (315 B.C.) Tyre was able to sustain a siege of fifteen months (Diod xix. 61. 5).

In considering this question there seems to be no reason to suppose that Curtius composed either passage as an indication of the time at which he was writing, or that he had any idea that such an indication was necessary, unless we are to assume with some (*e g.* Valens Acidalius, *Animadversiones in Quintum Curtium*, Frankfurt, 1594) that there was a conspiracy of silence with reference to the author of the *Historiae*. If we do assume this, which seems most improbable, although it is true that his work was seldom, if ever, mentioned in ancient times, he certainly could have dated his time more clearly and without resort to the alleged word-play on *câligo* and *Caligula*. To say nothing of the variations in quantity, *caligo* and *caligare* are frequent in Curtius in their literal sense, and he seldom, if ever, indulges in word-plays.

Apart from the author's purpose in writing it, however, the passage may of course be used to date the work, since it is obviously not from a Greek original and there are no textual variants of importance. It has been understood to refer to the accession of many rulers, from Augustus to Constantine. At present most scholars favour Claudius or Vespasian. The translator, after some hesitation, decides for Claudius on chronological grounds, since there is no indication that the author was advanced in years; and he is inclined to identify him with the rhetorician named by Suetonius. The *Historiae* seem to be the work of a rhetorician rather than of an historian. One of his principle aims was to insert in his work brilliant speeches and romantic incidents. Doubtless he wished to give a correct account, but his imperfect knowledge of history and geography led him into many errors. His speeches are carefully prepared and are of a high order, although the estimate of Zumpt, quoted by McCrindle (*o c* p. 11), that they are marked with a degree of power and effectiveness which scarcely anything in that species of writing can surpass," seems decidedly too high. Curtius was admired by many great scholars of early times, but of late he can hardly be called a popular writer, in spite of the interest of the *Historiae*. As Rufus is a common cognomen, it is of course possible that a different Q. Curtius Rufus, otherwise unknown, was the author.

The language of the author is an important factor in determining his date. It has been extravagantly praised and unduly criticized. An example of the former is the verdict of McCrindle (*o c* p. 10): "it may also be said that his style for elegance does not fall much short of the perfection of Cicero himself." Opinions about his language differ from that of Zumpt (ed. 1849, pp xxv f.), who says: "die im Ganzen noch sehr reine, aber doch in einzelnen Dingen schon zum Schlechten sich hinneigende Latinität auf das Zeitalter des Augustus weise," to that of Niebuhr (p. 327 of the work cited), "dass Curtius habe zwar gewandt und glücklich die Manier und Sprache des augustischen Zeitalters, namentlich die des Livius, nachgeahmt, allein mitunter verrathe sich durch einzelne Ausdrücke die späte, eiserne Zeit." What Zumpt

says would apply to the times of Claudius or Vespasian as well as to that of Augustus, and that of Niebuhr may be disregarded. The statement of Miitzell in his edition (Berlin, 1841) "is a fair one in maintaining (p lxxxvi): "dass der sprachliche Stoff bei Curtius in etymologischer, lexicalischer, und syntactischer Hinsicht mit wenigen nicht eben wesentlichen Ausnahmen noch entschieden den Charakter der Klassicität trägt, dass dagegen die rhetorische Behandlung desselben den nachtheiligen Einfluss, den der Bildungsgang des Schriftstellers und der weniger strenge und reine Geschmack des Zeitalters auf die gesammte Darstellung haben musste, sehr bestimmt erkennen lässt." This opinion Miitzell supports by numerous notes in his commentary. It seems possible that a more minute study of the language and style of Curtius might lead to some results, as well as further study of his clausulae. A beginning of the latter study was begun by Pichon (*Revue de Phil* xxx pp. 90 if.), based upon metrical clausulae, with no very decisive results. There seem to be not a few indications of accentual clausulae, as in Ammianus, and it has already been observed that these antedate the time of Ammianus.

MACEDONIA

Macedonia played no important part in the history of Greece until Philip II, son of Amyntas and father of Alexander the Great, became its king in 359 B.C.

In early times it was a small hereditary kingdom, situated north of Thessaly and Mount Olympus, east of the Shar range containing Mount Pindus, and west of the river Axios, not including Paeonia to the north and the coastline to the south. It was the basis of a river system flowing through broad plains separated by high mountains and making their way in three parallel lines to the sea. The rivers hindered the populace from uniting, but furnished access to the sea.

Various mythical genealogies derived the name Macedon from Macednus, son of Lycaon, from whom the Arcadians were descended (Apollodorus iii. 8. 1), or identified the Macedonians with the Dorians (Hdt i. 56). These and others of the kind were merely attempts to connect this semi-barbarous people with the rest of the Hellenic race. They were surrounded by Illyrians, Thracians, and Epirotes, but were an Aryan people, most closely resembling the Thessalians and other ruder members of the Greek race. Their native language most resembled that of the Thessalians. Whether Macedonia as a whole was closely akin to Hellenic stock is an uncertain and probably insoluble question, but the royal stock was in part of Hellenic blood.

The Macedonians gradually extended their frontiers to the west and south, but did not yet reach the sea (Thuc ii. 99; Hdt viii. 138). Their country was divided into Upper and Lower (or Highland and Lowland) Macedonia. The

latter became famous through the energy of the dynasty of Edessa (in the small plain between Mount Bermion and the Axius), later called Aegae, who called themselves Heraclids and traced their descent to the Temenidae of Argos through Caranus. He, before the first Olympiad, made an expedition from Argos into Macedonia, and because of aid rendered to the king of the Orestae against the Eordenses was given a part of his kingdom (Diod vii. 16. 2). Little was known of them before the reign of Amyntas (520-500 B.C.), the fifth successor of Perdiccas I, who pushed his way from Aegae into Lower Macedonia in the seventh century B.C.; but further advance was prevented for a whole century by constant wars with the Illyrians, who not only attacked the frontiers, but formed a great part of the population and obstinately opposed the adoption of Hellenic manners of life.

The son of Amyntas, Alexander Philhellen (*c.* 480 B.C.), was a contemporary and to certain extent an ally of Xerxes. He presented himself as a contestant in the Olympic Games and was accepted after he had succeeded in proving his Argive descent by way of Caranus. He and his son, Perdiccas II, because of the fall of the Persian power in Thrace, gradually extended their dominion as far as the river Strymon (modern Struma). Perdiccas made Pella his capital. He was at first an ally of Athens, but became her active enemy. He was succeeded by his son Archelaus (415-399), who first established fortresses and built roads. He also formed a Macedonian army and intended to procure a navy (Solin ix. 17). He had tragedies of Euripides acted at his court under that poet's direction and adorned his palace with paintings by Zeuxis (Ael. *Var. Hist.* xiv. 7). For some generations the court language was Attic Greek. Archelaus met a violent death in 399 B.C. (Diod xiv. 37. 5), and his son Orestes was made king under the regency of Aëropus. The period from 399 to 369 is one of confusion and disorder, and little more than the names of the kings is known. Aëropus after four years killed his ward and reigned in his place for two years. He was succeeded by his son Pausanias, who after two years was assassinated and succeeded by Amyntas, who was obliged to cede all the country around the Thermaic Gulf to Olynthus (Diod xv. 19. 3). Amyntas, who was a dependent, if not a tributary of Jason, *tagus* of Thessaly, died at about the same time as Jason (370 B.C.), and was succeeded by his young son Alexander II, who was assassinated after two years. Eurydicê, widow of Amyntas, with her two sons, Perdiccas III and Philip, took refuge with Iphicrates, who secured the throne of Macedonia to the family of Amyntas (360-359; Nepos, *Iphicrates* iii. 3). Pelopidas placed a regent over Perdiccas and carried off Philip, then fifteen years old, as a hostage to Thebes, where he profited by the friendship of Epaminondas. He introduced military improvements, making the Macedonian phalanx a more solid version of the Theban and supporting it by charging cavalry. Perdiccas was slain in battle with the Illyrians in 359 B.C. and succeeded by Philip II, who ruled until 336 B.C. (Diod xvi. 1. 3).

Philip made his little barbarian kingdom into a powerful nation. He trained

his son to carry out his policy and plans. For his war with the Athenians and his victory at Chaeronea, his appointment as Commander of the Greeks in an expedition against the Persians, his marriage with Cleopatra and quarrel with Alexander, his assassination in 336 B.C. and the condition of his kingdom at the time of his death, see the Summary of Book I (pp. 15-18).

ALEXANDER

For his early life and education and his career until the beginning of Book III see the Summaries of Books I and II (pp. 3-59). The dates of his expedition involve difficulties from the year 331 B.C., when he defeated Darius at Gaugamela, to his recrossing of the Hindu Kush in 327. There is difference of opinion as to the years 330-329 and 328-327, involving Alexander's first crossing of the Hindu Kush. This question has been discussed by Hogarth and Tarn and most recently by Robinson, who summarizes the views of Hogarth and Tarn and offers a new theory of his own. The evidence for the period 330-327 is as follows: Alexander, setting out from Persepolis some time in 330, resumed the pursuit of Darius and found his murdered body near Shahrud. Then after a delay in the region of the Caspian he turned south into Seistan, and marched in deep snow (Arr iii. 28. 1 f.) through the land of the Arachotae, and arrived at the southern foot of the Hindu Kush. Here Strabo (xv pp. 724-725) says that he established winter quarters and built a city (Alexandria ad Caucasum). He crossed the range into Bactra before the snow was yet out of the passes (Arr iii. 28. 9), in the early spring of 329, crossed the Oxus in pursuit of Bessus, and halted at Maracanda. From there he went to the Iaxartes, and carried on a vigorous campaign in the surrounding neighbourhood. He then proceeded to Maracanda and Zariaspa. He remained in Zariaspa "until the depth of winter passed" (Arr iv. 7. 1). Arrian does not mention the coming of spring, but says that Alexander recrossed the Oxus, swept the country as far as Maracanda, and carried on a campaign for some time, chiefly against Spitamenes. He then had his army rest at Nautaca "for what was about the depth of the winter" (Arr iv. 18. 2). On the approach of spring Alexander left Nautaca and resumed operations against the "rocks," went to Bactra, and in the early summer of 327 recrossed the Hindu Kush.

From this evidence it would seem that Alexander passed through the land of the Parapanisadae (roughly the Cabul valley) in November (*i.e.* just after the setting of the Pleiades), spent the winter of 330-329 at the south foot of the Hindu Kush, the winter of 329-328 at Zariaspa, and that of 328-327 at Nautaca. Hogarth first pointed out that it was impossible for Alexander, leaving the Caspian in October 330, as is generally assumed, to reach the Hindu Kush by the winter of 330-329. He therefore places Alexander in Seistan for the winter of 330-329, in Cabul (the land of the Parapanisadae) in November 329, and at the foot of the Hindu Kush that winter. This leaves the winter of 328-327 to be accounted for, with both Zariaspa and Nautaca mentioned by Arrian as winter quarters. Hogarth maintains that but one winter

is referred to and divides the winter between the two towns. Tarn says that Alexander apparently never took winter quarters at all in 330-329, but in the spring of 329 had reached the Cabul valley, thus meeting Hogarth's objection of distance. Accepting the obvious meaning of Arrian, he assigns the winters of 329-328 and 328-327 to Zariaspa and Nautaca respectively. The arguments against Hogarth are that there is absolutely no evidence that Alexander spent a winter in Seistan, and there are difficulties in assuming that only one winter was spent in Zariaspa-Nautaca. He made an important contribution to the subject by pointing out that Alexander, leaving Zadracarta in November, could not possibly have reached the Hindu Kush, as had been previously believed, by December. Robinson agrees with Hogarth that the obvious meaning of Arrian and Strabo is that Alexander was in the Cabul valley in November and took up winter quarters at the south foot of the Hindu Kush, and with Tarn that Arrian's later account simply means that Alexander spent one winter in Zariaspa and the next at Nautaca. He does not agree with Hogarth that Alexander spent a winter in Seistan before the one at the Hindu Kush and divided a winter between Zariaspa and Nautaca; nor with Tarn that Alexander did not reach the Hindu Kush until the spring of 329- To meet the very serious objection of Hogarth that Alexander, leaving Zadracarta in October, could hardly reach the Hindu Kush that winter, Robinson raises the question whether Alexander really did leave Zadracarta in October. Hogarth (p. 289) gives the following table from Gauaramela:

March to Babylon	.	.	at least	40	days	
Halt in Babylon	.	.	.	34	„	(Curt. v. 1. 39 ; Justin xi. 14)
March to Susa	.	.	.	20	„	(Arr. iii. 16. 7)
Stay in Susa	.	.	.	x	„	
March to Persepolis	.	.	.	30	„	
Stay in Persepolis	.	.	.	120	„	(Plut. <i>Alex.</i> 37. 3)
March to Ecbatana	.	.	.	$12 + x$	„	(Arr. iii. 19. 3)
Stay in Ecbatana	.	.	.	x	„	
March to Rhagae	.	.	.	11	„	(Arr. iii. 20. 2)
Stay in Rhagae	.	.	.	5	„	(Arr. iii. 20. 3)
Last stages of pursuit	.	.	.	5	„	(Arr. iii. 21)
Total	.	.	.	<u><u>$277 + x$</u></u>	days	

His conclusion is that the death of Darius took place near Shahrud about the 300th day after Gaugamela, *i.e.*, at the very end of July or beginning of August, 330. This corresponds with Arrian's statement (iii. 22. 2) that the month of the murder was the Attic Hecatombaeon. But the month-dates of Arrian are uncertain, as Hogarth warns us two pages before (p. 287). The only point in this table that can be questioned is Plutarch's statement that Alexander remained in Persia four months. The question is whether we ought to believe this single statement of Plutarch or the evidence of Arrian

(supported incidentally by Strabo). If we accept the four months of Plutarch, then Darius' death must have occurred in midsummer, 330, and we are unable to accept Arrian's statements that Alexander reached the Hindu Kush that winter and spent a winter respectively in Zariaspa and Nautaca. But if we assume that Plutarch exaggerated the length of Alexander's stay in Persia, then Darius' death will fall early enough in 330 to allow Alexander time to reach the Hindu Kush that winter and to spend the next two winters at Zariaspa and Nautaca respectively. The latter is the alternative which Robinson accepts. He shortens Alexander's stay in Persia to seven weeks, which he regards as a more reasonable time for a man of action, and Arrian (iii. 20. 1) tells us that when Alexander did start, he pressed on with the utmost vigour. Robinson's conclusion is illustrated by the following table:

Alexander reaches Persia . . .	early February,	330
„ leaves Persia . . .	end of March,	330
„ overtakes Darius . . .	early May,	330
„ leaves Zadracarta . . .	middle of June,	330
Alexander reaches Candahar . . .	early November,	330
„ establishes winter quarters at the southern foot of the Hindu Kush . . .	middle of December,	330
„ crosses the Hindu Kush . . .	early spring,	329
„ takes up winter quarters at Zariaspa . . .	winter of	329-328
„ campaigns in Sogdiana . . .	summer of	328
„ takes up winter quarters at Nautaca . . .	winter of	328-327
„ recrosses the Hindu Kush . . .	early summer,	327

This seems to be the only arrangement which fits Arrian's statements. The statement of Plutarch may be neglected, as unreasonable, and in the light of his general account of the stay in Persia, which Robinson (p. 78) calls "worthless."

There is also a slight difference of opinion as to the day of Alexander's death. Arrian and Plutarch give the most complete quotations from the *Ephemerides* for the last days of Alexander, taking them, not from the *Ephemerides* directly, but from someone who was using and quoting from them. Arrian's account is fuller than that of Plutarch, but he does not specify the days by dates, but simply says "on the next day." It is possible, however, to arrange his whole account into a day-by-day record from his banquet with Médius to the day of Alexander's death, with only three exceptions. The first of these is the day which Robinson designates in his Itinerary (p. 65) as the 18th. It is obviously subsequent to the 17th, for Alexander has slept in the

bathroom (as Plutarch also says) after a long night of drinking, and then is carried to the sacrifices. There is no indication from the rather complete account of the eighteenth day that the activities of more than one day are here described. After the sacrifices Alexander lay in the banqueting-hall, where he discussed plans with his officers, and then, when the heat of the day was over, crossed the river to the park. The second exception is the day which Robinson has called the 25th. There is no definite break in Arrian's account between this and the preceding day. Arrian says that on the next day (the 24th) Alexander, although very ill, offered the sacrifices. He then gave orders for the generals to remain in the court, and the taxiarchs and pentakosiarchs to spend the night outside. Turning to Plutarch, we find the content of his account and almost the very wording to be the same. Certainly this part of Arrian must be equated with the 24th day of Plutarch. Arrian, continuing, says that "Alexander, being now in a dangerous condition, was brought from the park to the palace. When his officers entered the room, he knew them, but no longer spoke, being speechless." Surely this is the same day as described by Plutarch: "on the 25th, he was carried to the palace on the other side. He slept a little, but the fever did not abate. When his officers came to him he was speechless." The third exception is the day of Alexander's death. At first glance it is not obvious from Arrian whether Alexander died on the day called by Robinson the 27th or one or more days later. But at least one night intervenes between this day and the day of his death, for Attalus, Seleucus, and others slept in the temple of Serapis and asked the god certain questions. The companions reported the answers of the god, says Arrian, and not much later Alexander died. It is perhaps safe to assert that by this day Arrian meant the 28th. Plutarch tells of two days' celebration before he states that he is quoting from the *Ephemerides*. He begins his explicit quotations on the 18th day of the month Daesius and records each day thereafter with just two exceptions. The first is the 23rd, which for some reason Plutarch does not mention. The second is the 27th, but just before it he gives the date 26th and just after it the date 28th. Arrian supplies the needed division. Hence, according to Arrian, he died on the 28th.

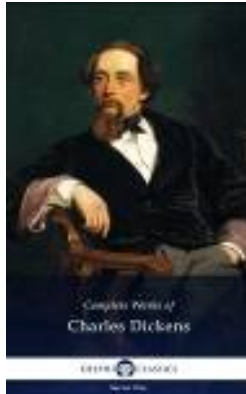
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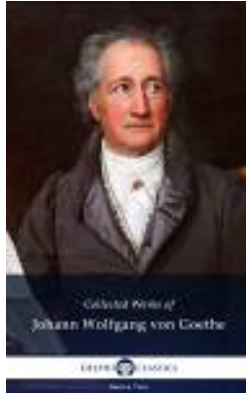
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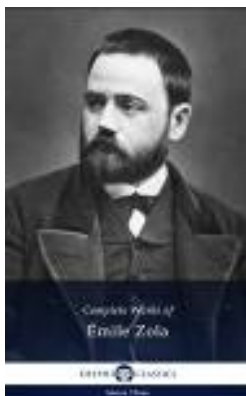
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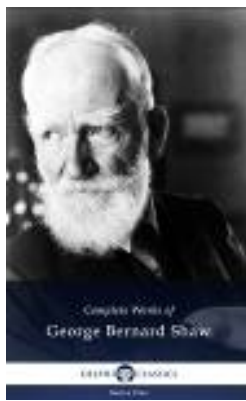
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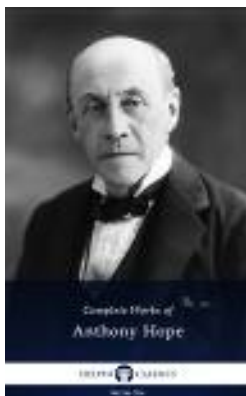
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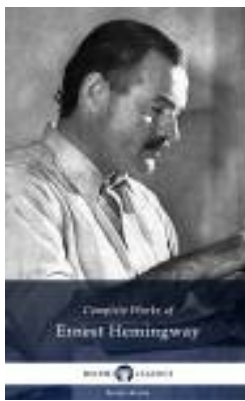
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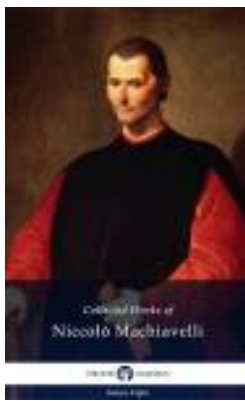
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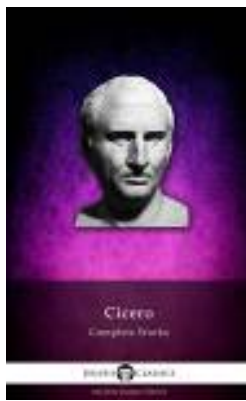
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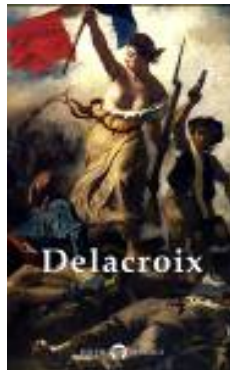
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T. S. Eliot
W. B. Yeats
Walter Savage Landor
Walt Whitman
Wilfred Owen
William Blake
William Cowper
William Wordsworth

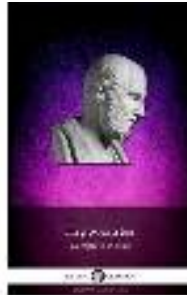


Masters of Art

Albrecht Dürer
Amedeo Modigliani
Artemisia Gentileschi
Camille Pissarro
Canaletto
Caravaggio
Caspar David Friedrich
Claude Lorrain
Claude Monet
Dante Gabriel Rossetti
Diego Velázquez
Edgar Degas
Édouard Manet
Edvard Munch

Eugène Delacroix
 Francisco Goya
 Giotto
 Giovanni Bellini
 Gustave Courbet
 Gustav Klimt
 J. M. W. Turner
 Johannes Vermeer
 John Constable
 Leonardo da Vinci
 Michelangelo
 Paul Cézanne
 Paul Gauguin
 Paul Klee
 Peter Paul Rubens
 Piero della Francesca
 Pierre-Auguste Renoir
 Pieter Bruegel the Elder
 Sandro Botticelli
 Raphael
 Rembrandt van Rijn
 Thomas Gainsborough
 Tintoretto
 Titian
 Vincent van Gogh
 Wassily Kandinsky

Alphabetical List of Titles



A. E. Housman
 Achilles Tatius
 Adam Smith
 Aeschylus
 Albrecht Dürer
 Alexander Pope
 Alexander Pushkin
 Alexandre Dumas (English)
 Alfred, Lord Tennyson
 Algernon Blackwood
 Algernon Charles Swinburne
 Ambrose Bierce

Amedeo Modigliani
Ammianus Marcellinus
Anatole France
Andrew Lang
Andrew Marvell
Ann Radcliffe
Anna Katharine Green
Anthony Hope
Anthony Trollope
Anton Chekhov
Aphra Behn
Apollodorus
Apollonius of Rhodes
Appian
Apuleius
Aristophanes
Aristotle
Arnold Bennett
Arrian
Artemisia Gentileschi
Arthur Machen
Arthur Morrison
Arthur Schopenhauer
Augustine
Aulus Gellius
Baroness Emma Orczy
Beatrix Potter
Beaumont and Fletcher
Bede
Ben Jonson
Benjamin Disraeli
Beowulf
Bram Stoker
Bret Harte
C. S. Lewis
Camille Pissarro
Canaletto
Captain Frederick Marryat
Captain Mayne Reid
Caravaggio
Caspar David Friedrich
Cassius Dio
Cato
Catullus
Charles and Mary Lamb
Charles Darwin
Charles Dickens
Charles Kingsley
Charles Lever
Charles Reade
Charlotte M. Yonge
Charlotte Perkins Gilman
Charlotte Smith

Christina Rossetti
Christopher Marlowe
Cicero
Claude Lorrain
Claude Monet
Clement of Alexandria
Confucius
Cornelius Nepos
D. H Lawrence (poetry)
D.H. Lawrence
Daniel Defoe
Dante Alighieri (English)
Dante Gabriel Rossetti
Dante Gabriel Rossetti
David Hume
Delphi Poetry Anthology
Demosthenes
Dickensiana Volume I
Diego Velázquez
Diodorus Siculus
Diogenes Laërtius
E. F. Benson
E. M. Delafield
E. M. Forster
E. Nesbit
E. Phillips Oppenheim
E. W. Hornung
Edgar Allan Poe
Edgar Allan Poe (poetry)
Edgar Degas
Edgar Rice Burroughs
Edgar Wallace
Edith Wharton
Edmund Burke
Edmund Spenser
Édouard Manet
Edvard Munch
Edward Bulwer-Lytton
Edward Gibbon
Edward Lear
Edward Thomas
Edwin Arlington Robinson
Elizabeth Barrett Browning
Elizabeth Gaskell
Elizabeth von Arnim
Ella Wheeler Wilcox
Ellen Wood
Émile Zola
Emily Dickinson
Ernest Bramah
Ernest Hemingway
Eugène Delacroix
Euripides

Ezra Pound
F. Scott Fitzgerald
Ford Madox Ford
Frances Burney
Frances Hodgson Burnett
Frances Trollope
Francis Bacon
Francisco Goya
Frank Norris
Frank R. Stockton
Friedrich Nietzsche
Friedrich Schiller (English)
Frontius
Fyodor Dostoyevsky
G. A. Henty
G. K. Chesterton
Galileo Galilei
Geoffrey Chaucer
George Bernard Shaw
George Chapman
George Eliot
George Gissing
George Herbert
George MacDonald
George Meredith
George Orwell
Gerard Manley Hopkins
Gertrude Stein
Gilbert and Sullivan
Giotto
Giovanni Bellini
Grant Allen
Gustav Klimt
Gustave Courbet
Gustave Flaubert (English)
Guy Boothby
Guy de Maupassant
H. G. Wells
H. P. Lovecraft
H. Rider Haggard
Hafez
Hall Caine
Hans Christian Andersen
Harriet Beecher Stowe
Heinrich Heine
Henrik Ibsen
Henry David Thoreau
Henry Fielding
Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey
Henry James
Henry Wadsworth Longfellow
Henryk Sienkiewicz
Herman Melville

Herodotus
Hesiod
Hilaire Belloc
Hippocrates
Homer
Honoré de Balzac (English)
Horace
Horace Walpole
Hugh Walpole
Ian Fleming
Immanuel Kant
Isaac Rosenberg
Isocrates
Ivan Turgenev
J. M. Barrie
J. M. W. Turner
J. W. von Goethe (English)
Jack London
James Fenimore Cooper
James Joyce
James Russell Lowell
Jane Austen
Jean-Jacques Rousseau
Jerome K. Jerome
Johan Ludvig Runeberg
Johannes Vermeer
John Buchan
John Bunyan
John Clare
John Constable
John Donne
John Dryden
John Galsworthy
John Keats
John Locke
John Milton
John Muir
John Ruskin
John Webster
John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester
Jonathan Swift
Joseph Addison
Joseph Addison
Joseph Conrad
Josephus
Jules Verne
Julius Caesar
Juvenal
Karl Marx
Kate Chopin
Katherine Mansfield
Kenneth Grahame
L. Frank Baum

L. M. Montgomery
Lafcadio Hearn
Laurence Sterne
Leigh Hunt
Leo Tolstoy
Leonardo da Vinci
Lewis Carroll
Livy
Longus
Lord Byron
Lord Dunsany
Louisa May Alcott
Lucan
Lucian
Lucretius
Ludovico Ariosto
Luís de Camões
Lytton Strachey
M. E. Braddon
M. R. James
Marcel Proust (English)
Marcus Aurelius
Margaret Oliphant
Maria Edgeworth
Marie Corelli
Mark Twain
Martial
Mary Shelley
Mary Wollstonecraft
Matthew Arnold
Matthew Prior
Maxim Gorky
Michael Drayton
Michel de Montaigne
Michelangelo
Miguel de Cervantes
Nathaniel Hawthorne
Niccolò Machiavelli
Nikolai Gogol
Nikolai Nekrasov
Nonnus
O. Henry
Oliver Goldsmith
One Thousand and One Nights
Oscar Wilde
Ouida
Ovid
Paul Cézanne
Paul Gauguin
Paul Klee
Pausanias
Percy Bysshe Shelley
Peter Paul Rubens

Petrarch
Petronius
Piero della Francesca
Pierre-Auguste Renoir
Pieter Bruegel the Elder
Pindar
Plato
Plautus
Pliny the Elder
Pliny the Younger
Plotinus
Plutarch
Polybius
Procopius
Propertius
Ptolemy
Quintus Curtius Rufus
Quintus Smyrnaeus
R. Austin Freeman
R. M. Ballantyne
Radclyffe Hall
Rafael Sabatini
Ralph Waldo Emerson
Raphael
Rembrandt van Rijn
René Descartes
Richard Brinsley Sheridan
Richard Marsh
Robert Browning
Robert Burns
Robert E. Howard
Robert Frost
Robert Louis Stevenson
Robert Southey
Robert W. Chambers
Rudyard Kipling
Rumi
Rupert Brooke
Saki
Sallust
Samuel Butler
Samuel Johnson
Samuel Pepys
Samuel Richardson
Samuel Taylor Coleridge
Sandro Botticelli
Sappho
Sax Rohmer
Seneca the Younger
Septuagint
Sheridan Le Fanu
Sidonius
Sigmund Freud

Sir Arthur Conan Doyle
Sir Issac Newton
Sir Philip Sidney
Sir Richard Burton
Sir Thomas Malory
Sir Thomas Wyatt
Sir Walter Raleigh
Sir Walter Scott
Sophocles
Stanley J. Weyman
Statius
Stendhal
Stephen Crane
Strabo
Suetonius
T. S. Eliot
Tacitus
Talbot Mundy
Terence
The Brontës
The Brothers Grimm
Theocritus
Theodore Dreiser
Thomas Babington Macaulay
Thomas Carlyle
Thomas Chatterton
Thomas De Quincey
Thomas Gainsborough
Thomas Gray
Thomas Hardy
Thomas Hardy (poetry)
Thomas Hood
Thomas Middleton
Thomas Moore
Thucydides
Tibullus
Tintoretto
Titian
Tobias Smollett
Torquato Tasso
Victor Hugo
Vincent van Gogh
Virgil
Virginia Woolf
Voltaire
W. B. Yeats
W. Somerset Maugham
W. W. Jacobs
Walt Whitman
Walter Pater
Walter Savage Landor
Washington Irving
Wassily Kandinsky

Wilfred Owen
Wilkie Collins
William Blake
William Cowper
William Dean Howells
William Harrison Ainsworth
William Hazlitt
William Hope Hodgson
William Makepeace Thackeray
William Morris
William Shakespeare
William Wordsworth
Xenophon
Zane Grey

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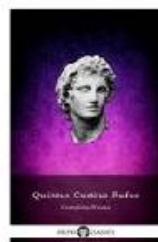
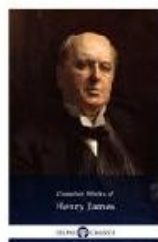
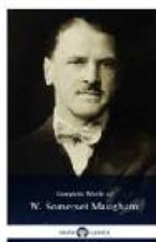
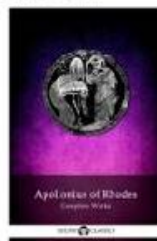
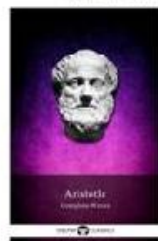
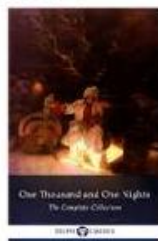
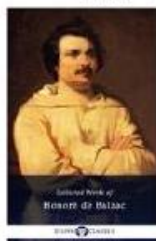
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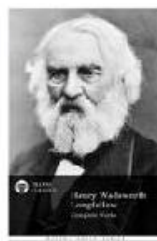
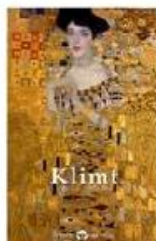
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Very little is known of Curtius' life — Rome is a likely location of his death.